

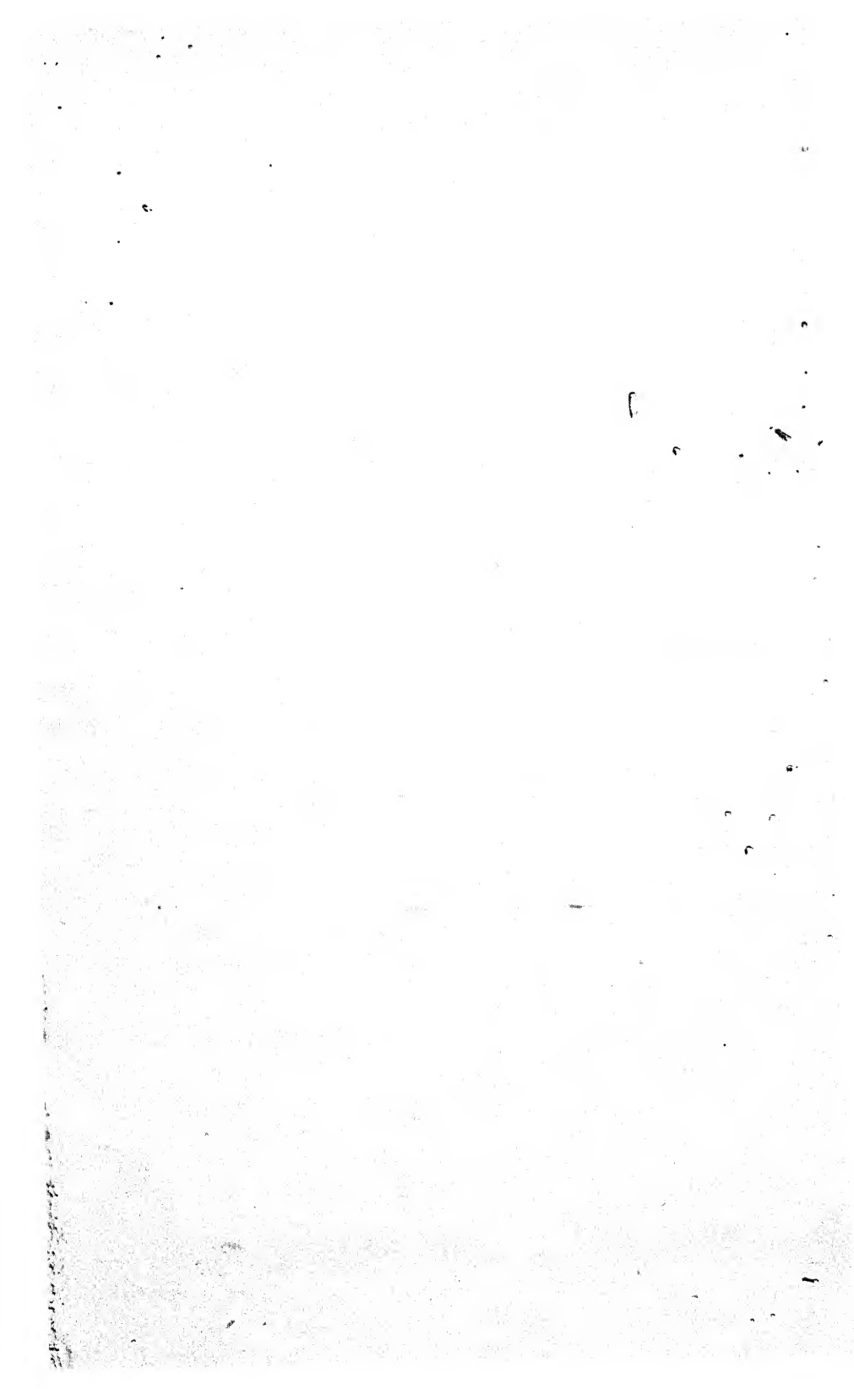
THE MADRAS
Christian College
Magazine

"They are slaves who dare not be
in the right with two or three"

VOL. XXXIII
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No. 2

CHIVALRY*

BY F. RAE, M.A.

We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak and not to please ourselves. Rom. xv. 1.

ONE of the virtues illuminated by this war is loyalty, and we have considered that. Another is chivalry. If ever there was a war of chivalry, this is one. We shall understand this best, if we begin by asking :

WHAT CHIVALRY IS

It could hardly be better described than in the words of our text. I will paraphrasethem by borrowing the definition of a more modern writer who tells us chivalry is "the enthusiasm of the strong for the rights of the weak". That is substantially Paul's idea, and I use this sentence instead of Paul's because of the word *enthusiasm*. Chivalry is first of all then a virtue of the strong. It belongs to those who have power, who have something to give, who can cast their shield over others. It is the virtue of *aristocracy*, for the motto of aristocracy has always been "noblesse oblige". Rank is an obligation, rank means leadership, rank means bearing the burdens of the weak, rank means "not pleasing ourselves". It is the virtue of the *wealthy*, for they are well-provided, and to be well-provided is not to sit down in selfish ease but to care for the ill-provided. That is the meaning of wealth in a world where poverty abounds. A man's wealth

*A Sermon preached in Beechgrove U. F. Church, Aberdeen, on the evening of Sabbath, 16th May, 1915.

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makes chivalry possible for him. It is the virtue of the *physically strong* who can protect and fight for the physically weak, who can shield them from cruelty and suffering. It is the virtue of the *spiritually wealthy* especially, and therefore of the Church. For the Church is endowed with grace that it may care for the unenlightened and the ignorant and the ill-endowed. The Church above all others should be chivalrous, should champion the rights of those who have little power to champion them for themselves. When I say chivalry is the virtue of rank and wealth and power and knowledge, I do not mean that it is always characteristic of those who have these gifts; but that because they are noble and rich and strong and believing, chivalry is *their* duty and *their* opportunity.

Again, chivalry is directed to the weak. We may have, we do have, duties to others who are on our level, who are as rich as ourselves or at any rate not poor, who are as well-born or at any rate not ill-born, who are as strong or at any rate not weaklings, who are believing and therefore very likely respectable. But it is not chivalry we owe them. Chivalry is for the obscure, the ill-off, the oppressed, the people of no account, the suffering, the dumb, the weary, the distressed. And it is the one supreme obligation of strength in all its forms to stand up for these, to champion their rights, to carry their load or lighten it, to protect them and guide them, and see that they get a chance in this world. It is an obligation because they are weak and we are strong. The strong are not to please themselves. They may have rights but they are not to exercise them if they hurt the weak. They might say to themselves—"We can do as we please, why should we not?" But if they said that, they would be lacking in chivalry. We that are strong ought not to please ourselves, says Paul. We ought to be chivalrous because we are strong and because there are weak people to help. The very power we have of any kind is a summons to consider and help and lift up the weak. That is why we are strong.

But once more. Chivalry is an *Enthusiasm*. It is "the enthusiasm of the strong for the rights of the weak." It is an ardour, a generous ardour for the cause of the weak that will run risks to champion them. Enthusiasts seldom consider consequences. They brush these aside. They seldom stop to

be prudent. They would not be chivalrous if they were always prudent. It was in the highest degree imprudent of Dr. Johnson to carry a poor woman of the street on his back through the London streets to his lodging. It might have cost him his reputation. But do you think he considered that? It was precisely because he did not consider that that his act was in the highest degree chivalrous. A strong man who sees a weak woman in trouble and who stops to consider whether it would be prudent of him to help her may be wise and cautious and far-seeing and safe, but he will never be chivalrous. Chivalry is an enthusiasm that is chivalrous just because it goes to the help of the weak without any thought of consequences.

Is it dead now? Is this noble virtue to be found among us to-day? I have read lately two deliberate statements in the negative sense. There is first the famous utterance of Burke—"the age of chivalry is dead." And there is the opinion of a cool-headed man of the world, George W. Russell, in his well-known book "Collections and Re-collections," where he says: "To-day chivalry seems to me extinct." He would admit that it did once exist, in days when knights "rode abroad redressing human wrongs," and in later days when aristocracy was *really* an aristocracy, that is, a rule of the best, when rank did mean leadership and protection and nobleness of conduct. He would probably admit that even as late as the 19th century when men like Wilberforce spent their lives in redressing the great human wrong of slavery there was chivalry among us. There were men like Wensell Phillips to whom Lowell wrote his fine sonnet—

"He stood upon the world's broad threshold: wide
The din of battle and of slaughter rose:
He saw God stand upon the weaker side
That sank in seeming loss before its foes:
Many there were who made great haste and sold
Unto the coming enemy their swords.
He scorned their gifts of fame and power and gold,
And underneath their soft and flowery words
Heard the cold serpent hiss: therefore he went
And humbly joined him to the weaker part."

But of our own day Mr. Russell says: "To-day chivalry seems to me extinct." And there is much to confirm his judgment. If we cast our eyes back on the wars of our time has

there been one that could be called a war of chivalry? Or if we take events like the Armenian atrocities which cried aloud for chivalrous intervention was there any sign of it? If we think of our own country and the attitude of the great mass of the well-to-do towards poverty; if we consider the weak cowardice of the authorities in a great emergency in face of the menace of drink; if we think of Japan's conduct to China and of Italy's prudent hesitation till she is sure she is going to be on the winning side; and finally, if we look at the most powerful of modern states, endowed with strength to be the protector of the weak and the saviour of the oppressed, yet making a god of sheer force, despising weakness, adopting devilish and foul means to gain her ends, cruel, ruthless, conscienceless, vile, making her own the principles of Hell, behaving with calculated ferocity, spurning every rule of right and truth to win victory—do we not feel that the judgment of this cool-headed onlooker has something to say for itself?

Yet I am sure that he is wrong and that chivalry is not dead. For in the first place this is a war of chivalry if ever there was one. It has been undertaken by this country more than for anything else for the defence and succour of a weak people, for honour. That is the motive I am sure in the hearts of the great mass of my fellow-countrymen. That is what has elicited an outburst of enthusiasm that has swept into the ranks men who never thought to lift a rifle or strike a blow, bookish men, men like the sensitive and refined young Gladstone who has given his life for the cause, men like our own divinity students who looked to preach the Gospel and have gone to wield the gun, one of whom has just perished in the strife. There may be other motives, but I believe that what has drawn to the colours so vast a number of men of all ranks and minds has been the enthusiasm of chivalry. The *Spectator* of May 15th, gives a striking instance in point in the case of Lieut. R. W. Poulton Palmer, Royal Berkshire Regiment, probably says the *Times*, the greatest Rugby three-quarter back of all time. "He was," writes a friend in the *Spectator*, "and he was much more. At Rugby, at Oxford, at Reading, he concerned himself intimately with the lot of his less fortunate countrymen. As a captain, says the *Times*, he was a born leader. And to many of us it seemed that he was

born to lead on fields other than those of international football. For recently he had inherited the position of a great captain of industry, while he had to the full that sympathy for labour which comes from practical experience in the shop and long-enduring friendships begun in boys' clubs, in mean streets, and cemented in many an August camp beside the sea. With him are buried hopes that will surely rise again. Indeed, his death is but a reminder of the abiding miracle. This young man had all the world can give—fortune, fair renown, excellence in the field and in the schools, the love of all who knew him, the respect of all who did not, and opportunity. He gave them all gladly, dying that all the world might live, in the spirit of the Man whom he was not ashamed to call Master. In our minds he leaves a fragrant memory, in our hearts a splendid hope."

It is told that when as a result of the Armenian massacres, war broke out between Greece and Turkey in 1897, "a young Englishman was travelling near the coast of Greece. He had youth and genius and money, a happy home and devoted friends. He had no natural turn for fighting, no obligations to Greece, no reason, as the world would judge, to choose anything but a life of ease and culture and enjoyment. But the voice reached him, and he straightway rose and followed it without delay. On April 9, 1897, he wrote in his journal: "This may be the last notice I shall ever write in this book . . . I am off this afternoon to enter to enlist in the Greek army; and let this be understood by those who may read this book, should I never return . . . no one is responsible for the step I have taken, which to many may appear an act of madness, but to myself—the least a man of honour can perform towards a country which, crying for liberty in the name of the Cross, has been insulted and thwarted by each so-called civilised power successively—"Eighteen days later the writer of these noble words died gloriously for Greece and freedom . . . and no one even knows the place where his body lies." I believe there are many as noble and as chivalrous who have stepped forward at this crisis and for the same reason said "Set down my name, Sir!" Can we say that chivalry is extinct in a world that has seen such a sight as that?

There is another reason which ought to make us pause in

a hasty judgment against our time, and it is this—I can only mention it without enlarging on it—there have been many reforms and many improvements in the lot of the poor and the weak in our social system in the past and it is worth while noticing that these movements for lifting the submerged up have come from above. It is not the agitation of those beneath that has brought reform and betterment but the conscience of those who were well-to-do and comfortable, and not their conscience only but often their enthusiasm for the rights of the weak. And that means—what we can thank God for—that there is always a spirit of chivalry among us and that, however it may be hindered and clouded and thwarted, it is always there.

But it is hindered. If chivalry is not extinct, it is threatened, and never more seriously threatened, than to-day. It is threatened by unbelief. What has produced modern Germany has been an alliance between speculative unbelief and the naked military spirit that worships brute force. No nation could do what Germany is doing unless it had turned its back on Christ. And I believe that its present spirit is the direct fruit of its progressive loss of faith in Christianity. And chivalry is threatened also and as seriously by the materialism that has more and more been taking possession of our modern world, the worship of comfort, the greed of gold, the hunger for mere material prosperity. And what do these threatening facts mean but just the need of Christ. When the faith of the Gospel goes, these two enemies come in and chivalry has received its death-blow. For the source of chivalry is Christ. It was born into the world when He cared for the weak, when He bore their burdens; when He died for the unworthy. Chivalry is nothing but the spirit of Jesus. And all who have given of their strength to help the weak have walked in His steps and lived by His Spirit. It is Christ in the *world* that alone prevents weak nations being trodden out of existence, that alone summons to their help the strength of those peoples who yet retain a belief in His authority and the salt of His Spirit. It is Christ in a *nation* that awakens in its citizens the desire to lift up the down-trodden, to rescue the fallen, to help the drunkard to be sober, to stay the ravages of diseases that are creating poverty and misery. It is Christ in *men* that alone will keep alive purity and

loyalty and generosity to those who, because of their weakness, need the chivalry of the strong. For chivalry is the beauty of Christianity. It is the service of honour before self-interest. It is the devotion of the best in us to the defence and succour of those who have no claim on us but their weakness. Chivalry will make the honour of women safe when nothing else will, and will breed heroism and manliness when nothing else will. And it will do this because it is an enthusiasm, an ardour, for the rights of the weak. The real security of a life is not good principles or good training, helpful and necessary as these are; the security of a life in this world is that it is lived ardently, enthusiastically, and passionately. A life lived according to prudence, to self-interest, to rules is never safe and never very useful. But a life in which has been kindled the fine ardour of chivalry is strong because of its spirit. "No heart is pure," it has been said, "that is not passionate." The heart is strongest, safest, purest, noblest, that feels the ardour of the spirit of chivalry; in other words, that has been kindled by the fire of the Spirit of Jesus. And therefore I say again that nothing has shown our world to-day, if we have eyes to see it, like the hellish outburst of the passions of cruelty and greed of power and worship of force,—nothing like this has ever occurred that has shown so eloquently the absolute necessity of Christ for the world if we are to be saved from the rule of mere ruthless power and are to have still left to us, working its blessed fruits of heroism and noble service and gallant endeavour and purity and joy, this gracious and noble spirit which is the most beautiful fruit of the Spirit of Jesus Christ. Do not let your hold of Christ relax then. Never cease to seek to know Him better and to have Him as your treasure and to be His. And if you are an outsider so far as He is concerned, come to Him, seek Him, till you find Him and find that He has found you and holds you in His powerful and tender hands.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF NĀTHA MUNI.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A.

(PART I)

THE first of the Vaishnava Āchāryas, as distinct from the Ālvārs, was the celebrated Nātha Muni of Mannār Kōil, otherwise known as Viranārāyaṇapuram in the Chidambaram taluk of the South Arcot District. According to the *Guruparamparas*,¹ the date of his birth is K. 3685, corresponding to 583-84 A.D. But the same authorities inconsistently say that the Tamil year corresponding to it was *Śōbhakrit*, and not *Śārcari*, the true one.² *Śōbhakrit* really corresponded to 586-7 A.D.; and as the chance of mistake in orthodox calculations is greater in regard to the number of the Kali year than in regard to the name of the year, we may take it for granted that Nātha Muni's birth was in 586-87. Now, the Teṅgalai *Guruparamparā* says that he lived for the long space of 330 years on account of his yogic power, and that he died³ in 916 A.D. The Vaḍagalai *Guruparampara*,⁴ on the other hand, maintains that he lived for 340 years. The critical historian cannot of course accept the theory of yogic longevity. He will have to take the attribution of such a long life to mean simply that Nātha Muni lived for more than the full span of 100 years. Assuming then that he lived for at least 100 years, the question now to be determined is whether the alleged date of his birth is to be accepted and the date of his death adjusted accordingly, or whether the date of his death is to be accepted and that of his birth adjusted in accordance with it. It seems to me that there is no other alternative than to make the date of his death the starting point of our calculation; for the alleged date of his birth 586 A.D. is untenable. It is in the first place too early. It is inconsistent with the dates of the

¹ See the Teṅgalai *Guruparamparā-prabhāva*, 1909, p. 166 and Vaḍagalai *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*, 1913, pp. 30 and 32. The exact date given by these is: K. 3685, *Śōbhakrit*; month of Ani (June); 13th day of the bright lunar fortnight,—a Wednesday. The 1892 edn. of T. G. does not give any date while the 1872 edn. of V. G. gives K. 3684 instead of 3685.

² See Dikshit's Calendar, Table I, XVIII.

³ T. G. 1909, p. 183. It took place in the month of Māsi (February) in year *Dhatu*. We shall see later on that the T. G. is inconsistent.

⁴ See V. G. 1913, p. 42, footnote; 1872 edn., p. 33.

Ālvārs on the one hand and those of the Āchārya successors of Nātha Muni on the other. For, the last of these Ālvārs, Tirumaṅgai Mannan, was according to tradition, a contemporary of Gnāna Sambandha⁵ who, as is well known to Tamil scholars, lived in the 7th and early 8th centuries A.D. The very authorities who attribute Nātha Muni's birth to 586 A.D. say that he lived *after* Tirumaṅgai Mannan, that in fact a *sufficiently long* time had elapsed between the death of Tirumaṅgai Mannan and the birth of Nātha Muni, which was enough to reduce the *Tiruvāymolī*,⁶ brought for the first time to prominence in temple-worship by the last Ālvār, to obscurity and oblivion. It is clear from this that Nātha Muni must have been subsequent to the middle of the 8th century A.D. Allowing the space of a generation or two for the decay or obscurity of the *Tiruvāymolī*, we arrive at the conclusion that Nātha Muni must have been born in the first quarter of the ninth century. The same conclusion is arrived at from a calculation of the date of Yāmunāchārya, the grandson of Nātha Muni and the third in apostolic descent from him. Yāmunāchārya was born, according, to the *Guruparamparas*,⁷ in K. 4018, *Dhātu*, i.e., 916 A.D. Now according, to one version, Nātha Muni's death took place when his grandson was just a few months old; according to another, 15 years before him, and according to a third, when he was seven or eight years of age. Of these, the former two versions must be ignored as they are given by an authority⁸ which is not able to see the inconsistency. Acknowledging the last version then, we infer that Nātha Muni's death took place in 924 or 925 A.D. Assuming his age to be 100, it is plain that he must have been born at about 823-24 A. D. which was also *Śōbhakrit* by name. This is consistent with the probable date of the last Ālvār and with the legend that, after him, owing to lack of leadership among the Vaishnavas, the Prabandhas had been forgotten. This conclusion is further supported by the *Kōiloḷugu* which does not speak of any extraordinary longevity of Nātha Muni's life and which clearly says that Nātha Muni was born after K. 3924, i.e., 823 A. D. Above all, Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai has, after a detailed calendrical examination of the

⁵ Sundaram Pillai's *Mile-stones in Tamil Literature*.

⁶ For details, see *Koiloḷugu*, 1888, pp. 5—8.

⁷ On Wednesday, under the constellation of Uttirāḍa, in the 'month of Ā-ḍi (July) of *Dhātu* K. 4018. See V. G. 1913, p. 10; T. G. 1909, p. 188.

⁸ The latest edn. of T. G. See later on.

astronomical details given in tradition, concluded that the sage must have been born on Wednesday, May 27, 823 A. D.

The birth of the first Āchārya, then, took place in May" 823 A. D. It was a time of practical chaos and confusion in the political condition of South India. More than half a century back, the powerful imperial dynasty of the Pallavas, contemporaries and patrons or opponents of the Ālvārs, had lost their imperial supremacy. Their place had been taken by the so-called "Gaṅga Pallavas"; but lacking in the capacity and valour of their predecessors, they allowed the different parts of the Empire to declare independence. It seems that the Chōḷa kingdom, to which Viranārāyanapuram then belonged, took advantage of this weakness of the central power to declare independence. It seems also that at times it was defeated and subdued by the "Gaṅga Pallavas," and at times even vanquished by the Pāṇḍyas¹¹ who evidently had a temporary rise in the 9th century. For, we learn from the evidence of epigraphy that the Pāṇḍyas successfully engaged the Gaṅgas¹² in arms as far north as Kumbakonam, and made grants in Lalgudi, in Trichinopoly and in Tanjore. Such a state of things could hardly have existed if it had not been for a temporary eclipse of the Chōḷa power before the Pāṇḍyan aggression. Nor was the Pāṇḍya dominance constant or efficient. The Chōḷa kingdom was thus sometimes under "the Gaṅga Pallavas," and sometimes under the Pāṇḍyas. The time was not yet ripe for the rise of a great conqueror and statesman like Vijāyalaya, to husband the resources of the decaying kingdom and to employ them for purposes of expansion and empire-making: It was accomplished, however, in the latter part of the 9th century. The able Vijāyalaya and the abler Āditya I. rescued the Chōḷa kingdom from obscurity and raised it to the dignity of an Empire, as powerful and extensive as that of the old Pallavas. Āditya I. brought into subjection the kingdoms of Koṅgu and Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, while his successor Parāntaka I. (906-46) won, by

⁹ See *Journal of the South India Association*, June 1914, p. 247.

¹⁰ *Trichi Gazz.*, 33-34. The existence of a separate Gaṅga Pallava dynasty has been, with great reason, questioned by Mr. Gopinatha Rao.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 33. The power of the Pāṇḍyas is seen not only in the victory over the Gaṅga king *Prithvipati* at Tiruppirāmbiyam near Kumbakonam, but in the conquest of the Singhalese, and in the presence of Pāṇḍyan inscriptions in Tillai-thānam and Sendalai in Tanjore Taluk and Trichinopoly.

¹² The Gaṅga king was Nripātunga. See *Trichi gaz.*, p. 33 and the references to the epigraphical reports given therein.

his victories, "a dominion which foreshadowed the greater empires of Rājārāja and Kulōttuṅga. He won victories over the Bāṇas (who with their capital at Tiruvallam in North Arcot ruled in parts of the North Arcot, Salem and perhaps Nellore districts and of Mysore), over the Gaṅgās of Mysore, over the Pāṇdyas and over the king of Ceylon, from the last of which exploits he took the boastful (and common) title of 'a veritable Rama in battle' The reality and extent of his conquests are indicated by the fact that his inscriptions are found from Śuchīndram near Cape Comorin in the south to Kālahasti (in North Arcot) in the north, and as far as Sōmur near Karūr in the west." The labours of Nātha Muni were thus co-eval with the great political revival of the Chōḷas. At the time of his birth the Chōḷas were a low and degraded power; but by the time when he began to work for the revival of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism, they had commenced their glorious career of conquest and empire-building. By a strange coincidence, the political and an important aspect of the religious revival of South India thus took place at the same time.

The question that naturally suggests itself at this stage is whether the two revivals were connected with each other. Was there the relation of cause and effect between them or not? Was the revival of Vaiṣṇavism an isolated phenomenon, or was it effected by the political upheaval of the Chōḷas? Were the two movements in other words co-eval by mere accident, or were they connected with each other? The question is difficult to answer, owing to the scarcity of the materials on which we can base our conclusion. It seems to me, however, that the cause of Vaiṣṇavism was strengthened though not directly, at least indirectly, by the rising Chōḷas. A number of incidents in the life of Nātha Muni described in the *Guruparamparās* show the great veneration in which the Āchārya was held by the Chōḷa. The latter, as we shall see presently, did not only invite him to his court, but visited him in his own home at Vīra-nārāyaṇapuram twice. Parāntaka,¹³ moreover, was distinguished by the title Vīra-Nārāyaṇa, and in this title, we may, with justification, see his friendly attitude to Vaiṣṇavism and to Nātha Muni.

Nātha Muni's father Īśvara Muni was an ordinary Śrī-Vaiṣṇava householder in the village of Vīranārāyaṇapuram.

¹³ It was Parāntaka I. that covered the temple of Śiva at Chidambaram with "pure gold brought from all regions subdued by the power of his own arm." He was thus an ardent Śaivite also.

As his very name shows, he seems to have been well-known to his contemporaries as a pious and orthodox follower of the Pāṇcharātra cult. Belonging to the illustrious gōtra of Śaṭhamarshaṇa and the high family of Śōṭṭai Nambi,¹⁴ Īśvara gave his son an education worthy of his caste and creed. Nātha, we are told, became well versed in the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas, in the Śāstrās and the Smritis. With erudition he combined a real devotion and an extraordinary power for yōgic meditation. Nātha Muni, in fact, is described in Vaishṇava literature as the last great yōgi in the Kali age. With him, it is said, the art vanished, and though his great successors were not ignorant of the art, yet they never practised it, we are told, with so much ease or success. Endowed with this many-sided qualification, Nātha Muni entered the life of a householder. With his wife Aravindappāvai, he led a life of calm happiness and devotional fervour, ever engaged in the making of garlands and other pious services to the local deity, Rājagōpāla. In course of time he had a son, whom he named after his father Īśvara Muni; and when he came of age, gave him an education as many-sided as his own. While Nātha Muni was thus living he set out,¹⁵ with all the members of his family, on an extensive religious tour. He proceeded to North India, and visited such holy places as Mathura, Dvāraka, Ayōdhya, etc. He at length came to Govardhanapura on the banks of the Jumna, and lived there with the intention of permanently settling there in the service of the local deity Yamunatturaiva.¹⁶ Here, it is said, he had a dream to the effect that his tutelary deity at Viranārāyaṇapuram wanted him back in his native place. He therefore started once again on his return journey, and after seeing the deities of Benares, Jagannāth, Simhādri, Ahobila, Tirupati, Ghaṭikāchalam, Conjeeveram, Tiruvahindrapuram, Tirukōvilūr, Śrī-Raṅgam and Kumbakōṇam, reached his native village. Here he engaged his hours in the contemplation of the deity and making garlands for his adornment. Many people saw how great and good he was and how he was regarded by God himself. They therefore chose him as their Āchārya and sat at his feet to learn the Vēdas and the Śāstras.

¹⁴ The later Tatāchāryas were the descendants of this family.

¹⁵ The Guruparamparās say that he set out with the sanction of Rājagōpāla, or Mannanār as he was also called, given of course through the priest.

¹⁶ That is, Kriṣṇa.

Nātha Muni understood why he was summoned back by his Lord,—from an event which happened some time after his return, and which had the most momentous consequences both on the history of his life and on the history of Vaishṇavism. He was once gone to the temple when he heard some Brahmīns who had come from the south address the deity as *Aravamudha*. To the ear of the great devotee this word seemed the summit of sweet harmony. It seemed to him that to contemplate God with the psalms which contained that word, was even sweeter than the realisation of God by yōga. He therefore asked the strangers to teach him the ten verses which they recited. The knowledge of the ten verses increased his desire for more; for he understood that they were only parts of 1,000 verses or the *Tiruvāymoli* of the great Śaṭagōpa of Ālvār Tirunagiri. The pilgrims however were ignorant of the rest, and directed him to go to Kumbakonam, the place where God was worshipped in the form of Āravamuda. Even here the yearning sage could not accomplish his desire, as none were available who knew the whole. He therefore resolved to go to distant Tirunagiri itself and search for the prabandha which had charmed him so much. To his great surprise he was told by a local man, Parāṅkuśadāsa by name, a disciple of Madhurakavi, that here also the *Tiruvāymoli* had been in progress of time practically lost; that they knew the *Kaṇṇinut Śīrut-tāmbu*, the poem of Madhura Kavi alone; that if Nātha Muni recited that poem 12,000 times, he could see the great Ālvār himself, and obtain the *Tiruvāymoli* from him in person. Nātha Muni thereupon got the *Kaṇṇinut Śīrut-tāmbu* by heart; and seated at the foot of the holy-tamarind tree, turned his mind towards the great Ālvār and repeated the poem 12,000 times. The desire of the devotee,¹⁷ we are told, was at once realised. Nammālvār and Madhura Kavi appeared to him in person, bestowed on him, through the eye of wisdom, the knowledge of the Tiru Mantra and its meaning as contained in the Sūtras of Vyāsa, the Tiruvāymoli and the other parts of the Nālāyiraprabandha, and the Rahasyas or secret doctrines of Śrī-Vaishṇavism. With the divine know-

¹⁷ According to T. G. Nammālvār did not appear in person, but spoke from the sky. (See 1892 edn. p. 73). The 1909 edn. however, is much more detailed and legendary. It says that, besides giving the Prabandhas, Nammālvār gave Nātha Muni an image of the future Āchārya Rāmānuja, and this image was worshipped by Nātha Muni! The northern school consider this story to be an absurd myth.

ledge thus acquired Nātha Muni became an object of admiration and worship to the people of Tirunagari. They discovered in him a greatness as lofty as that of their Ālvār and begged him to teach them the Prabandha and the Mantra, which he had so miraculously got.

Such is the remarkable legend about the rescue of the Nālāyiraprabandha from obscurity and probable extinction. The historian is of course unable to accept the miraculous acquisition of it. He will see in it the earnest and painful endeavours of a great scholar to recover a treasure the value of which had not been appreciated by his contemporaries and predecessors. Some scholars¹⁸ think that the legend of Nātha Muni's seeing Nammālvār is an argument in proof of their contemporaneity. They would, in other words, attribute Nammālvār to an age subsequent to that of Tirumaṅgai Mannan. A discussion of this question is not possible here; but it may be pointed out that such a conclusion is based on an entire disregard of the Vaishṇava traditions and literature. The very fact that legends have been composed to explain Nātha Muni's interview with Śaṭhaḡōpa is a proof that the one lived long before, and that for his temporary return from heaven to earth a process of yōgic penance was necessary.

There is a difference of accounts in regard to the movements of Nātha Muni after his acceptance of Āchāryic dignity in the sacred town of Tirunagari. The Guruparampara of the northern school says that the people of Tirunagari told him how, in days of yore, Tirumaṅgai Mannan had organised an annual festival at Śrīraṅgam, by which in the month of Mārgaḡi, the image of Śaṭhaḡōpa was taken to that place, and how from the 11th day of the bright fortnight onward, a festival lasting for ten days was

¹⁸ cf. *Tamil Studies* by M. Srinivasa Aiyangar. This writer thinks that Nammālvār was the last of the Ālvārs; that he lived two centuries after Tirumaṅgaimannan; that the hymns of the Prabandha "were collected, arranged and compiled by Śrī Nātha Muni probably under the editorship of Nammālvār into a single volume called the Nālāyiraprabandham or the book of 4,000 hymns about the middle of the tenth century A.D." The writer would thus conclude that Nammālvār and Nātha Muni were contemporaries and that both lived in the middle of the 10th century. I am unable to agree with either of these conclusions. Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar also says that Nātha Muni was a contemporary of Nambīāṇḍār Nambi, the compiler of the Saiva works about 1025 A.D., and imitated him. But as Nātha Muni lived more than a century earlier, the probability is that Nambīāṇḍār Nambi imitated him. The process, in other words, was the other way. See *Tamil studies*, p. 220.

celebrated, the chief feature of which was the exaltation of the Tamil Tiruvāymoḷi to the rank of the Sanskrit Vēdas by being combined with it for recitation during the festival. This had taken place for years, but the vicissitudes of time had not only brought about the cessation of the festival, but the oblivion of the Tiruvāymoḷi itself. The people of Tirunagari asked Nātha Muni to re-establish the festival. None was more fit to perform the task, for none else could command the influence he had. The holy and pious life of the great scholar, his resignation, his renown for yōgic skill, above all, his interview with Nammālvār and his miraculous acquisition of the *Prabandhas*, had spread his name throughout the Vaishṇava world. Everywhere the idea had been entertained that he was next to the Ālvār himself in holiness, and that he ought to be recognized as the ideal expounder of the Vaishṇava religion. Fame thus preceded the scholar and paved the way for success. The authorities of the Śrīraṅgam temple could not refuse to listen to the advocacy of one for whom Śrī Vaishṇavism was so much indebted, but for whom its Tamil Bible would have been irrevocably lost. And after all, by listening to him and obeying him, they did not show mere gratitude to one who was the benefactor of mankind, but revived a custom already in force. They were, in other words, making no innovations, but proceeding on the authority of precedents. It is not surprising therefore that the mission of Nātha Muni ended in unalloyed success. The festival that he organised was, in fact, even more elaborate than that introduced by the influence of the last Ālvār. Tirumaṅgai Mannan had only arranged for a ten days' festival. It was to begin on the great Ekādaśī day of Mārgaśī, and go on for ten days, during which the Tiruvāymoḷi of Śaṭṭhaḡōpa was to be sung. Nātha Muni introduced in its place a twenty-one days' festival. The increased length was due to an altered circumstance. Tirumaṅgai Mannan had provided for Nammālvār's Tiruvāymoḷi alone. But Nātha Muni wanted the *whole* of the *Nālāyiraprabandha* to be sung, and as it was four times in size, he had to provide for it by doubling the period of the festival and increasing the number of songs to be gone through each day. During the first ten days which preceded the great Ekādaśī, the 2,000 verses known as the Upāṅgas were to be sung; and in the ten days which followed it and which formed the real season of the festival, the Tiruvāymoḷi was to be sung. The finishing touch was given on the

last and twenty-first day of the festival. On that day, the remaining 1,000 were to be gone through, and the grand festival concluded.

Such was the momentous change introduced by Nātha Muni in the holy shrine of Śrīraṅgam. The importance of his work can hardly be exaggerated. By making the *Nālayiraprabandha* the equal of the Vēdas in the temple festival, he introduced a new epoch in the history of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism. He raised the language of the people to an equality with the hoary and learned tongue of the Brahminical clergy. He proved that the holiness of the works written in Tamil was not in any way inferior to the holiness of those written in Sanskrit. He, in other words, aimed a death-blow, an effective death-blow, at the monopoly of Sanskrit for religious purposes. The innovation was all the more remarkable as it came at the instance of one of the greatest Sanskrit scholars of the day. None could equal Nātha Muni in the profundity of his Vēdic scholarship or in his proficiency in the Upanishadic and Vedāntic philosophy, and above all, in his capacity for yōgic-contemplation; and yet it was he that introduced the *Nālayira prabandha* as part and parcel of the rites of temple-worship. The immediate effect was a triumph for the less gifted and intellectual of the human kind; and the eventual result was the rise of a new type religious literature in South India,—half Tamīl and half Sanskrit,—the object of which was to expound the “Tamil Veda,” to dwell in detail on its teachings, and reconcile them with the teachings of the Vēdas, the Upanishads and the Purāṇas. Commentaries of different volumes and different qualities came into existence, and discussions of knotty passages in the Prabandha became as favourite a pastime with scholars as the discussion of the Vēdānta Sūtras. The Prabandha, again, came to be, like the Vēdas, an essential part of a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava’s education, and some enthusiasts went even so far as to ignore the old Vēdas and attach greater sanctity to the “new Vedas.” All this was the result of the adoption of the Prabandha as a sacred text by the Śrīraṅgam temple. The centre of Vaiṣṇavism, it had naturally a large influence on the other temples of the land, and before long it was imitated everywhere. One of the Guruparamparās (V. G.) says that Kumbakonam was the second place to adopt the *Tiruvadhyayana* festival. Nātha Muni, we are informed, proceeded immediately after his work at Śrīraṅgam, to the city of Ārāvamuda, established there an image of Śaṭhagōpa, introduced the

Adhyayana festival in Mārgaḷi, and pronounced to the world that it was to the Lord in the form of Ārāvamuda that the world was indebted for its Tamil Vēda. From Kumbakonam, Nātha Muni went to his own village, and there also made the recitation of the *Prabandha* an important item in the festivals.

It appears from the same authority that Nātha Muni stayed for some time at Vīranārāyaṇapuram after his return from his epoch-making tour, and took advantage of this to "fix some other duties devolving on the Vaishṇavas." We are not informed what these duties are. Perhaps, he shewed, by his own life, how the Tamil Vēda could be combined with the old Vēdas and Upanishads in studies and worship. Perhaps he defined the daily duties of a Vaishṇava so as to include the study of the *Prabandha*. It is difficult to say anything definite. But one thing is certain, that his stay in his birth-place was not very long. He was, we are informed, told by Rājagōpāla himself to go to Śrīraṅgam and complete the mission he had so well and so successfully begun. The Adhyayana festival had indeed been organized, and provision made for its grand celebration. But the Nālāyiraprabandha itself had not been reduced to order and system. Nātha Muni had now to do this. He divided it into four parts of a 1,000 stanzas each, added here and there a few introductory verses, or *Taniyans* as they are called in orthodox Śrī-Vaishṇavite phraseology, and gave the whole collection a new beauty and dignity by setting it to music. The method of appealing at once to the heart and the ear was highly commendable, and facilitated the spread of the prabandha throughout the Dravidian world.

The Guruparampara of the southern school gives a slightly different version¹⁹. It says that Nātha Muni did not proceed to Śrīraṅgam after his work at Tirunagari. In obedience to the desire, communicated to him, through the usual channel of a vision, of the God of Vīranārāyaṇapuram to hear the Prabandhas sung, Nātha Muni, it says, proceeded to his native village. On the way he visited the various holy shrines of Viṣṇu, and celebrated each local deity by songs from the Prabandha. On arrival and worship at Vīranārāyaṇapuram, Rājagōpāla, we are informed, congratulated the sage on his discovery of the great religious treasure which could shew the wearied and worried householder an easy way of salvation and emancipation, and

¹⁹ See 1891 edn., pp. 73-74 ; 1909, edn., pp. 174-75.

ordered him to set the whole to music, and then to teach it to people and spread it among mankind. Nātha Muni carried out the divine mandate to the letter. With the assistance of his three nephews and disciples, two of whom lived in his village and the other belonged to Tirukkannamaṅgai,²⁰ he divided the whole Prabandha into different meters, and set them to music. It was from this time onward that "the practice of singing the Tiruvāymoli in temples became common."

However it was, whether we accept the northern or southern versions, we can see that both agree in the ultimate adoption of the Prabandha in temples and in homestudies. Now a very interesting question we have to consider is what was this celestial music, which Nātha Muni is said to have adopted for the Prabandhas? How was it related to the secular or human music? In what respects did the two systems differ? How was one entitled to the epithet *celestial*, and the other to the more humble one of human? Was the one called celestial because of the celestial *topic* it concerned, or because it was supposed that there was a celestial *charm* in it? Was the term *celestial*, in other words, the result of the *subject* treated or the *method* adopted? Then again, how far is that music prevalent in the present day, in the temples? All these questions are exceedingly difficult to answer. The history of South Indian music is a very obscure and unexplored region. No work has appeared, which dwells on the evolution of the Indian music, the development of the Rāgas, Tālas, and so on. A reference to the printed books of the Prabandha will shew that the various verses or psalms are classified into different viruttams, Paṇs, Rāgas and Tālas: Who made this classification? Is it the work of Nātha Muni or that of the modern editors? Seventeen years back the question was discussed by Prof. Seshagiri Sastriar who concluded from the evidence of an old manuscript of the work which he discovered²¹ in 1894,

²⁰. For a detailed life-story of Tirukkannamaṅgai Āṇḍān, see T. G. 1909, pp. 175-90, footnote.

²¹. See his *Report on Sanskrit and Tamil MSS.* for 1895-97, pp. 58-59. I have seen this MS. in the Oriental MSS. Library. Its No. is H-10-11. It contains 202 pages, each page containing six or seven lines. Seshagiri Sastri says it contains the rāgas of the verses. As a matter of fact it contains only the paṇs and viruttams. The fact is he mistakes the paṇs for the Rāgas. The MS. was written by one Narayana, son of Kuppam Tirumalai Chetty of Conjeeveram. It refers to two dates: பிச்சை வருஷம் கர்த்திகை மாதம் 24-ல் புதவாரமும் திருநிகையழல் புனப்பூசலும் மேற்படி கருதினத்தில் காலூழிபரம் குப்பம் திருமலைசெட்டி. குமாரசன் மடத்தினதே காரணம்; and தை மாதம் 4-ம் தேதி ஞாயிற்றுக்கிழமை, தி

that the classification was not the work of modern printers or editors, but of an early age. "The discovery of the MS.," he says, "is very important for the history of music of Southern India, as the names of the Rāgas given at the end of each decade of hymns are the same as those mentioned in the printed books. I was hitherto in doubt as to the genuineness of the references to the rāgas given in the printed texts, but the discovery of the MS. cleared my doubts." The Rāgas mentioned are Indalaṅḡuṇḡji (இந்தளங் குறிஞ்சி) and Indōḷam (இந்தோளம்), Gāṇḍaḷam (காந்தளம்), Gāṇḍā-rām (காந்தாரம்), Kaiśyam (கைசியம்), Kolli (கொல்லி), Śikamaram (சீகாமரம்), Śerundhi (செருந்தி), Takkam and Takkēsi, Nāṭṭapāḍai, Nāṭṭarāgām and Nāṭṭam, Panchamam, Palayāl (பலயாழ்), Paḷaṇ-dakkarāgām (பழந்தக்கராகம்), Perunirmai (பெருநீர்மை), Mudirnda kuṇḡji (முதிர்ந்த குறிஞ்சி) and Viyantam (வியந்தம்). The Tālas mentioned are of four kinds,—Idayottu (இடையொத்து), Elottu (ஏழொத்து), Onbadottu (ஒன்பதொத்து) and Naḍayottu (நடை யொத்து). The remarkable thing to be noticed is that none of these rāgas seem to be prevalent to-day. It is quite possible that some at least of the modern melodies are referred to in these obsolete names; but what are referred to and what are not, we are not in a position to say. Prof. Seshagiri Sastriar was of the opinion that, on account of the changes that have taken place in the Hindu music in the course of centuries, *none* of the Rāgas above mentioned are now in vogue. That these Rāgas existed as early as the eighth and ninth centuries, i.e., in the age of Nātha Muni, is clear from various circumstances. First the very obsolescence of the rāgas is a proof in favour of such antiquity. But there are more definite proofs. These rāgas, and many more, are also mentioned in the Tēvāram hymns of Śaiva Saints, and as the Tēvāram was chiefly the product of the seventh and eight centuries, it is plain that both were set to the musical scale in the same age. Above all, these "occur in the list given in the

யோதி; முலநகபுத்திரம் அமுந்தயோகம் மீனவக்கினத்தில் முடிஞ்சது. There is another very very old MS. in the library (H-18-1), with a beautiful writing and leaves broken here and there. It contains 81 leaves or 166 pages and each page contains from 14 to 16 lines. Till leaf 48 the verses of each decade contain at the end both the Viruttas and the paṇs; but after leaf 48 there is the original alone. Even in the early leaves where the paṇs are given, I find that they are occasionally written by another hand over the blank line which invariably marks the end of each decade. This makes the entry suspicious. In 17 B.—2-16 there are two stray leaves belonging evidently to another MS. giving a few verses only with paṇs (e.g. Nāṭṭam).

daughter, *viz.*, Rudrāmba who was destined to play a distinguished part in the history of India. Many of the records of Ganapati are dated in the Śaka era coupled with the regnal years, and from these it is possible to ascertain the exact year of his accession to the throne. One of his Tirupuvantakam inscriptions * is dated in Śaka 1182 and belongs to the 62nd year of reign. This shows that he came to the throne in A. D. 1198-9 and reigned until at least A. D. 1260-1, which is almost the last year of his rule. Ganapati seems to have gained strength by the marriages contracted with the Nātavādi and Kōta chiefs as well as with Jaya, whose family counted many a general and minister. Probably with their help he successfully fought with the Chōla, Kalinga, Seuna, Karnata, Lata and Velanandu kings. After the death of the Yādava king Jaitugi, Simhana (1209-47 A. D.) ascended the throne. Hostilities between the Kākatiyas and the Yādavas revived. In his inscriptions, Simhana claims to have overcome the Andhra king and to have uprooted the water-lily, which was the head of the Telinga king. It is not unlikely that there is a reference here to his conflict with the Kākatiyas. Similarly also Ganapati lays claim to have defeated Simhana. Other records of his refer to the same event, when they say that he defeated the king of Seuna. Though each of these kings claims to have defeated the other, there are reasons for holding that in the present instance the real victor was the Kākatiya king Ganapati. This event seems to have happened before A.D. 1235.

The political condition of Southern India in the second quarter of the 13th century A.D. presented to the Kākatiyas an opportunity to extend their dominion. The Chōla kingdom was then governed by Rājārāja III, who was a very weak sovereign. In the latter part of his reign some of his own subordinates began to throw off the Chōla yoke, and tried to assert their independence. One such rebel, the Pallava Perunjinga, even went to the length of putting the king in prison. The Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra under their king Narasimha II, taking up the cause of the captive emperor, fought with the Pallava, defeated him in several engagements, released Rājārāja from captivity and reinstated him on his throne, thus earning the title of 'The Establisher of the Chōla.' This he seems to have done because he had given his daughter in marriage to the Chōla sovereign.

After being reinstated in about A.D. 1232, the Chōla king continued to keep up the semblance of power for a few years more, *i.e.*, till A. D. 1242, when a portion of the Chōla dominion passed into the hands of Perunjinga who proclaimed himself king in A.D. 1242. The wreck of the Chōla empire, which was brought about mainly by the weakness of its kings, presented ample opportunities for other powers to rise into importance. The Kākatiyas were not slow to take advantage of it. Accordingly we hear of Ganapati claiming victory over the Chōlas. That this is not a mere boast is proved by the fact of the existence of his inscriptions at Conjeevaram and Kālahasti. How he came to have possession of these places is not stated, but it is not very difficult to find out. Almost at the end of the 12th century A.D. a branch of the Telugu Chōḍas who were governing some part of the Nellore District with their capital at Vikramasingapura, *i.e.*, Nellore, moved southwards and took possession of Kānchi. This was done about A.D. 1196 by Nallasaddha who was the paternal uncle of Tammasuddhi. Inscriptions of the latter chief are found in Conjeevaram and its neighbourhood. When the records of the Chōla king Kulottunga III state that he despatched matchless elephants, performed heroic deeds, prostrated to the ground the kings of the north and entered Kānchi in triumph, we have to understand that he defeated a member of the Telugu Chōḍa family, who had occupied Conjeevaram. Even after this event, the chiefs continued to have possession of a portion of the North Arcot and Chingleput districts where their inscriptions are found. Perhaps they ruled the country as feudatories of the Chōlas after they were defeated by Kulottunga III. One of the members of this family was Chōḍa-Tikka. He is said to have ruled from his capital at Vikramasingapura, to have defeated the Karnāta king Somesa (*i.e.*, the Hoysala Virasomesvara) at Champapuri, to have subdued Samburaja (*i.e.*, Sambuvaraya), to have captured Kānchi and to have established the Chōla king on the throne. The last of these achievements is proved by the existence of an inscription of his, found in the Arulalaperumal temple at Conjeevaram, dated in Śaka 1156 (= A.D. 1233-4). Tradition asserts that Manma, the son of this chief and a patron of the Telugu poet Tikkana-somayaji, was ousted from his kingdom by his own cousins. The poet interceded on behalf of the exile with the Kākatiya king Ganapati, who, readily espousing the cause, defeated the enemies of Manma, and reinstalled him on the throne. This

interference of king Ganapati in the affairs of the Telugu Chōdas must have occurred before A.D. 1249 corresponding to Śaka 1172, which is the date of his Conjeevaram inscription, and it is worthy of note that this inscription reveals the name of Sachīva, the minister, and Santa Bhōja of the Bochi family, his general, both of whom perhaps distinguished themselves in the king's southern expedition. That there must be truth in this account of the tradition can perhaps be inferred from the fact that the Telugu Chōdas are mentioned among the enemies overcome by Ganapati and from the appearance in his records of a feudatory with the title Velananti-Kulōttunga-Rajendra-Chōda-Nistāvaka * who calls himself the ornament of the family of Manma the protector of the kingdom of Jatā-Chōda. Another Telugu Chōda chief, who figures as a feudatory of Ganapati, was Mallidēva of Kandukūr in Pakanāndu who calls himself a descendant of Karikāla, and who made a grant of a village to the temple of Bhīmēśvara at Ikshugrāma, *i.e.*, the modern Peddacherukun, for the merit of king Ganapati. Yet another Telugu Chōda-chief, who found favour with the Kākatiya king, was Opilariddhi II, who had conquered Kammanandu, apparently from one of his cousins. An inscription found at Konidena in the Kistna District registers the gift of a village by this chief and states that it was made for the merit of Ganapati. The Velanandu chiefs are also said to have been overcome by the Kākatiya sovereign, and this receives confirmation from the fact that the ministers and servants of that family figure in the inscriptions of Ganapati.†

In the earlier part of his reign, *i.e.*, in the first and second decades of the 13th century A.D., Ganapati was served by his able minister Jaya (Jayana or Jayasenapati) and the king was pleased to grant to him in A.D. 1213 the village of Tamarapuri, *i.e.*, Chebrolu in the Kistna District, perhaps as a recognition of his services. This minister having repaired the temple of Pandesvara which Kulottunga-Rajendra-Gonka had built and named after his younger brother, king Ganapati made a gift of a village to it.‡ A Chebrolu record further states that Jāya built the temple of Chōdēśvara, named it after his father and gave it the village of Mrottukuru in Velanandu.§ He was also the builder

* Nos. 160 and 161 of 1899.

† No. 411 of 1893, dated in Śaka 1159 (= A.D. 1239).

‡ No. 250 of 1897.

§ No. 140 of 1897.

of another Siva temple, Ganapesvaram. The wife of Gangayasabini constructed the temple at Pushpagiri.* Ganapati's relations rendered him some kind of service or other. In A.D. 1209, the Kōta chief Kōta, who had married one of the daughters of Ganapati, reconsecrated the temple of Bhīmēsvara.† In the same year the king's sister Mēlāmbika, also called Mailālamahādevi, built and consecrated the shrine of Mēlāmbikēsvara in the Tirupurantakesvara temple.‡

About A.D. 1249-50 Ganapati had to contend against a certain Rakkesa and Damodara, the latter of whom was holding a territory to the west of the Kākatiya kingdom and commanded a powerful army. The Kayastha feudatory of Ganapati, *i.e.*, Gandapendara-gangayasabini, who was given the country between Ponangallu and Marjavadi to govern over, is reported to have conquered these chiefs. Some of the inscriptions register gifts made for the merit of Ganapati, (i) by this chief, § (ii) his minister Nāmadēva Pandita, || who built a temple at Durgi, ¶, and (iii) by the Mahāmandalēsvara Jannigadēva-mahārāja, who was governing a province of the Kākatiya dominion in the later years of Ganapati's reign.** The last mentioned personage was perhaps a successor of Gangayasabini and belonged to the Kayastha race. A Konidena record states that Bhāskaradēva was the commander of the elephant forces of Ganapati.†† About the close of his reign another general of his, who belonged to the Chalukya family, fought battles on the banks of the Godavari and took the head of a certain Gonturi-nāgadēva, ‡‡ who may be a descendant of Gonturi-Narayana (A.D. 1255) and Gonturi-odaraja (A.D. 1216) who are mentioned in the inscriptions of the Kistna District together with their ministers Rayana-Preggade and Kachana-Preggada.§§

It has already been noticed that the Kākatiya occupation of Kānchi must have taken place in or before A.D. 1249, which is the date of the Arulala-perumal inscription of Ganapati. In this attempt, the Kākatiyas should have found themselves in opposition to the Pallava rebel Perunjinga who asserted his independence in A. D. 1243 and was governing Tonḍamaṇḍalam, which he seized from the Chōlas. Though the records of Ganapati are silent as to his conflict with Perunjinga, there is distinct mention in the

* No. 304 of 1905.

|| No. 231 of 1905.

‡‡ No. 194 of 1905.

† No. 244 of 1897.

¶ No. 571 of 1909.

§§ Sewall's Lists of Antiquities, Vol. I.

‡ No. 204 of 1905.

** No. 208 of 1905.

§ Nos. 176 and 283 of 1905.

†† No. 178 of 1899.

inscriptions of the latter that he fought with the Telingar and drove them to the north. We may take this reference to mean that he contended with the Kākatiyas successfully. But the complete conquest of them was reserved for the Pandyas whose ally Perunjinga appears to have become after he was worsted by the Hoysalas.

In 1250-51 A.D. Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I ascended the throne and during his reign the Pandya kingdom, which from the end of the 12th century A.D. was slowly rising into importance from a position of insignificance, received a fresh impulse by the activities of this sovereign, who appears to have been a powerful warrior and a man of matured plans and determined intentions. By wars carried on all round with a strong army at his back, he was able vastly to extend his dominion. He it was that secured the greater part of the territory of the declining Chōla power. During his reign the Pandya kingdom reached a limit which was unknown in its previous annals. It is reported that he carried an expedition into the Telugu country and fought successfully with the Kākatiya king Ganapati and a certain Viragandagopala. The existence of his inscriptions in the northern part of the Presidency leaves no doubt that his claim to have performed the anointing of heroes and victors at Vikramasingapuram, *i.e.*, Nellore, was true. The success of the Pandyas greatly crippled the power of the Kākatiyas and resulted in their losing possession of their dominion in the Tamil country.

We shall note here a few facts of general interest concerning the reign of Ganapati. In 1241 A.D. the king remitted the taxes on certain articles of export and import* and favoured the merchants trading on the sea. In the next year Dachanapreggada-ganapaya, who seems to have been an officer of Ganapati, made a remission of tolls payable on 300 pack bullocks. No. 225 of the Epigraphist's collection for 1909 registers gifts made by Rudradeva son of the Nātavādi chief Rudradēva mahārāja and Mailala mahadevi.

In 1250 A. D. Ganapati gave to the temple at Tirupurantakam the tax on salt manufactured in that year,† and a record of 1255 A. D. states that the central shrine of Tirupurantakesvara was, under the orders of the king, built of stone by Santa Sambu, son of Visvēsvarācharya. Another work of this king was the

* No. 600 of 1909.

† No. 221 of 1905.

construction of a lake called Jagadalamummadi, *i.e.*, the Pakal lake*. From this it appears that Jagadalamummadi was one of his surnames. The Saiva ascetics belonging to the Golaki or Golagirimatha made some grants during this reign to temples. An inscription dated in Saka 1174 (= 1252 A. D.)† gives the name of one of them, *viz.*, Visvēśvarasivadēsika and states that he was the pupil of Dharmasivācharya. Another record tells us that the influence of the teachers of the *matha* extended over three lakhs of villages. In later years the members belonging to this religious institution established branches in the Tamil country, and it may be remarked that in those days *mathas* were the centres of learning.

Ganapati had no sons but only two daughters whom he called Rudramba and Ganapamba. Of these the former was born to his queen Soma, and the latter was the offspring of Bayyamambika and had married the Kōta chief Kēta, who played an important part in protecting the realm of his father-in-law. One of Ganapati's illustrious contemporary sovereigns of Northern India, Sultan Rezia of the Slave Dynasty, was a female. Seeing this instance, perhaps, the king, who had no male issue, seems to have decided long before his death to leave the kingdom in charge of Rudramba, and with this object in view he taught her all that a king should know. When we look at the admirable way in which she conducted the government of the country, we clearly see that her succession could not have been a work of pure accident, but that her father must have thought of putting her at the helm of government after his demise, and must have trained her in the art of governing, which during those troublous times was always beset with much difficulty. We may not be far wrong if we suppose that the title *Puttodadi*, which an inscription of 1269 A.D. gives her, was borne by her already during her father's lifetime to indicate that she was the queen elect of the Kākatiya dominion. We are confirmed in our view by a statement in the Prataparudriya that Ganapati seeing that he had no male issue decided that Rudramba should succeed him and gave her the male name Rudradēvamahārāja.

Rudramba was proclaimed ruler of the Kākatiya kingdom immediately after the death of Ganapati. This took place in 1261 A. D. (corresponding to Śaka 1183). During the earlier

* No. 82 of 1903.

† No. 223 of 1905.

years of this sovereign, the officers and subordinates of the late king continued to be in power. Accordingly we find mention in her records of Jannikadēva, the governor, and Bhaskaradēva, the commander of the elephant force, and some of the ministers of Ganapati.* Jannikadēva continued to be in charge of his province until 1269 A.D. or thereabout. This is gathered from an inscription† of Rudradēva dated in Śaka 1191 in the Gopinathasvami temple at Durgi (Kistna District) which states that a Brahmana consecrated that temple and that Jannikadēva was the governor. One of the records of Draksharama is dated in Śaka 1184 (=1262 A.D.) which falls in the reign of Rudramba. Here the king is called Sakalabhuvanachakravartin Avanyavanasambhaya-maharajasimha, which closely corresponds to Sakalabhuvanachakravartin Avaniyalappirandan Kopperunjinga, who, we have already stated, contended against Ganapati. It is not possible to say what kind of relationship existed between him and Rudramba. A certain Gannamarasa also called Gannama-naidu was the commander-in-chief of this Kakatiya queen in 1268 A.D.‡ The fort at Gudimatla in the Kistna District is stated to have been constructed during the reign of this sovereign by a chief named Sagi-Potaraaju and Mr. Sewell notes that an inscription of Muktiyala gives the genealogy of the Chagi (a variant of Sagi) family, which includes in it the names of Durjayā, Peta, Dhora-bhupa and another Pota. The builder of the fort may be one of the two Potas here mentioned. To the same family belonged Peddachagi, Bhima, and Manma or Manmaganapati, which the Mangalapalli inscriptions mention. One of the records of Tirupurantakam dated in Śaka 1192 (=1270 A.D.) and in the reign of Rudramba mentions a certain Srikanta Siva, who may be a teacher belonging to the Golakimatha which received much support from Ganapati. Gandapendara-Tirupurarideva maharaja, of the Kayastha family, who perhaps succeeded Jannikadeva in the office of governor, made a gift of gold ornaments and vessels to the temple at Tirupurantakam in Śaka 1194 (=1272 A. D.). In this year Ambadēvamaharaja, another member of the same family, came to power§ and exercised it till the close of the reign

* Nos. 194 and 207 of 1905 and 178 of 1899.

† Sewell's lists of Antiquities, Vol. I.

‡ See Sewell's lists of Antiquities under Peddavaram.

§ No. 163 of 1905.

of Rudramba, *i.e.*; until 1291 A.D. The capital of this governor was Kandikota-manorathapura. Seeing perhaps that the Kākatiya dominion was now under the sway of a female ruler, a few chiefs began to disturb the peace and they were successfully dealt with by Ambadēva. This chief conquered Sripati-Ganapati and assumed the title of Rajasahasramalla; defeated Eruvamallideva; subdued Kesava, Svamideva, and Alluganga; brought under subjection Damodara and a certain Mallikarjuna, who is declared to be an enemy of the Brahmanas and gods; and destroyed Kadavaraya. At Vikramasingapura, *i.e.*, Nellore, he established Manmagandagopala, who was dispossessed of his kingdom. Thus it is clear that Rudramba found able supporters in the persons of her governors Jannigadēva, Tirupurari-devamaharaja and Ambadevamaharaja. But for the few disturbances, which were also easily put down, her reign was a very powerful one. It was during the close of Rudramba's rule that the Venetian traveller Marco Polo visited the coast at Mottupalli near the mouth of the River Kistna. We have his testimony as regards the benefits conferred on the country by this remarkable lady. He says that the country was for forty years under the sway of the queen, a lady of much discretion. He assures us that during all that space of forty years she administered her realm as well as her predecessors did or better, and as she was a lover of justice, equity and peace, she was more beloved by those of her kingdom than ever was lady or lord of theirs before. If there is any truth in that part of the traveller's statement about the length of Rudramba's reign, which he says was forty years, we have to believe that she was nominated for succession nearly ten years before the actual demise of Ganapati, for we know that she came to the throne in 1261-62 A.D., and reigned for a period of thirty years, *i.e.*, till 1291-92 A.D., which is the earliest date of her successor Prataparudra. Our inference in this respect made in a previous paragraph receives confirmation here. And I would add one word more before closing the history of this distinguished lady sovereign of Southern India, that we shall be doing her an injustice if we suppose, in the face of this unsolicited testimony of a contemporary writer, that the Kākatiya kingdom was growing weak or that her rule was not a peaceful one.

(To be concluded.)

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

NOT the least dramatic event of the war has been the brilliant success of General Botha and his gallant men in German South-west Africa. The spectacle of Botha leading Briton and Boer to victory against a common foe is a striking testimony to the colonising instinct of Britain. The granting of self-government to South Africa almost at the close of the war was an act of daring, but the trust reposed in an honourable foe has been more than justified. South-west Africa is the oldest of the German colonies and contained large numbers of Germans. On 12th May, Windhuk the capital was captured, but the opposition still continued. By great sweeping movements such as the South Africans delight in Botha rounded up the enemy, and after brilliant strategy, and marvellous endurance, they secured the complete and unconditional surrender of the German army.

THERE have been many mutterings of peace proposals from different sources. Sometimes they are reported as coming from the Pope, sometimes from Roman Catholic cardinals in America. The most astounding declaration, which cannot, however, be called a peace proposal, is the utterance attributed to the Kaiser, that the war will end in October. *The Times* intimates from information received from Germany that a deputation of Berlin bankers had insisted on an interview with the Emperor to point out the financial difficulties of the situation and the grave risks that would be run by continuing the campaign through another winter. They are alleged to have stated that if the war were prolonged the German Empire would become utterly bankrupt. To these representations the Emperor is understood to have announced the end of the war in October. We give the statement and the *Times*' explanation of it because it has excited not a little interest, but we place no weight upon either the one or the other. Much as we long for peace we can see no evidence that it is near at hand. Nor should we wish an inconclusive peace which would be the prelude to an era of militarism. The peace we desire is one in which the nations "shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks."

IN the middle of July the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that the total amount of money contributed to the new War Loan was £585,000,000. Five hundred and fifty thousand persons subscribed

through the Bank of England for £570,000,000, while five hundred and forty-seven thousand subscribed through the Post Office for £15,000,000. It is a magnificent total, larger by far than any amount ever subscribed in the history of the world. Nothing could show more clearly the absolute confidence of rich and poor alike in the stability of the British Empire, and their determination to uphold it. The loan has been a remarkable testimony to the financial ability of Mr. McKenna. His welcome as the successor of Mr. Lloyd George was by no means warm, but he has vindicated Mr. Asquith's choice, and as *The Spectator* says "to-day he stands high in the good opinion of his countrymen."

The August number of our contemporary *Conference*, which is always interesting reading, has the following note on the present situation, with which many will agree :—

Looking back on the three months that have passed since our last number appeared, we are led to regard two facts of the situation as the most worthy of note. The first is our growing realisation of the formidable nature of the task with which the Allies are confronted. We seem to have an almost inveterate habit of despising our enemies, whether they be Zulus, Afghans, Boers or anything else, until painful experiences have taught us wisdom. We may not have despised Germany as a fighting power at the beginning of the war, but few of us imagined that her preparations had been so elaborate. It now seems to be recognised that the German army with which we are fighting is the most highly organised military machine that the world has ever seen. It is amazing how with two nations hammering at her Western frontier Germany seems able to throw unlimited masses of men and munitions against the invader on the East, and at the same time to spare as many officers as are needed for the defence of Constantinople. It is an amazing performance. It does not in the least make us doubt that the victory will ultimately be ours, but it compels us to brace ourselves for even a harder and longer effort than at first seemed necessary.

We do not doubt that the victory will ultimately be on our side, just for the old, familiar reason—

Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just,
And he but naked, though locked up in steel,
Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted.

The exposure of the moral nakedness of Germany has been the other most prominent fact of the quarter. If it were only with injustice that she is corrupted we might be thankful, but we have had in the Report of Lord Bryce and his Committee a revelation of a barbarism, a cruelty, and an indecency that are without parallel in the annals of civilised warfare. And as if to remove any doubt as to the possibility of such things we have had, as it were before our eyes, the sinking of the *Lusitania*. We now know what to expect if Germany wins. Our wives and families will be treated with no more consideration than were the poor women and children in the *Lusitania*. We are fighting a people who are guilty of wilful and deliberate murder of

the most cowardly kind, of innocent people who had no means of defending themselves. Not only does the end of the war seem remote, but the prospect of being able after the war to resume friendly terms with Germany is becoming more faint than ever. Germany will be beaten and humiliated, but, as we have said before, the only hope of a permanent peace seems to us to lie in the direct intervention of God, who alone can bring Germany to true repentance and give her a new heart. For this let our prayers like a fountain rise to God by day and night. Let the Church of God rise to the height of her opportunity and the world may soon learn that the arm of God is not shortened that it cannot save. It is a comfort to remember that every one of us, a priest unto God through Jesus Christ, can have a share in this ministry of intercession. Germany needs our prayers even more than the victims of her cruelty.

THE Women's War Pageant in London, in July, was a remarkable demonstration. Tens of thousands marched in procession through West London before their deputation waited on Mr. Lloyd George. It expressed in the most vivid way their desire, indeed their demand, to be permitted to share in the making of munitions and other war material. The most striking feature was the pageant of the Allies. According to *The Times* "it was headed by a girl wearing a Grecian robe of white fringed with gold, and carrying a trophy composed of the flags of the nations at war with Germany. Behind her came native representatives of the allied countries. The place of honour was given to Belgium. The soul of that martyred, but unconquerable land was vividly typified by a tall slender lady dressed in mourning, with a purple veil bound round her head and flowing in a long streamer behind. She carried aloft the flag of her country, torn and tattered, but still beautiful in its colours of black, yellow and red. She walked barefoot through the slush of the roadways, and on her delicate face there was a moving expression of pride and sorrow. Then came a striking contrast in France, represented by a pleasant-looking young girl, who walked with a swagger in her tricolor frock and her red cap of liberty, and charmed the crowd with her merry smiles. The other allies followed—Russia, Japan, Italy, Serbia and Montenegro—a most picturesque group in their varied peasant costumes. A girl in white typified England, and in attendance upon her were three women, one wearing the kilt and tartan of Scotland, another the high conical hat of Wales, and the other the red colleen cloak and green dress of Ireland.

For the rest the parade consisted of tens of thousands of women carrying streamers which worked out a brilliant coloured scheme of many sections of red, white, and blue, interspersed with numbers of large banners bearing inscriptions."

The deputation was cordially received by Mr. Lloyd George, who promised to utilize the services of everybody prepared to assist.

GOVERNMENT reports are always presumably of interest to some, though often to an extremely limited circle, but Dr. Henderson's report of the Museum and connected institutions makes its appeal to large numbers. So far as visitors go 1914-15 shows a distinct fall from the previous year, the figures being 347,233 as against 448,489, the great decrease being manifestly due to the visit of the *Emden*, and probably also to the unhealthy cold weather. If we count every day of the year, Sundays included, there is thus a daily average of visitors from 950 in a bad year to 1,200 in a good year. On Kannu Pongal, the 16th of January, the visitors reach the enormous total of 70,000, what is the explanation of these remarkable figures? It can hardly be the scientific interest. Probably for years past the Museum has become the great picnic resort of Madras and its visitors. Even as a source of enjoyment in a city by no means liberally provided with healthy sources of amusement it thus becomes a valuable agency, and it at the same time possesses a considerable educational value. Among the interesting finds of the year are four Roman gold coins found in the Guntur District. They are coins of the Emperors Nero and Trajan, and of the Empress Faustina the elder, and thus date from the first and second centuries A.D. Trajan and Faustina coins are very rare in South India, only two of each having been previously discovered.

It is noteworthy that the *Emden* scare did not affect the number of readers in the Connemara Library, the number having risen from 19,474 in 1913-14 to 20,412 in 1914-15. These figures and the valuable detailed numbers of books taken out under the different subjects prove the existence of a large reading public in Madras. Leaving out of account the 7,200 references to dictionaries and encyclopaedias, we note that Belles Lettres and History have each over 5,000 issues, religious books over 1,800 and philology over 1,300. When it is remembered that excellent College libraries exist for the benefit of students and are very largely used, and that the Madras Literary Society library has also a wide circulation, it is evident that the reading public of Madras is much wider than is popularly supposed.

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

Anglo-Indian Poetry. By P. Seshadri, M.A. Madras: Srinivasa Varadachari and Co.

MR. SESHADRI has already shown his interest in Anglo-Indian poetry by his edition of Leyden's poems, which we reviewed in these columns a short time ago. The present booklet is a reprint of a lecture which he gave, under the auspices of the Madras Literary Society, early this year. The lecture, though marked here and there by a straining after 'fine writing,' shows an extensive knowledge of the subject.

English Poetry for Young Students. By W. T. Webb, M.A. London: Macmillan and Co. Price one shilling net.

THE aim of this useful little book is to 'present the young student with a kind of bird's-eye view, in chronological order, of English Poetry from Elizabethan times to our own.' The selection has been made with care and judgment, and is not confined to stock extracts, but includes poems like Southwell's *Times Go by Turns*, Habington's *Teaching of the Stars*, T. E. Brown's *The Organist in Heaven* and Walter De La Mare's *The Listeners*.

Any book which will help to wean the Indian student from the pernicious habit of learning off 'gobbets' of Saintsbury or Lang by heart with little or no acquaintance with the writings of the poets themselves is to be welcomed; and we think that both Intermediate and B. A. students might do worse than study the extracts given in Mr. Webb's book.

Studies and Critiques. By M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, B.A., L.T. Madras: P. R. Rama Iyer and Co. Price one rupee.

THE author is principal of a coaching establishment in Madras, and the book argues a fairly extensive acquaintance with English Literature. It includes essays on William Morris, Austin, Tennyson, Browning, Tupper, Stevenson, Swinburne, Meredith, Gissing, G. B. Shaw, Bridges and others, which have been contributed by Mr. Purnalingam Pillai to various Indian magazines and are 'here published in book form in the hope that they will be of some use to students of literature.'

Some of the more obvious mistakes might easily be rectified by a careful revision of the second edition, which we hope will reward Mr. Purnalingam's enthusiasm for the study of the more modern English writers.

LITERARY NOTES.

PRESIDENT C. W. ELIOT, of Harvard, one of the most distinguished publicists in the United States, has published a noteworthy volume of essays under the title, *The Road towards Peace* (Constable, 4s. 6d. nett). It is of interest not only as a contribution towards the settlement we all desire to see after the war, but as a manifestation of the deep sympathy felt in America for the cause of Britain and her Allies.

A SUGGESTIVE study of the forces at work in Russian history is *Russia and Democracy*, by G. de Wesselitsky, published by Heinemann (1s. nett). It may help the reader to understand the paradox that the autocrat of all the Russias is yet the People's Tsar, a factor of first-rate importance in the present war. For the future of the world, a better mutual understanding between England and Russia is greatly to be desired; and to that result this little book may contribute.

The Book of France is a remarkable volume, containing contributions from many of the most distinguished men and women in the world of letters, French and English alike, and published in aid of the French Parliamentary Committee's Fund for the Relief of the Invaded Departments. As the task of publication and the newspaper advertisements have been gratuitous, the purchaser has the satisfaction of knowing that the profits from his five shillings will go entirely to the fund; and as all the French items are translated by prominent English writers, the language need be no obstacle.

AT a time when almost all the larger histories are the fruit of collaboration, many authors sometimes combining to produce a single volume, it is interesting to find an example of the one-man work on a fairly large scale. Mr. A. D. Innes has now completed, with his fourth volume, *A History of England and of the British Empire* (Rivingtons). He is no Macaulay, but he has produced a book which should prove very serviceable in schools and colleges, as well as to lay readers who hesitate to grapple with the larger works of specialists.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE EDITOR, CHRISTIAN COLLEGE MAGAZINE,

SIR,

In the Christian College Magazine for July, 1915 your reviewer of a Reader for Indian schools finds fault with a photograph and suggests that it is likely to perpetuate faulty pronunciation of certain English sounds. I recognise that it is difficult to give a clear photograph of the position of the tongue in the pronunciation of *t*, *l*, and *n*, but I think that the reviewer by a study of the Teachers' Book might first have discovered whether he was justified in his accusation. The photos, he says, suggest that the pronunciation of *t*, *l*, and *n* is equivalent to Tamil *த*, *ல*, *ன*. In the Teachers' Book it is stated that in the pronunciation of these sounds in English, the point of the tongue is pressed against the gums just above the upper teeth and that the sounds *approximate* to Tamil *த*, *ல*, *ன*, and are *unlike* Tamil *த*, *ல*, *ன*.

R. W. ROSS.

SCIENCE NOTES.

ONE year ago in the pages of "Nature" occurred a letter from the late Mr. Lydekker of the British Museum concerning the horn sheaths of the okapi. In a recent number of the same magazine Dr. Cuthbert Christy, the sender of the specimen (who has just reached London after three years collecting in the Congo), writes to explain how the mistake arose.

THE okapi discovered by Sir Harry Johnston some twelve years ago, when Governor of Uganda, is one of our latest known mammals and at the same time most interesting. Few specimens have been obtained, but those first sent to Europe undoubtedly had horns but no horn sheaths. With the specimen forwarded by Mr. Christy two horn sheaths were found, and though Sir Ray Lankester at once said they could not belong to an okapi, Mr. Lydekker and others assumed that they might. It now turns out that the horn sheaths packed with the okapi belonged to a young water buck and had been placed in the wrong box and labelled as belonging to the okapi.

FROM the zoological point of view the extreme interest of the whole occurrence simply lies in the fact that the okapi is probably the

progenitor of the giraffe, or at least both giraffe and okapi are of the same stock and cannot have horn sheaths which belong to antelopes. When therefore the extraordinary statement got abroad that the giraffe-like horns of an okapi had bony sheaths resembling those of a young buck a great deal of attention was aroused. With the return to London of the sender of the specimen, the explanation has been got and the okapi proved to be far removed from the antelopes.

FOR some time past Dr. Jean White of the prickly-pear station at Dulacca, Queensland, has been experimenting with a view to finding a convenient means of eradicating *Opuntia*. Two methods were tried—(1) chemicals, (2) introduction of cochineal. Of these the first is the better, because the beetles have no effect at all on the common local species, *Opuntia inermis* and *O. aurantiaca*, which are protected by a layer of subcutaneous cells containing calcium oxalate. Of the various chemicals tried only those containing arsenic seem to be of any use, while the gas, arsenic trichloride, appears to be most promising. The estimated cost of clearing out the plant is some fifteen shillings per acre. Part of the expense incurred can be returned by selling the plants destroyed for commercial purposes such as the making of potash or of industrial alcohol.

BULLETIN No. 5 of the Department of Fisheries, Bengal, by Mr. T. Southwell, is rather interesting because it gives a history of the Department since its commencement in 1906, when Sir K. Gupta, then about to retire from the I. C. S., was ordered to inquire into the fisheries of Bengal. This official admitted that he knew nothing of fish and that he had not even done anything with rod and line. The result was that a Fishery Department was ultimately formed consisting of two Directors of Agriculture, whose knowledge of Fisheries was entirely of an administrative nature, of a Deputy Director, Mr. Southwell himself, a trained Zoologist, and two Superintendents of Fisheries, one of whom was a Calcutta M. A. in light and acoustics and the other a "failed B. A." of the same university. Such is the staff now proceeding to investigate the Bengal Fisheries.

Ancient Hunters and their Modern Representatives, by Dr. W. J. Sollas, first published four years ago, has reached its second edition, in which the author has incorporated accounts of the most recent discoveries concerning prehistoric man. Prof. Sollas had anticipated the discovery of *Eoanthropus* "as an almost necessary stage in the course of human development." It is very interesting to find that he disagrees with the opinion of Dr. Smith Woodward regarding the antiquity and

the size of the brain of Mr. Dawson's find, assigning as he does this human form to the "latter half of the Pleistocene" and giving the cranial capacity as "at least 1070 cc.," whereas Dr. Smith Woodward considers *Eoanthropus* to belong to the earlier Pleistocene and the cranial capacity to be 1300 cc. Dr. Sollas favours the older opinion that man made his first appearance at a comparatively recent date in the history of this earth of ours.

ON May 25th, during a severe thunderstorm near Gibraltar a cloud is said to have burst, liberating thousands of small frogs. Showers of frogs, fishes, snails and worms of various kinds have been recorded in the past, but usually in such cases the animals have not descended from the clouds but have been merely liberated on the earth by the water and appeared after the rain fell. In this particular instance, however, it seems that the tiny frogs actually were in the cloud, to which they had apparently been caught up by a whirlwind from a lake some twenty miles away.

THE chemical laboratory is able to provide quite a number of poisonous gases, but for practical purposes the Germans find that the suitable gas must possess the following qualities: (1) it must be much heavier than atmospheric air, (2) it must be producible in large quantity either as liquid or solid which may rapidly become a vapour, (3) it must not be very soluble in water, else much would be lost when rolling over moist ground.

Observers have repeatedly noted the red colour of the approaching fumes. This colour indicates either bromine or nitrogen peroxide. Again the colour has been described as green or yellow, green denoting chlorine, which may have been mixed with bromine at times. Phosgene has been suggested, as also sulphur dioxide. Of these bromine is naturally a liquid at ordinary temperatures; nitrogen peroxide is costly to manufacture on a large scale; chlorine, phosgene and sulphur dioxide have been for some time on the market in the liquid form.

Recently it was stated that the Germans when fighting the Russians sprinkled a white powder on straw which they then lit, producing a suffocating vapour. It seems likely that this white powder was the chlorides of sulphur, phosphorus or arsenic, all of which are poisonous. Fortunately all these agents can be prevented from taking effect by the simple process of wearing a pad thoroughly soaked in a strong alkali such as sodium thiosulphate, the familiar "hypo" of the photographer.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE July number of the *Contemporary Review* opens with an article entitled 'The Temper of the People,' by the Right Hon. C. F. G. Masterman. Mr. Masterman's article is intended to be a reply to the many accusations that have been brought against the British people in regard to their attitude to the war by a certain section of the press which has sought to belittle the efforts that Britain has put forth in order to push some nostrum such as military conscription or the regimentation of labour. Mr. Masterman is ready to admit that without a reasonable amount of freedom, criticism that is both useful and just might be stifled; but he holds that those critics who write to push a policy or create a sensation, or who are merely animated by the inevitable itch for expression, should realise the incalculable injury which they are doing to their country in this crisis. They have created, he says, an encouragement to its enemies and an amazement and contempt among neutrals and non-combatants, and they have even excited the disquietude of friends. Further, they have innocently or deliberately chosen to propagate a falsehood; and have created a fog and miasma behind which foreign observers find it difficult to apprehend the spirit and temper of the British people.

Mr. Masterman first examines how the matter stands in regard to the armies that have been raised. And in this connexion he remarks that the advocates of conscription, even if honest and patriotic persons, have been led astray through ignorance of the British people. Their accepted formula before the war was that Britain could never raise more than half a million men for overseas service. What has happened? The most wonderful army the world has ever seen has come into being—some three millions of men, all in the prime of manhood, all having chosen to serve, not for the protection of their own homes, but in foreign lands, a cause which they believe to be just. This army is educated and intelligent as no British army has ever been before, and it has grown to its present dimensions without ostentation or display. The motives by which the individuals who compose it have been actuated are many and various; but in Mr. Masterman's belief it is a "Grand Army" which will continue the work it has begun until that work is completed.

What next of those who have stayed behind, and of whose apathy and indifference so much has been heard? As to this Mr. Masterman says it can be definitely asserted that it would be difficult to find one

family which is not in some manner contributing through money or service to the welfare of the cause. If the nation's contributions of money and service are reckoned up, and if to these are added the personal efforts made on behalf of individuals, friends or unknown soldiers, or civilians in misfortune, the charges of indifference and of unwillingness to make sacrifice may be dismissed with contempt and the indignation which such gross calumny deserves. But baffled in this direction the people's accusers, Mr. Masterman says, turn in another. The working people, they say, are solely concerned with their own selfish interests, threatening or even making strikes in industries which are essential to the army and the fleet, expending their increased wages in lassitude and drink. How far, asks Mr. Masterman, is this a true picture of industrial Britain, and how far an imperfect and unjust deduction from what has happened in a small number of districts and in trades of special difficulty such as shipbuilding and engineering on the Clyde and part of the Tyne? There has been a belief, he says, among workmen that some employers and traders are making enormous profits out of the national necessity; and nothing rouses them to greater indignation than to be asked to work harder, to work overtime, to exercise unusual temperance and restraint, and to abandon their customary pleasures in order to bring fortunes to private individuals. The workmen, skilled and unskilled, Mr. Masterman says, have responded magnificently to the Government, and wherever they are assured that they are not being exploited they are willing to do their very best.

The general conclusion arrived at by Mr. Masterman is that the temper of the British people is a temper that will endure to the end, however long the end may be delayed, but the temper of a people loving peace, fighting for and longing for peace.

Mr. A. P. Nicholson deals with the late Ministerial crisis and its causes. He thinks that one of the factors that contributed to the Prime Minister's decision may have been the international situation. The uneasiness which had been created in England by the hanging up of the Dardanelles campaign had been reflected in high circles in France, and things were at a very critical stage in Italy. In these circumstances the formation of the coalition, including the change at the Admiralty, was reassuring to our allies. It seemed to many Liberals to be a failure of their efforts in the cause of progress, but Mr. Nicholson is not of opinion that democracy forfeited its birthright because at a critical juncture it permitted a change of Government in order to give a greater measure of confidence to our allies. As regards the question of munitions and the apparently contradictory statements of Ministers regarding it, he says it is plain that we have been manufac-

turing material and munitions on an enormous scale for our allies and that if it were in the public interest to give the total output a different complexion would probably be put on these statements. But a public belief that the army was short of the necessary shells had been created, debate in the House of Commons was threatened, and there was the trouble at the Admiralty, and proposals for a coalition began to be discussed. Mr. Nicholson is of opinion that after Lord Fisher's resignation the Prime Minister came to his decision on his own responsibility. He discusses the question of a Middle Party, the idea of which goes back to the constitutional conference of 1910. In conclusion he notes that at the present time there is no bond between parties except the prosecution of the war to a successful issue.

Dr. Dillon deals with the situation in the Balkan States and the likelihood of their entering the war. Italy's decision, he says, has led people to ask whether, since Roumania and Bulgaria and to a lesser extent Greece occupy positions, pursue aims, and are menaced by dangers similar to those which moved the Italian people to declare war against the would-be masters of Europe, these states will not follow the example set them. The temptation is strong to argue from Italy to Roumania, and to assume that what happened in the former country will repeat itself in the latter. The conditions are too disparate to make this legitimate. In Roumania the masses are mostly uneducated, bereft of political rights, inert. Their one idea is to obtain possession of the land they till; and for political interests or high international ideals they have no understanding. The classes that think and feel and burn to act are high-minded and unselfish and would gladly help their country to take a part in the higher and nobler life of the race. But their activity is as yet confined to words. The power is in the hands of parliamentarians who live in a different atmosphere and are accessible only to motives of another order. Since the death of King Carol, Dr. Dillon says, John Bratiano has been practically the ruler of Roumania; and Roumania's position as laid down by him is that the choice between war and neutrality must be determined solely by the balance of territorial advantages offered by each. The mistake must not be repeated which was made at the time of the Russo-Turkish War. Dr. Dillon characterises Roumania's demands as not immoderate, but he is of opinion that if she delays accepting the terms that are offered to her by the Allies she runs the risk of getting much less than she might now have, like some of the other neutral states of Europe. She does not seem to realise that if the war were to end in the defeat of the Allies she would become the vassal of Germany whether she enters the conflict or not.

As regards the position of Bulgaria, Dr. Dillon says that economically Bulgaria is a tributary of Austria and Germany, and that German influence is strong in her army. Of Ferdinand he has little good to say. During the past five or six months he has insidiously contrived to intimidate Greece and Roumania and to keep them from joining the allies. But for him, Dr. Dillon believes, Bulgaria would long ago have resumed her place among the Balkan States, Turkey would never have dared to declare war, or if she had, the Dardanelles would have been forced, Constantinople captured, and tens of thousands of valuable lives spared. Of the present attitude of Greece Dr. Dillon speaks in very scathing terms. He hopes that M. Venizelos will be sent back to office to complete the work which he began.

Mr. Thomas Okey contributes a short article on Sidney Sonnino, whom he characterises as the greatest Italian Foreign Minister since Cavour. The son of a British mother and himself a Protestant, Baron Sonnino is descended on the paternal side from an old Tuscan family of Hebrew origin. He began at eighteen years of age to qualify himself for political life, and his ministerial career commenced in 1893 when Signor Crispi made him Minister of Finance. He has been twice Premier, but he seems to lack many of the gifts necessary in a successful leader of men, and on each occasion he held office only for a hundred days. Nevertheless, Mr. Okey remarks, no recent Italian Minister had a greater influence for good than Baron Sonnino on Italian legislation.

Mr. E. D. Morel gives an interesting account of the foundation of "the Union of Democratic Control," its objects, and the methods by which it is prosecuting those objects. The members of this Union believe that the ordeal of war as a method of determining disputes between civilised states has become an absurdity and a criminal absurdity. They believe that it is a criminal absurdity because they do not believe that it is able to provide a solution for any single problem or combination of problems which may give rise from time to time to international friction. They seek to permeate the public mind with that belief by every means in their power.

The Union of Democratic Control, Mr. Morel says, has adopted the following four propositions as the backbone of its constitution:—

(1) No province shall be transferred from one Government to another without the consent, by plebiscite or otherwise, of the population of such province.

(2) No treaty, arrangement or undertaking shall be entered into in the name of Great Britain without the sanction of Parliament. Adequate machinery for ensuring democratic control of foreign policy shall be created.

(3) The foreign policy of Great Britain shall not be aimed at

creating alliances for the purpose of maintaining the balance of power, but shall be directed to concerted action between the Powers and the setting up of an International Council whose deliberations and decisions shall be public, with such machinery for securing international agreement as shall be the guarantee of an abiding peace.

(4) Great Britain shall propose as a part of the peace settlement a plan for the drastic reduction, by consent, of the armaments of all the belligerent powers, and to facilitate that policy shall attempt to secure the nationalisation of the manufacture of armaments and the control of the export of armaments by one country to another.

Mr. Alfred Scholfield contributes an interesting account of German South-West Africa. He believes that given a peace favourable to Britain, German South-West Africa is bound to be absorbed in the Union, and he calls attention to certain conditions that will have to be fulfilled if the acquisition of this new Province by the Union is to be for the good of South Africa. Incidentally he notes the great work that is being done among the natives of South Africa by the missionary societies. He has no belief in the isolation of the native races.

'Russia's Three Strong Leads' is the title of an article by Bishop Bury, who calls attention to the lead which Russia has given to the other belligerent nations and particularly to England in the treatment of prisoners, the abolition of the manufacture and sale of vodka, and the carrying on of the war in a religious spirit. M. Claire de Pratz describes the wonderful change that has come over Paris and the French people since the outbreak of the war. In an article entitled 'The Faith that is in us' Mr. Edward Jenks deals with the fallacy that Government rests on physical force, and points out the essential difference between the Gospel of Freedom which is believed in by British statesmen and the Gospel of Force which is the foundation principle in the Prussian system of Government. The Rev. John Macaskill writes on 'Intellect and Intuition,' showing that Bradley and Bergson in their revolt from the over-intellectualism which has been one result of the Hegelian movement, have both gone to the opposite extreme and committed themselves to over-actualism, which is fraught with danger of another kind. Mr. M. J. Landa writes on 'Bohemia and the War;' the Princess Kropotkin on 'Intensive Farming in Flanders;' and Mr. J. E. G. Montmorency, in the Literary Supplement, on 'The Paths of Glory.' The number concludes with the usual reviews of books.

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

PERHAPS the most interesting article in the *Nineteenth Century* is 'Alcohol: What it does to us and what we ought to do with it,' by Sir Lauder Brunton.

In small quantities alcohol is a stimulant, enabling a man to draw on his reserves ; in larger quantities and later, it is a narcotic. A whip in the hands of a jockey may win the race if applied just before the winning-post, the subsequent exhaustion is of no moment. If used too soon, exhaustion would set in, the horse would answer less and less to the whip, and the race would be hopelessly lost. Professor Parkes in his report 'On the Issue of a Spirit Ration during the Ashanti Campaign of 1874,' says 'The first effect of alcohol, when given in a moderate dose (for example, what is equal to one fluid ounce of absolute alcohol), is reviving but the effect is transient. The reviving effect goes off after, at the utmost, two and a half miles of additional march and sometimes much before this ; then the previous languor and sense of exhaustion not only return, but are sometimes more intense, and if alcohol is again resorted to, its effects are now less satisfactory. Its reviving power is usually not so marked, and only its peculiar anaesthetic and narcotising influence can be distinctly traced. The men feel heavy, dull, disinclined to march, and are less willing and cheerful. It appears to me, therefore, that spirits, as an issue, should be kept for emergencies, as when after great fatigue a sudden but short exertion is required, or when, a march being ended, there is great depression and failure of the heart's action, such as occurs when men have been thoroughly wetted during an exhausting march.'

Alcohol may enable a man to draw on his mental reserves : a tired journalist may be enabled to write a leading article. Fainting or collapse, due to a temporary depression of the circulation, may sometimes be averted or removed.

During exposure to external cold, the vessels of the skin contract so that the blood is not allowed to reach the surface. Alcohol, undoes this action, and so is dangerous if the cold is severe or long-continued. It may be of use when the person has entered a warm room, for the contracted vessels may keep out the external heat.

When a man is too tired to eat or to digest, a small dose of alcohol may give him strength and appetite to perform these functions ; and sleeplessness from over-fatigue may be similarly dispelled.

The stimulant and narcotic effects of alcohol may co-exist. (Reaction time experiments show that the subject does things more slowly and worse, though his feeling is one of great activity. The novelist, William Black, found that a glass of sherry took the fine edge off his intellect ; he seemed to write more fluently, quickly and eloquently, but the manuscript would not stand criticism next morning.) Most of those who take alcohol only reach, or do not reach, this incipient narcotic stage, and, indeed, with very weak forms it may not be possible to get further. The effects of the drink depend, too, on the

other constituents. Absinthe contains oil of wormwood, and a strong dose will produce convulsions. In beer, hops have a tonic effect in small doses and a soporific in large. Wines owe their bouquet to ethers, and 'Some wines are combative and tend to produce fights, while others are soothing and tend to produce affection and love.' It is probably the aldehydes, not the fusel oil, in raw whisky that make it so mischievous.

With a full dose of alcohol, there is a stage of excitement. Of this and the subsequent stage, Sir Lauder Brunton remarks, 'A man under the influence of alcohol may appear better or worse than in his sober moments. If his sympathy and compassion are excited he may give liberally to a charitable appeal; indeed he may give far more than he can well afford. If he is excited by playing games of chance, he may gamble so recklessly as to lose everything he possesses. If his anger is roused by some chance word or supposed insult, he may quarrel with, strike, or even kill his best friend. He may be led by his excited and unrestrained sexual passion to wreck the life of some heedless girl, or to fall a victim to disease which may not only cause him life-long repentance, but may inflict years of weakness and pain on the innocent woman who is, or may afterwards be, his wife.'

'It is the fatal facility which alcohol gives to a man for drawing upon his reserves, making him feel stronger, wiser, and happier for the time, that constitutes its chief danger.' Larger doses are needed to produce the required effect and the absence of full control may come to extend over the whole life. The man has less inclination to work and less ability to do good work.

To prevent these evils, prohibition would be of little service. It would be evaded, whether by illicit supplies, or by more dangerous substitutes. Spirits and strong wines should not be taken except during a meal; and the hours at which public houses are allowed to sell them should be severely restricted. Beer is in a somewhat different position, but for quenching the continuous thirst of very hot weather or a hot occupation oatmeal and water is best. The facilities for obtaining liquor should be diminished; the remark 'I can pass two public-houses, but I can't pass a dozen' is one to be remembered. For young men other and better occupations should be provided and those under twenty-one should not be served. To women especially, restaurants of the Continental type, but not supplying alcoholic drinks, would be a boon; in the summer, they should afford the advantages of the open air, in the winter of light and warmth. The best counter attraction, however, is the home; and the education of girls for domestic life and particularly in cooking is a sovereign remedy.

After all, the cause of drinking is selfishness of one sort or another, and the cure is in a discipline, such as the Boy Scouts', which inculcates communal feelings. It is the fault of our education that the breadwinner disregards his wife and children, that the wife has not the pride she should have in good housekeeping, that the children grow up without a sense of obligation to their elders and to the community.

Lord Killanin makes a praiseworthy attempt to diagnose the condition of Ireland. Bishop Berkeley two centuries ago thought it advisable to give no more explicit expression to his views than a long list of questions, some of which are as apt to-day. 'Whether it be not delightful to complain?' 'Whose fault is it that poor Ireland still remains poor?'

For practical purposes the only thing to do with Irish history is to forget it and past bitterness with it; the sentimental person and the theorist are both dangerous. But the past is more living in Ireland than it is in more active countries, and we cannot understand the situation without a glance at it. Religion, art, and learning flourished in the golden age, the three centuries after St. Patrick. Then came the Danes, who were not finally repulsed till the battle of Clontarf in 1014; but this victory was followed by continual internal struggles till Ireland was 'a trembling sod.' The attempts of the Anglo-Normans were not productive of order. Under the Tudors and James 'the great plantations were ruthlessly executed, and Ireland became the prey of every sort of rapacious adventurer and profligate, and most of the countryside was ravaged and laid waste—man and beast, corn and house, and all means of human subsistence being destroyed The congested districts of the West of Ireland are directly due to the Cromwellian Settlement, when the Catholic landowners in Ulster and Munster and Leinster were driven out of their homes and banished to Connaught, which was formally assigned for the habitation of the Irish nation Under such conditions of persecution and plunder did the native inhabitants of Ireland drag on a miserable existence, and is it surprising that the character and conduct of their descendants—especially when they have no fresh, vigorous life and aims to engage them and to change them—are largely the outcome of these ominous historical antecedents.' In the eighteenth century the Penal Code and the restrictions on Irish industries and trade were prominent. It is not surprising if law is not properly revered in Ireland to-day, when for so long it was an instrument of oppression and persecution.

When Mr. Balfour was Chief Secretary things began to improve. Peasant proprietorship has abolished several grievances. 'The ages of

injustice and tyranny have left their mark in a spirit of discontent and insubordination, which still vents itself sporadically in all sorts of desperate ways—treason, outrage, lawlessness, murder, conspiracy, rebellion—and there sometimes appear, too, in official and business relations, an astonishing trickery and dishonesty, which as having been until recently the only means of defence the people had against unfair treatment, have not yet come to be looked upon as wrong by their perpetrators. . . . The Irish are so warped and distraught by the past as hardly to know their own interests now, and traditional complaints and attitudes, persisting after their causes have been removed, are having a belated, anachronous career as sheer prejudices. . . . With this dark historical background it will always be difficult to light the stage; excellent and numerous as are the modern improvements, an awful gloom, ghostly and treacherous, pervades the scene behind."

Geographically, Ireland is unfortunate—in climate, resources, situation; size. Though surrounded by the sea, the Irish are not a seafaring people. Ireland is isolated and trade passes it by for larger and denser communities. More than a third of it is bog and water; the rivers forget to run into the sea. In the Ice Age the whole country was denuded of the valuable strata, the coal-measures for instance. The wetness of the climate makes tillage impossible, but the flat alluvial meadows and grassy uplands are admirably adapted for the rearing of stock of all kinds. The country should consist of cattle-ranches and sheep-walks and horse-farms, with the attendant industries—creameries, woollen mills, abattoirs, tanyards, training establishments.

These historical and geographical facts, rather than race or religion, account for the temper of the people. 'And so is it that the Irish are indolent and despondent, wayward and contradictory, discontented and restless, bombastic and futile, turning this way and that from their present bleak and barren surroundings, now back to the dead past and reputed glories, and now forward to the unborn future and predicted triumphs.'

A cumulative loss of confidence in anything resulting from their labours has made them all dislike work of every sort and avoid it as much as possible: it is mere drudgery; and most employment there (as the emissaries of the Insurance Act have been discovering) is casual. This helps also to explain why the Irish are so addicted to politics and public life; and this in turn keeps them from devoting thought to anything else. The excitements and contests of public life have grown into an end in themselves. It is distinctly unnatural for an Irishman not to like being in a row. An Irishman always hopes that, whether

things actually go wrong or not, there will at any rate be ructions over them. And the favourite bone of contention is the promotion of the welfare of Ireland!

Lord Killanin proceeds to pour ridicule, not altogether good-humoured, on the societies which are trying to revive old Ireland, and shut out influences from England. The revival of Gaelic, which is not peculiar to Ireland, at a time when education needs widening, and technical training, or modern languages, or the fine arts, either professional or applied to the home, would suit the needs of the country so much better, seems very inopportune. The home, which as a home is revered and loved, might be made cleaner and more attractive.

The cry of 'Ireland a nation' is hopelessly out of date, and not even harmless, but deceitful and mischievous. Nationalism has its bad side; it may mean narrowness and egotism and spite; and that side is too prominent in Ireland. That the Irish question is only a feud with England is now nothing but a hollow pretence, cherished by the Irish to conceal their own innate poverty and their internal dissensions. The Irish question is now an economic one, and Ireland needs all the help it can get from close co-operation with the United Kingdom.

We are glad to note that this article is to be continued. From the picture given of Ireland, the Indian Patriot could learn much.

Mr. Sydney Brooks writes on Mr. Bryan. A party in the United States selects its candidates for the Presidency at a convention where there are at least a thousand delegates and not less than ten thousand present. There is little attempt at order, and demonstrations, some organized, some spontaneous, in honour of somebody or something, occupy a large proportion of the time of the convention. At the Democrat convention in 1896, Mr. Bryan, then unknown, appeared on the platform. 'Before a single word had been uttered by him, the pandemonium sank to an inarticulate murmur, and when he began to speak even this was hushed to the profoundest silence. The youth of the speaker, his buoyant and commanding presence, the rich voice that reached without an effort to the furthest limits of that vast hall, the terse lucidity of his language, and, above all, the fire of his contagious faith as he worked up to his peroration—"You shall not press down upon the brow of labour this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold!"—combined with an effect that was wholly irresistible.' On the following day he was nominated for the Presidency and four months later six millions of his countrymen voted for him. Bryanism took the form of advocating the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, but it was really a protest against corruption; the government was a government of the people,

by the Bosses, for the Trusts. His defeat taught the Bosses nothing, but Roosevelt learnt the lesson, and the measures he has passed have been mainly selections from Bryan's programme.

Mr. Bryan has sensitiveness, a generous heart, and a great fund of piety and idealism; but in balance, knowledge, common sense, he is deficient. His piety and character are the real basis of his influence, and he is more of a preacher than a statesman. As Secretary of State, he served Mr. Wilson as a chief whip does a British Premier, but of the Secretary's peculiar duties, those of our Foreign Secretary, most were really performed by the President.

*THE ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN
ANCIENT INDIA, BY A. V. RAMANATHAN, B.A.*

A REVIEW.

BY S. J. CRAWFORD, B.A., B. LITT.

(*Concluded.*)

IN the matter of punishment as in other respects the *Sukraniti* shows a marked advance on the early practices. "According to it, the severer forms of punishment were starvation, imprisonment, whipping, expulsion from the State, marking on the body, shaving of half-portions, causing the accused to ride on ignoble animals (e.g., asses), mutilation and execution. This work lays more stress on the fear engendered by the possibility of punishment than on the actual punishment itself" (Ramanathan, p. 10). "Severity of punishment is condemned as it estranges the subjects from the king, and mild punishment discreetly administered is declared to be far more efficacious. Mercy is extolled as higher than punishment and severity is authorised only in the case of habitual offenders" (*ibid.*, 10-11). Apastamba on the other hand (Sacred Books, II. p. 165) prescribes much severer penalties: a Sudra who assumes a position equal (to that of a member of one of the first three castes) in conversation, on the road, on a couch, in sitting (and on similar occasions), shall be flogged (16). In case (a Sudra) commits homicide or theft, appropriates land (or commits similar heinous crimes), his property shall be confiscated and he himself shall suffer capital punishment. The superior Brahmin or Brahmana (as we are now being taught to call him) was only to be made blind (by tying a cloth over his eyes) or if he proved incorrigible, was to be banished (*School of Apastamba*, loc. cit. 17, 19).

Both the *Sukraniti* and the *Code of Apastamba* recognise an organised system of judicial administration. The *Vedas* on the other hand take us back to more primitive conditions, where no trace of organised criminal justice vested either in the king or in the people is discernible (cf. Macdonnell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, s.v. *Dharma*). The *wergild* (Skt. *vaira*) was still in operation, so that justice still remained in the hands of the avenger of blood. In the *Sutras*, we find that the 'king's peace' is recognised as infringed by crimes, a penalty being paid to him, or according to the Brahminical textbooks, to the Brahmins (loc. cit., p. 391).

The earliest Indian enactments seem to have observed little or no proportion in their catalogues of crime. The *Chandogya Upanisad* (quoted by M. and K.) groups together in a list of sinners a drinker of intoxicating liquors, a thief, and one who does not maintain a sacrificial fire; and another list includes those who had bodily defects (bad nails and discoloured teeth), those who married a younger daughter when her elder sister was unmarried and those who committed murder. It is only fair to add that though the crimes are grouped together, it does not follow that they were regarded as equally heinous.

What is termed in Sanskrit *divya*, the ordeal, is also a common feature of early legal administration in Germanic lands.

Compared with the rough and ready justice of the blood-feud, the ordeal was a merciful institution, for it often gave the accused a chance of escape. In one sense the ordeal may be regarded as a kind of legalised feud—at least this is so in the case of the ordeal by battle, which was known to the Germans as early as the days of Tacitus, though in more northerly lands the exterminating justice of the blood-feud held sway until a comparatively late date, when it was replaced by the ordeal by battle (*holmgangr*—so-called because it was fought on a *holm* or island). Even forms of the ordeal such as the ordeal by fire and water mark an advance in morality and justice on the pitiless blood-feud, for inherent in them was the belief that God would defend the right and rescue the innocent. Vedic literature only knows the ordeal of the red-hot axe applied to accusations for theft: references however to ordeals by fire, water, balance, etc., occur frequently in later Sanskrit literature. In the *Sukraniti* gold and fire are provided for ordeals (Ramanathan, p. 2).

The oath also played an important role in ancient legal history. In dealing with the ancient oath we must rid of ourselves of modern ideas on the subject. The idea that the deity is the guardian of truth and as such will punish the perjurer is utterly foreign to the primitive conception of the oath. The oath was a guaranteeing of the trustworthiness of a man's word by the pledging of some piece of property.

This guarantee was made by the repetition of a formula, which, at first at least, was regarded as having magic force. It was not essential that the divinity should be called on to witness the oath, or indeed should be brought into the affair in any way. The deity's action was only present when the loss of the property pledged was occasioned by him as a punishment for perjury, though even this idea was not always present, for a man could, instead of giving his own life as a guarantee of his good faith, in which case the deity punished him with death, take an oath by his horse or his weapons, in which case death came through them, when he perjured himself (Schrader: *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, s.v. *Eid*). Thus the oath was rather a curse than a judicial oath.

The same is true of ancient India. The *Śapathas* in the *Rigveda* generally means a curse. Oldenberg (*Religion der Veda*), says that 'The oath is a curse which a man imprecates on himself in so far as he has broken his word, or failed to tell the whole truth. A man pledged his life or his chattels for the truth of his words, by a formula which called down misfortune on himself, if he failed to speak the truth and along with the formula were often combined actions supposed to have magic influence. Very commonly a man touched his head or some other part of his body, thus invoking malign influences upon himself. In the same way, in later literature we find the Kshatriya swearing by his cart, or his weapons: the taker of the oath touched them, and said—May they prove useless to me (If what I say is untrue). (Op. cit., p. 167.)

Similar practices prevailed among other Indo-European peoples.

But the oath was closely bound up with the ordeal. While the oldest form of the oath is merely a curse imprecated by a man against himself, in which a man swears by a person or an object, usually touching it at the same time, in the thought that it will bring destruction upon him in case of perjury, the ordeal by fire or poison may be regarded as merely an extended form of the oath. In Sanskrit *Śapathas* (oath) seems to include the ordeal, and *divya* (ordeal) seems to include the oath.

In the Germanic lands the oath and the ordeal were also closely combined. In Scandinavia we are told that the accused as well as the accuser grasped the holy ring stained with sacrificial blood, and made oath. In the Anglo-Saxon law, the ordeal has become an appeal to God's judgment and is associated with religious ceremonies conducted by the priest (cf. Hunt, *Hist. of Eng. Church*, 3597-1066, p. 320). In the early Middle Ages, we find that in Europe the ordeal was waived in the case of freemen. A freeman was allowed to take an oath of innocence, which was backed up by 'oath-helpers';

the slave on the other hand had still to submit to the ordeal. The 'oath-helper' was a feature of Old and Middle English Law (cf. Stubbs: *Constitutional History of England*, Vol. I, *passim*), and though he was a witness, rather than a jurymen, who took a compurgatorial oath, the practice marks a stage in the progress towards the modern trial by jury.

Much more could be said on the development of ancient law, if our space allowed. Those interested will find a store of information in books like Maine's *Ancient Law*, Coulanges' *La cité antique*, and above all in Schrader's *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertums-kunde*.

One thing, however, Mr. Ramanathan clearly shows—that many wholesome principles which were not evolved until a late date in European countries are found at a comparatively early stage of Hindu legal development. For this, as well as for other reasons, we commend his study to the attention of students of the development of social institutions.

COLLEGE NOTES.

THE College re-opened on the 28th June—i.e., in the second week after the re-opening of the school with Mr. Templeton as Superintendent, in the absence of Mr. Henderson who had gone home on furlough. Mr. Henderson is now a lieutenant in the Royal Garrison Artillery, and when he last wrote was at Woolwich. Like all loyal sons of the Empire, he felt that he could not be content to remain aloof, when an opportunity offered of sharing in a struggle which is to decide such tremendous issues for the well-being of the race. Mr. Henderson's action came as no surprise to those who knew him well. He is a practical mystic touched with something of that spirit which is suggested to students by Tennyson's Sir Galahad. We have no doubt that the grim realities of the battlefield will serve to bring out in him all the power of action and suffering which a clear vision of the world-issues involved is calculated to stimulate.

THE re-opening of the College has brought back to Madras Mr. and Mrs. Hogg, who went home on furlough at the end of March last year. Mr. Hogg's work is chiefly in the Honours Classes, Philosophy and Scripture being his main subjects.

THE Principal's work in making admissions to the Junior Intermediate Class was by no means lightened by the very large number of

pupils who were proved unfit for entering on a College course by the results of the Secondary School Leaving Certificate Examinations. Nor was it easy to re-accommodate in the Senior Intermediate Class even a fair proportion of our own students who had failed in the Intermediate Examination. Admission to the B. A. Course would not have been such a difficult task, but for the usual concentration of mofussil students in Madras and the consequent pressure for admission in our College.

THE 4th of August was a day long to be remembered in the College. The question had been raised whether the College should not be closed on that day as one way of remembering the outbreak of hostilities a year ago. Another plan seemed better and proved most impressive. At ten o'clock all the classes met as usual for their Scripture hour, but it had been arranged that the ordinary lesson should not be taken up. In place of it the meaning and issues of the war were dealt with. It was then announced that a service of prayer and intercession would be held in the Anderson Hall at 11-15, at which attendance was not compulsory, but to which all who desired to take part in the devotional service were welcome. When the hour came, the Anderson Hall was filled with a gathering of 800 who all most reverently participated in the united supplication. The meeting began with an introductory statement by Dr. Skinner, who explained why we had met together to join in prayer with those who throughout the Empire were laying the cause of the Empire before God with one heart and mind. Dr. Skinner then led in a prayer of confession and thanksgiving. After him Mr. Pittendrigh read a part of the 10th Psalm and engaged in prayer on behalf of Belgium and the countries ravaged by war. Some verses from the Sermon on the Mount were next read by Mr. Hogg, who prayed for those who are now our enemies. Dr. Skinner read a portion from the Book of Lamentations and led in intercession on behalf of our Empire. The Lord's Prayer and the Benediction brought to a close a service which by the quiet impressiveness, the reverential calm, and the spirit of supplication that pervaded it will long be remembered with gratitude.

WHEN Mr. Craig died in December, 1912, a movement was set on foot by the students of the College during the Short Term of 1913 to establish a memorial to him. By the end of the Term Rs. 121-10-0 had been collected; but unfortunately the majority of the students who were well acquainted with Mr. Craig finished their College course with the close of the Term. Subsequently an appeal was made to the College Senatus, and Rs. 110 were received from its members. A subscription of Rs. 10 was given by a member of the College Council. Thus the total

sum contributed to the Memorial Fund up till now is Rs. 241-10-0 ; of this amount Rs. 200 has been placed in Government Securities (the cost being Rs. 189-1-4), and the balance in hand, including interest accrued, is Rs. 55-15-5. To establish a prize that will be a fitting memorial of Mr. Craig's all too short connection with the College a further sum of Rs. 200 is required. There are sure to be former students of Mr. Craig's who will welcome the opportunity of subscribing to this object, and there are old friends of his who will wish to be associated with this movement. It is proposed to close the Fund on the 31st October. Subscriptions towards it will be gratefully acknowledged by M.R.Ry. O. Kandaswami Chetty, Lecturer in English, Madras Christian College, who is the treasurer of the Fund.

THE College Hostels have made up their roll of membership. The Societies have begun work without waiting for the ceremony of an inaugural meeting. The College Brotherhood came to life with a reception to the new students at College Park, a report of which we hope to publish next month. In the mean time, it is perhaps not inappropriate to call the attention of students interested in Social Service to an article appearing in the *Social Service Quarterly*, the organ of the Bombay Social Service League, from the pen of the Hon'ble Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, Principal of Fergusson College, Poona, on the subject of students and Social Service. While recognising that young people are best fitted to go and fight the battle whether in the field of war or of public and social, the much respected successor of the late Mr. Gokhale in the Principalship of the Fergusson College wishes to warn students against certain moral dangers to which every social worker is exposed.

The first thing to avoid is an air of patronising condescension. Social workers among students are likely to be from the higher classes. They have not had much actual experience of the poor and the distressed and are prone to look on them with a kind of half-veiled contempt. On going into a poor neighbourhood they are likely to meet with persons to whom many ideas most familiar to them are sure to be altogether unknown. Young men are often very intolerant and we see among children an utter want of the higher amenities of life. We, who are or wish to be social servants, should not let this utter ignorance on the part of the poor dishearten us, for this ignorance is the very *raison d'être* of our social work. If everybody were as educated and as happily circumstanced as we are; there would be no need of our services. What we want to produce among them is a sense of self-respect and this can never be produced by a more or less veiled attitude of contempt towards them. May be they have higher ideals among them according to their lights and very often we can ourselves get a lesson from them which not all our book-learning is able to give us. The intense sacrifices they make to keep afloat their

little family-property in their villages are comparatively far more real than any that we are accustomed to. The way they pinch themselves in keeping their old folks in relative comfort is another instance. We should not therefore go among them with the idea that we have only to teach and not to learn at the same time.

Again, their low condition is to a certain extent a direct consequence of our state of society. We who are more fortunate in our circumstances owe our state partly to their low condition. Is not the Brahmin indirectly responsible for the pitiable condition of the depressed classes? I am not one of those who attribute conscious motives to the Brahmins as a class, but we both are the results of the same set of forces; only we have come to the top and the others are at the bottom. It is our duty as human beings not to remain contented with these inequalities as something we cannot combat. The first preparation for a successful fight is a correct knowledge of the facts. In these days when many young men have passed all their life in towns, the actual knowledge of the condition of life in other strata of society is getting rarer among them. Each set is contained within itself and we might in our own experience recall some parallels to the princess who advised famine-stricken wretches, who asked her for bread, to eat cakes if they could not get bread. Social work is sure to open our eyes to the real state of our society, and we should never lose sight of the fact that we are indirectly responsible for a portion of its abuses.

The one requisite for a successful social worker is the ability to put himself in another man's place. 'One touch of nature makes the whole world kin,' says the poet; but in our country our artificial distinctions of caste and creed have so overgrown our natural instincts that nature has hardly time to assert itself. An instance of this is the absurd argument put forward to support our caste system, namely, that modern science tells us that two different species are generally infertile *inter se*, so marriages between two different castes are also likely to lead to harmful results; as if the distinction between a Brahmin and a Sudra is of the same biological value as that between a horse and a zebra! The ideal of a true social worker should therefore be 'Back to nature' and 'Away with artificial distinctions,' which do not allow the human factor to have full play. A worker who can realise other people's position is sure to be successful. Other qualifications are not then so indispensable. In particular, the worker should understand that money does not cure every evil. If you find a poor man in difficulties, your first impulse is to offer him money. But this ought to be done after close consideration. Occasionally it only accentuates the evil. What is expected of a social worker is that he should give all the personal help he can. Monetary help is many times worse than useless. Witness the many abuses inseparable from our *amachattras* or *mats*. The men that founded them were actuated by the highest motives, but they made the mistake of supposing that money was an adequate substitute for their enthusiasm. Look at the splendid success achieved by the Salvation Army in social work in spite of the many economic fallacies that underlie its methods of work. If, however, at any time the Army acquires a cast-

iron organisation and gets overloaded with its machinery, it will surely prove a great evil and produce all the undesirable results predicted *a priori* by men like Huxley at the time of its inception.

Finally, the young social worker must keep clear of politics. In the circumstances of our country we must realise that our workers labour under special difficulties. It is so fatally easy to talk eloquently about the foreign rule and the handicaps that it entails. There is no way of proving or disproving these statements which are naturally such as appeal to the uneducated who are carried away by mere words. Let the young worker assure himself that there are many fields in which he can do very useful work without coming into conflict with the fundamental fact. All the misery that we see among our submerged millions is certainly not due to it; on the other hand, the present political conditions are themselves the effect of this misery and the social inequalities that caused it. It is no mere rhetoric to say that if we are to rise in the world and take our proper place among the nations our present rule is much more likely to prove a help than a hindrance in taking us towards our ideal. Let not the worker, therefore, give any ground for any suspicion in this direction. His honesty of purpose is sure to be soon taken for granted if it be genuine. I take as an illustration the temperance movement in India. There are two sides to it, the personal and the political. The genuine social worker who devotes himself to this question will emphasise the first aspect which after all is the most important. But if the second aspect is emphasised in season and out of season by any worker in the cause, he is no longer entitled to be called a social worker, but he is only a politician under another name. This does not mean that the other side should not be discussed; but let it be understood that then it is no longer the proper sphere of the social worker, and that perhaps other more experienced hands are required to tackle it. This scrupulous attitude should be always preserved by the young social worker; it is one of the fundamental conditions of his work and it is under such conditions that he has to work. Let him bring to the work his enthusiasm and his healthy human instincts and he will be a real benefactor to his country and a better man in himself.

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CHRIST THE EVERLASTING YEA.*

The Son of God, Jesus Christ, . . . was not yea and nay, but in him was yea.
2 Corinthians i. 19.

BY W. MESTON, M.A., B.D.

To readers of *Sartor Resartus* few passages are more familiar than those which tell of the despair and emancipation of Teufelsdröckh. The lonely thinker dwells upon the problems of life that confront him with all their bewildering contradictions until he sinks into the depths of hopelessness. In his misery he is ready for a moment to listen to the voice of the Everlasting No that says to him: "Behold thou art fatherless, outcast, and the Universe is the devil's." But it is only for a moment; against this suggestion his whole nature rises in emphatic protest. "I am not thine," he indignantly makes answer "but free, and for ever hate thee," and from that day things become clearer to him. At last, baffled in his search for happiness, the great truth dawns upon him. "I see a glimpse of it," he cries, "there is in man a higher than love of happiness. He can do without happiness and instead thereof find blessedness." And, his whole soul aglow with the discovery, he peals forth his message of liberation: "Love not pleasure, love God. This is the Everlasting Yea, wherein all contradiction is solved, wherein whoso walks and works it is well with him."

Long before Carlyle's time, the tentmaker of Tarsus had found his Everlasting Yea. He speaks of it in this letter of his. The Corinthians to whom he was writing, had been censuring

him. He had said that he would visit them twice, but he had changed his original plan, and had gone direct to Macedonia, so that he would see them only once, namely when he went to Corinth on his way south. The Corinthians, annoyed at this, accused him of levity and vacillation. They said that he did not know his own mind, that he was a *yea and nay* man, one who could not be trusted. But Paul will not suffer this insinuation. He is no vacillating, *yea and nay* man. He explains in verse 23 why he had resolved to visit them only once. It was, as he says, "to spare you that I forbore to come unto Corinth;" it was to give them opportunity for improvement, so that he would not have to censure them on his arrival. But there was a deeper reason why he was not a *yea and nay* man. It was this: he was a follower of Jesus. And with Jesus there was no vacillating, no shilly-shallying, no trimming of words. In Him was Yea; He is the eternal affirmation. All the promises of God in Him are Yea. Every genuine longing, every eager question of the human heart receives from Him an answer definite, convincing, unshakeable, sure. Jesus is the Everlasting Yea.

Let us put into words some of the eagerest questionings of our heart and let us listen to Jesus' answer.

I

Does God exist? we ask. And Jesus answers *Yea*. There is perfect assurance in His answer. It is so different from the doubtful, timid, questionings of men. So different from the words of Cecil Rhodes in his will: "This is what God, if there be a God, would wish me to do." So different from the reply of much that passes for philosophy at the present day.

Men have wondered if there be a God as they listened to the cry of little children shamefully wronged, as they looked on the sickening inequalities of modern city life, as they were stung to the quick by the injustice of racial feeling, as they saw the issue of civilisation, as they thought of the wrongs that had well nigh stripped their life of joy.

From Anselm onwards great minds have framed arguments for the existence of God. And great and poor minds alike have sought to throw discredit upon them; until man has almost despaired of any argument that the human mind can evolve.

They have gone to science as it tells its wondrous story of how each atom is a world in itself, and how the whole universe is the record of development, of infinite toil co-operant to an end, in which intelligence answers to intelligence, and mind reels in the presence of purpose so vast. And then as the gladsome answer "Yes, God does exist" trembles on our lips, there comes the paralysing thought, "What can such a God, who works through aeons and informed worlds, what can such a God have to do with me? and with my petty affairs? and with the everyday concerns of the world? Can He that telleth the number of the stars be the same as He that healeth the broken in heart?"

And here Jesus speaks, His answer is: Yea. It comes not with doubt or faltering, only with surprise that man should have been so long in grasping a fact so patent. To Him all his life through, there was nothing so real as God. He lived in the presence of God; for Him every day was bathed in God's love. With undimmed vision He saw the throne of the universe, and on it He saw a Father. The tiny sparrow came within the circle of His love; the children of men, whose hairs He counted, were dear to Him. He was holy, but ever working for man's redemption; He was loving, but too loving to condone iniquity, yet rejoicing with all the host of heaven over one repentant sinner. He was powerful, but he would not invade the sanctity of man's soul by violence. He would wait till man would turn to Him an eye of trust, or breathe a cry of invitation, and then He would come revealing His uplifting might. He suffers us to endure the agonies of conscience, the bitterness of disappointment, the wreck of hopes, not for revenge, not for delight in them, but that we may thereby scorn the wrong, claim our heavenly birthright, become partakers of His nature, and stand complete at last.

This is the answer of Jesus. If we doubt it, then he says to us, "Keep close to me. Follow me". And if you do that, there will be no doubting. You will find that with Jesus you are indeed with God, that God is indeed with you.

II

Can sin be overcome? we ask. Again Jesus answers Yea. Here we are at the very centre of his good news. Men have set up

bogeys of Fate, and Inexorable Law, and Implacable Retribution. They have said "No new leaf can be turned in the book of life; no line once written can be blotted out". They support it, according to their fancy, by science or by Omar Khayyam. And yet what does history give us if not the record of racking conscience, the misery of remorse, the sense of shame and guilt, the acknowledgment of merited punishment, and along with all these the cry for pardon, the longing to be free from the blight of moral evil, the eager desire to conquer not be conquered. It is a cry that bursts forth into the agony of supplication, "O wretched man that I am, can any one deliver me from this living death?" And Jesus says, "Yes. I can".

He appeared on this earth and lived like one of ourselves. He let sin do its worst on him, not that he invited its onslaught, but that so complete was his abhorrence of it he could make no terms with it. He would not let it in, as fleeting thought or passing suggestion, to colour motive or act. But the waves of evil burst upon him in fullest strength and he flinched not. Without complaint he bore the deadliest that sin could devise. Without murmur he carried it till he carried it on a cross.

And then having endured all this, did he round upon men, and wreak his anger on them, and condemn them for it irrevocably?

No. He turned to men and said, "I have borne all this in truth *because of you*; in deeper truth *for you*. I have stood in your place. Look at me and behold God loving you and suffering for you, taking on himself the responsibilities for evil which you could not meet, giving himself a ransom for you. Look at me; join your fortunes with me; abide with me." And as you do, a wonderful truth comes home to you; it is this—God is welcoming me, pardoning me for Jesus' sake. A new chance opens to my sight; the page I could not turn has been turned for me by Jesus; the weakness that was killing me is killed by Jesus' strength.

This is Jesus' answer become your answer, and you know that the answer is true. The proof is in your own experience. The more you keep a closer walk with Jesus, the more the evil habits lose their power, the shameful fetters yield. Your life, notwithstanding every let and hindrance, has become a winning

cause. You are not condemned: God's pardon rests upon you. You are not a slave but free, and through Jesus you become freer every day.

III

Is life worth living? we ask. And again Jesus answers *Yea*.

Some twenty-five years ago Olive Schreiner's "Story of an African Farm" was in great vogue. With all its fascination it was a sad story, and no wonder, for does it not speak of life as "a struggling, and a struggling, and an ending, in nothing"?

"What think ye of the comedy?" said the dying Augustus. "Have I played it well? If so, applaud."

Over the grave of Gay in Westminster Abbey is the epitaph "Life is a jest, and all things show it."

Life would hardly be worth living if it were only an ending in nothing; if it were simply a comedy on which the curtain is rung down; if it were no more than a jest whose laughter dies away. If that were all it would not be worth all the labour, all the tears, all the sacrifice that make it up. But it is worth living if it affords us the means of winning our own soul. What means the constant fight against officialism in Britain? What means the great war against trusts in the United States? Is it not just this that if life takes away from the individual the chance of being an individual, it is not worth living. When John Woolman found his business growing beyond his expectations he definitely reduced it: he wished to be John Woolman and not a company. And he thought life worth living. Paul thought the same. To these suspicious Corinthian folks he shows a portion of his own story. Listen to the description: "as sorrowful yet always rejoicing, as poor yet making many rich, as having nothing and yet possessing all things." What a majesty in these words: "as having nothing and yet possessing all things." There resides in them the secret that makes life worth living. Life, as Browning puts it, is just the chance of the prize of learning love. It is just the chance which is given to each one of us of fitting ourselves for a magnificent destiny, the daily opportunity of becoming nothing less than a child of God.

And that is what Jesus says, when we ask him if life is worth living. "It is infinitely worth living" he says, "for what

will a man give in exchange for his soul, his life? From the earliest stirrings of consciousness, in the faintest awakenings of conscience, in every desire after purity and peace, your soul is transcending the bounds of earth, it is hearing the call, the claim of God. The tragedy of life lies in resisting that call, the glory of life in answering to it. For it means that God is counting on you to be His fellow worker, that He relies on you to further His glorious purposes. His plan is that through discipline, and sacrifice, and effort, and obedience, you should be fitted for the glory of His fellowship, the dignity of His service, the majesty of His royal lineage."

Once more Jesus cries "Throw in your lot with me, and you will find in very truth that life is worth living". And as you commit each day's aim and duty into the security of his keeping, you prove that in him is the unshakeable Yea. For the common place is lighted up with the glory of God; around you are divine resources whereof you are made partaker; above you stands the Father holding a heavenly crown.

IV

Is there a life beyond? we ask. And Jesus answers *Yea*. Men have hoped that thus it might prove. They have sung, "Eternal be the sleep unless to waken so". From Plato to our own day they have urged the analogy of nature, dwelt on the trustworthiness of human instinct, drawn on the evidence of evolution, to show that extinction cannot be the goal of life. They have gathered for us the many striking facts which are recorded with every care in the Proceedings of the Psychical Research Society; they have opened up new fields of investigation; in the two remarkable volumes of Frederic Myers we have what he considered to be the scientific foundation for the belief in the survival of human personality after death.

And what life would be for us apart from that belief let a memorable scene which Myers' name recalls bear witness. In the month of May more than forty years ago George Eliot went up to Cambridge, and one evening she walked with Myers in the Fellows' Garden of Trinity. "Stirred beyond her wont," he writes, "she dwelt on the words—God, immortality, duty—and pronounced with terrible earnestness how inconceivable was the

first, how unbelievable the second, and how peremptory and absolute the third. And when at length we parted beneath the last twilight of starless skies, I seemed to be gazing like Titus at Jerusalem, on vacant seats and empty halls, on a sanctuary with no Presence to hallow it, and heaven left lonely of a God."

Do we wish that life should be like no ruined Jerusalem, but a sanctuary wherein all is hallowed by the presence of God? Then let us go to another garden and gaze on him who stands therein. It is this same Jesus whom we saw hanging on a cross. It is he and yet how changed. From the garden he goes forth the One in whom the glorious destiny of man is at last revealed. The grip of evil has been relaxed, the bondage of matter has been transfigured, death is swallowed up in life. Our goal has been won for us. And he who has won it stands before us not as the last stage in a wondrous process now exhausted and henceforth for ever our despair. Clad with life he issues forth to impart life, to pour the eternal grace of God into every humble, penitent, and trusting heart; to suffer earth no longer to be our limit and our undoing, but to open the kingdom of heaven to all believers.

And as Jesus stands girt with immortality, he cries again, "Throw in your lot with me; and a life that has no mortal bounds is yours." The proof is yet to be. But of this I am sure that he who has won life for me through toil and sacrifice and death will not keep back life from me. Of this I am most certain that even now, little as I deserve it, he is daily giving me a freshness which earth does not stale, and that, if I still hold closely to him, because he lives I will live also.

"Does God exist?"; "Can sin be overcome?"; "Is life worth living?"; "Is there a life beyond?" we have asked, and to all Jesus answers "Yea", himself the Eternal Yea to the trembling, yearning heart of man. Would you wish the answer of Jesus to be your own triumphant answer? the very nerve and sinew of your own everyday life? There is one way in which this may come to pass.

One time, we are told, Charles Lamb, Hazlitt, and Leigh Hunt were talking of people whom they would like to see. Chaucer, Bunyan, and Cromwell were mentioned, and then Lamb said, "There is only one other Person I can think of. If

Shakespeare were to come into the room we should all rise up to meet him: but if that Person came into it we should all fall down and try to kiss the hem of his garment". It is even so. We must place our entire nature at his feet; we must crown him Lord of all.

Do that in intention and in act, day in, day out. And the answer of Jesus to your questioning heart will become your answer. Jesus will be your Everlasting Yea. In him all your contradictions will be solved. As you walk with him, and work with him, it will be well with you, now and for ever.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF NĀTHA MUNI.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A.

(PART II)

THE discussion of the celestial music of Nātha Muni cannot be complete without the narration of an incident which happened in connection with it. It seems that 'the celestial music' of his system did not at first appeal largely to men, but soon an event happened in the Chōla court¹ at Gaṅgaikondachōlapuram, which had the effect of giving it a new interest and importance. Two of the courtezans of the court disputed among themselves as to which was superior,—“the celestial system of music” or the human one, and carried it to the king for decision. The latter, moved more by tradition than by knowledge, pronounced the superiority of the traditional musician. The vanquished musician, who was a devotee of Vishnu, left the court in disgust and went on tour to every Vaishnava Shrine in the country. In the course of her pilgrimage, she came to Viranārāyanapuram, and sang her devotional songs before the deity. Nātha Muni who happened to be there, was so gratified by her performance that he induced the priest to give her special honours. The courtesan,

¹ This reference is evidently a mistake of the chronicler. Gaṅgaikondachōlapuram came to be called so by Rājendra Chōla, who came to the throne in 1011-12 during his father Rājārāja's lifetime and who ceased to rule about 1044. It could not have been the Chōla capital therefore in Nātha Muni's time. The writers of the Guruparamparās who belonged to the 13th and 14th centuries evidently considered Gaṅgaikondachōlapuram to be the ancient capital and so located the Chōla court there.

on her return to the court at Gaṅgaikondachōlapuram, spoke to the king about the relative superiority of the celestial system, and said that one at least supported her,—namely, Nātha Muni, the great Āchārya of the Vaishnava community. The king thereupon summoned Nātha Muni to the court, but the pious devotee was reluctant to leave his poor surroundings. The importunities of his admirers, however, induced him at length to answer the royal summons. The king welcomed him, gave him a seat, and asked him how it was that he had pronounced the excellence of “the celestial music.” Nātha Muni did not want to argue. He did not think there was any use in verbal panegyrics which could be matched by equal panegyrics on the other side; or in verbal arguments which could be met by similar arguments. He wanted to prove the correctness of his decision by a practical display of his merits as a judge. He therefore asked a metal plate to be placed on a stone pillar, and ordered a song according to his system to be sung. No sooner was the song over than it was found that the pillar had melted, and held the plate firm in its place! The repetition of a celestial song alone was the means by which it could be made to melt again and give up the plate. Nātha Muni, further, it is said, ordered four hundred gongs to be struck at once, and pronounced successfully the weight of each from its sound. The king was mute with astonishment. He acknowledged his defeat, honoured the saint by his obeisance, and gave him permission to depart. Ever afterwards, we are told, he was kind to the followers of the great Āchārya.

The introduction of the Nālāyiraprabandha into temples caused a widespread religious upheaval in the Vaishnava world. It also led to the creation of a new institution, that of one head or Āchārya over the whole Srivaishnava community. For, when once made a holy authority, the Prabandha had to be newly handled. Many obscure passages had, in the first place, to be explained; commentaries had to be written; and the words of the Ālvārs had to be interpreted in the light of the Śrutis and the Smritis. All this required the formal recognition of a scholar as the authority. This necessity, together with the necessity of a general exposition and defence of the Pāncharātra doctrines as against the activities of Advaitins and others, made the people desirous of a central institution which could serve as a centre of virtuous orthodoxy and authoritative religion. Thus came into existence the necessity of a Vaishnavite Pope or Pontiff, whose

authority was law in religious worship, and whose advice guided all temple authorities and religious observances. The Āchārya had, in other words, two functions to perform. He had to explain doubtful passages in the Prabandhas and in the Śrutis so as to satisfy his flock. He had then to champion the cause of Vaishnavism as against the inroads and attacks of rival creeds and critics. His work was the double work of exposition and defence, of elaboration and extension.

In connection with the establishment of an apostolic head of Vaishnavism, one important fact must be remembered,—namely that that office was at first combined with the *Śrikārya* or actual management of the Śrīraṅgam temple. The *Kōiloḷogu* proves clearly the combination of the two offices. It is impossible to exaggerate the significance of this union of offices in the early history of Śrī-Vaishnavism. It is doubtful whether the Āchāryas would have been able to effect that tremendous revolution in temple-worship, the inclusion of the *Prabandhas*, but for the fact that they were the managers of the Śrīraṅgam shrine, and so had the influence and the opportunity needed for the accomplishment of their purpose. True, as philosophers, as the champions of their creed against rivals, and as the authoritative interpreters of the religion, they would have commanded a great moral influence in shaping the course of the festivals and determining the programme of the rituals, in temples. Nevertheless, if they had remained pure doctrinaires without a hand in the actual administration of temple affairs, their innovations would not have been so thorough, or at any rate so rapid and prompt as was actually the case. This is the secret of the success which attended the efforts of the first Āchāryas—Nātha Muni, Yāmunāchārya and Rāmānuja. Time came when this judicious combination of offices ceased, and Śrī-Vaishnavism began in consequence to decline and become divided into parties. The successors of Rāmānuja were pure philosophers, and ignorant of the real cause of his strength, gave up the management of the shrine, and proceeded to Conjeeveram. From that time onward a schism came into existence. The managers of the temple came to be different from the apostles of the creed, and when a great party of reform, the Teṅgalais, arose against the latter, they had the genius to understand this state of things and to make their power secure by allying themselves with the managers of the temple.

It was but natural that when the dignity of Pontiff was

established, the choice fell on Nātha Muni, the saviour of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava lore and legend, the greatest living scholar of his age. And the sanguine expectations of the people at his election were not disappointed. From the time when, in the presence of god Raṅganātha, he was anointed Āchārya, he proved to the world that Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism had entered on a new era of activity and expansion. Throughout his stay at Śrīraṅgam he distinguished himself by his exemplary life, his sweet and gentle disposition, his profound learning and his organizing skill, which endeared him to his flock, while extorting their admiration. Scholar and thinker, he was particularly distinguished for his yōgic skill. According to the Vaiṣṇava tradition, he was, as has been already mentioned, the last yōgin in the world. With him, in other words, the art is said to have died. This statement is, as might be expected, contradicted not only by the followers of other creeds, but by the psychic skill which some of his own successors evinced. The tradition, however, perhaps rightly embodies the fact that the particular method which he practised was lost to the world. His proficiency in yōga is proved by the fact that he was the author of a highly reputed work, *Yōga Rahasya* : but unfortunately the work is lost, with the exception of stray passages in it quoted by the great Vēṅkaṭanātha in the fourteenth century. Nātha Muni was also an original thinker and philosopher. He gave a philosophic basis for the Bhāgavata or Pāncarātra cult by laying the foundation of that Viśiṣṭādvaitic system which was to be afterwards elaborated and perfected by Rāmānuja, and which shares with Śaṅkara's Advaitism the first place in Indian psychological achievements. It is difficult to say how far the doctrines formulated by him were developed by his grandson Yāmuna and how far they were incorporated into his system by Rāmānuja ; but we can be sure that the doctrine of Prapatti, first conceived by the Ālvārs and later on the most important of the Āchāryic dogmas, was given prominence to for the first time by him. Nātha Muni also left another treatise *Nyāya tatva* which is the first Viśiṣṭādvaitic presentation, in the Āchāryic age, of the eternal truths and of the logical method of arriving at them. This work is also extinct.

To the literary historian of South India the period of Nātha Muni's stay at Śrīraṅgam is very important, as a Vaiṣṇava tradition clearly affirms that the Āchārya had an interview with the Tamil poet Kamban. The occasion for the interview arose in the

desire of the South Indian Homer to gain the public approbation of his monumental poem by the great Vaishṇava scholar and leader. For, it should be understood that Kamban² himself was a Vaishṇava and therefore interested in obtaining the stamp of approval of the great Śrī-Vaishṇava elect at Śrīraṅgam. There was also another reason. Apart from the religious persuasion and duty of Kamban, there was a purely literary circumstance that made him come there. Nātha Muni and his disciples were great scholars in Tamil and formed therefore a power in the land, and any poem had perhaps to be recognized by them as a preliminary to universal recognition. The story is that, at the instance of the great Āchārya, Kamban constructed a Mantapa in the Śrīraṅgam shrine, and then commenced his reading of the Rāmāyaṇa before the deity and the holy audience. The poet was then, we are told, assured by an inspired priest that the Lord desired him to compose a poem on the great Śaṭhagōpa, and that, unless it was done, his Rāmāyaṇa would not please Him. Kamban, in consequence, composed his celebrated *Śaṭhagōpar Antādi*, a fine poem of one hundred verses celebrating the glory of the great saint of Tirunagari. The Rāmāyaṇa was then read, and amidst the applause and admiration of the holy and learned circle, was proclaimed a classic; and the decision was so just and satisfactory that the lord Aḷagia Śingha himself, in whose shrine the poem was presented to the public, shewed his appreciation by an approving nod of his head.

It is difficult to say how far this tradition is true. It will of course be contended by many that the meeting of Nātha Muni with Kamban could not have taken place on the ground that Kamban was, like Ottakootan, the contemporary of Kulōttuṅga Chōla III (1138-46) in the twelfth century. But it has been argued as against this theory that the arguments that have been so far given in support of it are not convincing³. The rivalries between Ottakootan and Kamban so graphically described in Tamil works, may after all be, like the story of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, the invention of literary partisans of a later age who held the short sighted belief that the merit of Kamban was exalted

² Though he was a priest of the Kali temple he had strong inclination towards Vaishṇavism. That is why he invokes the saint Śaṭhagopa in his preface to the Rāmāyaṇa. There are other evidences to prove his vaishṇava leanings.

³ See *Tamil Antiquary*, No. 3.

by the denunciation of his alleged rival. On the other hand, there is a long-lived tradition that the poet completed his poem⁴ by S. 807. The fact of Nātha Muni's meeting with the poet cannot perhaps be proved by a documentary authority; but it has not been denied, nor his connection with the poem *Saṭhagōpar antādi*; and if these are conceded, there seems to be a strong reason for assigning the period of Kamban's existence to the ninth century. The internal evidence of Kamban's work, again, it is urged, goes to prove this. In the expression *Adittan Kambanāṭṭālvān*⁵ (ஆதித்தன் கம்பநாட்டாழ்வான்) which is applied to him and in the panegyrical verse on the Chōla dynasty which refers to Āditya Chōla we are said to find unmistakeable evidences of the contemporaneity of the poet and of Āditya I of the imperial Chōla dynasty who, as we have already seen, belonged, like Nātha Muni, to the latter part of the ninth century and who raised the Chōla kingdom to the position of an Empire by conquering Koṅgu and Toṇḍamaṇḍalam. The meeting of Nātha Muni with Kamban in 885 A.D., is therefore, in the opinion of this school, an authentic fact. The whole question, however, is a complicated one, and all that can be said here is that the tradition of S. 807 and the chronology of Nātha Muni are in entire agreement.

It seems that Nātha Muni renounced his Āchāryic dignity in the latter part of his life, and retired to the quiet serenity of his native village. The reason was his incapacity to practise yōga in the midst of the busy activities of his office at Śrīraṅgam. Leaving the apostolic throne, therefore to his chief disciple, Puṇḍarikāksha, a native of Tiruvellārai, a village to the north of Śrīraṅgam, and a Chōlia Brahmin by birth, he returned to Vīra-nārāyaṇapuram. Puṇḍarikāksha had shone among his brother disciples, and won the highest regard and respect from his illustrious teacher. He could not have been much younger than Nātha Muni, for the date of his birth is generally assigned⁶ to K. 3928,

⁴ See his Introduction to the poem.

⁵ The verse referred to is ஆதித்தன் குலமுதல்வன் மனுவினையா நறிவாநார் (Bālakāṇḍa. Kulamurai section, verse 1.) Some however interpret *Aditta* as the sun, and not the contemporary Chōla ruler. For the discussion of the question in favour of the later date, see Chelvakēsa Mudaliar's *Life of Kamba*, p. 28. Mr. Mudaliar, however, is not right in saying that Rajaraja was the king at the time. See also *Tamil studies*, p. 54.

⁶ See V.G., 1913, p. 30. The exact date is K. 3928, Parābhava, Chitrai, first day of the bright fortnight, Wednesday, constellation Krittika. The T. G. is wrong

or 827 A.D. The story goes that once Nātha Muni sent Puṇḍarikāksha to escort his wife Aravindappāvai to her father's home at Vaṅgipuram; that on his arrival at his destination, Puṇḍarikāksha was, in consequence of his low social position, served with stale food; that he however looked on this indignity with indifference; and that Nātha Muni who afterwards heard the incident saw in his humility a mark of spiritual greatness, and gave him the eloquent title of "Uyyakoṇḍār," ⁷ the saviour of the new dispensation. To us of the twentieth century, the cause of Puṇḍarikāksha's honour seems puerile and the reward far out of proportion; but later events justified Nātha Muni's choice. So good and pure was Puṇḍarikāksha that when Nātha Muni was about to retire, he appointed him as his successor.

An interesting question suggests itself at this stage. How is it that Nātha Muni invested Puṇḍarikāksha with the apostolic robes while his son Īśvara Muni was alive? Puṇḍarikāksha was a man of comparatively low social rank. He was looked upon as an inferior man, as the incident in Aravindappāvai's house clearly shews. Īśvara Muni on the other hand was his own son. He was, we are told, equally well educated. He had had as many opportunities of distinction as Uyyakoṇḍār. Nevertheless, he was not chosen. What is the reason? It was evidently the comparative brilliance of Puṇḍarikāksha. Nātha Muni's object was to prove evidently that the Āchāryic dignity was not to be confined to a single family; that if better and abler men outside the family, but among the disciples existed, they should be preferred. Nātha Muni did not, in other words, believe in the hereditary principle. He was for nomination, pure and simple.

Puṇḍarikāksha's period of Āchāryaship seems to have been very short. Younger than Nātha Muni by only three years, he must have been more than eighty when he came to the spiritual throne. The exact year of Nātha Muni's retirement and Puṇḍarikāksha's elevation is unknown. We may tentatively fix it at about 910 A. D. when Nātha Muni would have been eighty-seven years

in its details Paurnami and Friday. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai took the Teṅgalai versions alone and so found it difficult to reconcile the details. But the Vaḍagalai version is correct and the year 826-7 seems to be the proper date, the only other possible alternative date being Wednesday, 23rd March 886 A.D. Mr. Pillai's choice of 848 A.D. is in my opinion improbable. See *Journal of S. Ind. Assocn.* June 1914. pp. 247-8.

⁷ V.G. 39-40.

old, and Puṇḍarikāksha about eighty-three. Too old to work hard, Puṇḍarikāksha was evidently in his exalted station only for a few years,—say for about five years. He then retired into private life, and nominated his chief disciple, Rāmamiśra of Maṇakkāl as his successor. Rāmamiśra⁸ was a great scholar and writer. Younger than his predecessor by about five years, he had however sat at his feet and imbibed all his philosophic lore for a space of twelve years. To the mind of Rāmamiśra, his Āchārya had been a god, and himself a slave. An oft-quoted story illustrates his love for everything concerning his preceptor. When the wife of the latter died, Rāmamiśra engaged himself as the cook of his master. On one occasion, again, while Uyyakoṇḍār's two little daughters were unable to cross a small water-course on their way to the Kāveri Rāmamiśra made them walk on his own back. A servant so loving and so disinterested could not but gain the love of the master, and Puṇḍarikāksha repaid his service by initiating him in all the sacred lore; and when he retired from his holy labours, by elevating him to the Āchāryic dignity.

It was at the time of Rāmamiśra's pontificate that Yāmunāchārya was evidently born to Īśvara Muni. On Wednesday,⁹ constellation Uttirāshāḍa, of the full moon day, in the month of Ādi (July) of year *Dhātu*, K. 4018, corresponding to July 16 of 916 A.D., the wife of Īśvara Muni presented him with the boy. Years back, Nātha Muni who, it should be remembered, was still alive, had predicted his birth and appointed Puṇḍarikāksha to teach him the Mantra and the doctrines, and Kurugai Kāvalappa to teach him the art of Yoga, so that in course of time, he might become the Āchārya; and years back he had also stated that the boy should be named Yāmunāchārya; and now when the long-looked-for stranger came into the world, the advice of Nātha Muni was strictly carried out. The ceremonies of *Annāpraśana*,

⁸ The date of his birth as given in V. G. is K. 3933, Virōdbikrit, Māsi, Śukla-chaturdaśi; Monday; Makha. The T. G. versions are as usual incorrect. They give Virōdhi instead of Virōdbakrit and Wednesday instead of Monday and inconsistent Kaliyuga dates like 3970, 3900, 4030, etc. Unfortunately Mr. Swamikannu Pillai follows these incorrect versions and finds himself in consequence in difficulty. If he had known the V.G. version, he would have, without hesitation, come to the conclusion that he was born on a Monday in February in 831 A.D. For Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's discussion see *Journal of S. Ind. Assocn.*, June 1914, p. 253.

⁹ This corresponds to 16th July 916 A.D. The Teṅgalai treatises give Friday and not Wednesday, and so have given rise to calendrical inaccuracies. See *Ibid.*, p. 252.

chaula, etc., were regularly performed, and the child grew into a beautiful and intelligent boy of seven. The Upanayana ceremony was then concluded, and Yāmuna, entered into the career of a Brahmacharin and a student. According to the mandate of Nātha Muni, Puṇḍarikaksha should have impressed on him the marks of Viṣṇu and imparted to him the sacred Mantra; but on account of his physical inability, his successor Rāmamiśra did so. The Guruparampara of the Northern School points out that Nātha Muni, by making his disciple's disciple fix the *Tiruvalach-chinai* and teach the Mantra to his grandson, proved to the world that though an individual belonged to the family of a great Ācharya, he might choose, as his guru, an outsider who was distinguished for his virtues and merit.

The conclusion of the thread ceremony was immediately followed by the education of Yāmunācharya. It was after going through the usual course of studying the Vēdas, that he was to take up the higher philosophy of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism, and make himself a fit object of election as the Ācharyic successor of Rāmamiśra. Īśvara Muni therefore took care to give him the proper preliminary education. Under a teacher named Mahābhāshya Bhaṭṭa he placed him; and the young grandson of Nātha Muni proved himself to be a remarkably intelligent and precocious youth. He had a marvellous memory and an acute understanding. Oftentimes he would play the truant and would excuse himself by saying that he had nothing to learn for the day, that his fellow pupils were simply going over what he had already learnt. People admired this extraordinary genius, and both Nātha Muni and Rāmamiśra were full of joy to see the genius of the future Ācharya.

It was at this time, says the Vaḍagalai Guruparampara, that Nātha Muni died. At the time when Yāmunācharya was initiated into religious studies, he must have been about ninety-eight years old; and he was evidently alive only for one or two years after that event. The various editions of the Teṅgalai Guruparampara, however, are not unanimous in this respect. The edition of 1892 seems to agree with the Vaḍagalai Guruparampara. But the edition of 1899 makes a mess¹⁰ of the whole matter. At one place it says that the death of Nātha Muni took place in *Dhātu Māsi*, corresponding to February 916 A.D. But the facts it gives after the death

¹⁰ See pp. 184 and 187.

of Nātha Muni do not support its chronology. It says that the Āchāryic dignity of Nātha Muni was assumed, after his *death*, by his disciple, Puṇḍarikāksha. Puṇḍarikāksha, it says, died in the hundred and fifth year of his age. It does not give the exact date of his death, but indirectly gives it when it says that he was born in K. 3927 or 826 A.D. and lived for one hundred and five years. Puṇḍarikāksha, we may therefore infer, died in 931 A.D., i.e., fourteen years after the death of Nātha Muni. Now, after Puṇḍarikāksha, his place was taken by his disciple Rāma Mīśra, known in Tamil phraseology as Maṇakkāl Nambi. It was, while Rāma Mīśra was the Āchārya, that Yāmunāchārya was born to Śvara Muni. From these facts we have to infer that Yāmunāchārya's birth must have taken place *at least* fifteen years after the death of his grandfather. And yet in the very next line the Tengalai Guruparampara commits a blunder in ascribing his birth to *Dhātu Ādi* which in reality corresponds to July 916 A.D. i.e., seven months *before* the death of Nātha Muni! In short, according to the statements of this Guruparampara, Nātha Muni died both fifteen years before and seven months after, the birth of Yāmunāchārya! The Vaḍagalai Guruparampara, on the other hand, clearly says that Nātha Muni died just after the Upanayana of Yāmunā and the beginning of his studies; and as Yāmunā was born in 916 A.D. it is evident that Nātha Muni died in 924 or 925 A.D., when he was just a hundred or hundred-and-one years of age.

Both the sets of Guruparamparas agree, however, in regard to the details of the circumstances under which the great Āchārya met with his death. Old and worn-out, he was leading a quiet and contemplative life when, one day, he learnt on his return from bath, that two huntsmen, accompanied by a lady and a monkey, had inquired for him, and directed him to follow them shortly. On hearing this, Nātha Muni realised that they must have been Rāma and Lakshmana, accompanied by Sita and Hanūmān, and that the time for his taking leave of this world was come. Highly aggrieved to think that *he* had not the fortune to see the god while others had seen him, he resolved to take the route which he and his companions had taken. Learning that they went southward, he proceeded in that direction. Wayfarers told him, in return for his earnest inquiries, that the travellers were going that way, and Nātha Muni went on with a full heart in his pursuit; but on his arrival at Gaṅgaikondachōlapuram, he lost the thread of their journey. In great grief, he then swooned and, soon after,

died of exhaustion; or as the Guruparamparas put it, the god appeared before him and took him, amidst the acclamation of the celestials, away to the heavens.

So passed away the first of the Achāryas of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism. He was a very great man, sage and scholar, the merit of whose service and the greatness of whose name is not likely to be effaced by time. Amidst the pretty sectarian strifes of modern Vaiṣṇavism his name, like the names of Yāmuna and Rāmānuja, has always exercised, and will always exercise, a charm which allures passion into reason and fanaticism into discrimination. It is to his eternal credit that by his zeal, his character and his labours, he mobilized under a common flag the potent forces of Vaiṣṇavism, and rescued it from the danger of being overthrown by rival creeds. Never had Vaiṣṇavism been so weak or so ignored as at his accession to the Āchāryic dignity, and yet by the time he retired, about half a century later, he left it not only strong, but strong enough to steal a march on the other religions of the land. He gave his creed a new bible, a new philosophy, a new institution and a new centre of activity. He gave it a unity and a rational basis which it had never possessed before. He gave it, in short, a new organization as well as new doctrines, which had the effect of strengthening it both internally and externally. His disinterested dēvotion to his cause thus caused a revolution in the balance of religious power in South India, so much so that from his time onward, the history of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism is a record, with all its ups and downs, of progress and prosperity. If in later days, a Yāmuna and a Rāmānuja, a Vēdāntāchārya and a Varavaramuni, were able to make it, in their own ways, the most popular and powerful creed in South India, it was because they had had a Nātha Muni to lay the foundation-stone of their vast superstructure.

¹¹ T. G. confounds this with the earlier Chōla King's hunting excursion and writers like Govindacharya and C. R. Srinivasa Iyengar have followed it without scrutiny.

KAKATIYAS :—A TELUGU FEUDATORY FAMILY : IV.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., M.R.A.S.

THE Venetian traveller stopped at Mottupalli on his voyage up the coast. He gives a glowing description of the place and its commercial activity, particularly mentioning the trade in diamonds* and very fine cloth.†

We are informed by him that Rudramba was a widow at the time of her accession to throne; perhaps her husband whose name is not revealed to us in the Kākatiya inscription, was alive during the last years of Ganapati, when she was nominated to succeed him. We know from other sources that this queen had a daughter—perhaps the only issue of hers—who was called Mummadamba. She married a certain Mahādeva, and their son

* Marco Polo gives three interesting methods of obtaining diamonds adopted by the people—(1) When the heavy winter rains fall on the lofty mountains they produce great torrents, which flow down the mountains carrying pieces of diamonds and deposit them on their beds. These are collected in plenty by the people after the rains are over. (2) In the summer season, when there is not a drop of water to be had owing to excessive heat and when there are huge serpents and other venomous reptiles, which prevent the seekers of diamonds from descending the inaccessible depths of the ravines where the gem is found, people have recourse to the curious process of throwing from the mountain heights lean pieces of meat into the valley beneath so that they may stick to them. It is said that the eagles which live on the serpents, immediately take the pieces of meat to the tops of mountains and begin to feed on them. By shouts, they drive away the birds and take back the meat in which pieces of diamonds are stuck. (3) The third method is yet more curious. People go to the nests of these birds and find in their droppings, pieces of diamonds. It is said that they also get them from the stomachs of the eagles which have devoured the gem along with the meat.

In these accounts there seems to be some amount of exaggeration, but it must be said that they may have been based upon figments of facts and as such they cannot be dismissed as fabrications unworthy of credence. Marco Polo further states that the diamonds of his country are the mere refuse of the gems found in India, and that they cannot stand comparison with those obtained in Telingana. The best of the diamonds obtained in this country are further stated to be remarkable for their size and quality, so much so that the Great Khan (the Mughal Emperor), and the other kings of the north get them in large quantities from here.

† In this kingdom also are made the best and most delicate buckrams and those of highest price; in sooth they look like tissue of spider's web. There is no king nor queen in the world but might be glad to wear them. Yule's *Marco Polo* III, xix. p. 296.

was Rudra. When he came of age Rudramba abdicated the throne in his favour.

The earliest inscription of Prataparudra is dated in Śaka 1213 (=1291 A. D.) which must be the year when Rudramba retired from active work. During the three years 1291-93 Prataparudra was known by the name of Kumara-Rudra-deva-maharaja. It has been sought to explain this appellation *Kumara*, by supposing that it indicates either his young age or his heir-apparentship. There is no doubt that Prataparudra was young at this time; but that fact cannot be the reason why records belonging to these three years alone call him by that name. Neither is the other satisfactory, because the title *maharaja* assumed by him, and the charters being dated in his reign show clearly that he was not merely an heir apparent, but was actually ruling at the time. It seems to me that the correct way of explaining the prefix *Kumara* is to suppose that Prataparudra's grandmother *i.e.*, queen Rudramba, called in her inscriptions Rudra-dēva-maharaja, was alive at the time; and as she was alive it was thought necessary to distinguish the two. This was effectively done by the addition of the epithet *Kumara* to the name of the young king, which was the same as that borne by Rudramba.

The names of a number of generals of this king are revealed to us in his records, which range from Śaka 1213 (=1291 A.D.) to Śaka 1244 (=1322 A.D.). In the first years of the king's reign, his general Somayālula Rudradeva made a grant to the temple at Julakallu in the Kistna district. The same general without the title Somayūlulu is referred to in a few inscriptions* of Durji and Tirupurantakam. A record of 1291 A.D. mentions Annaladeva, the son of the Mahapradhani Gannayappreggade, † who is perhaps identical with the Annayappreggade mentioned as the general of the king in his records of 1306 A.D. (from Peddakalapalle) and 1317 A.D. (from Tirupati). A third general of his is one Adidemma who claims to have cut off the head of Manmagandogapala and had the title Misaragunda. ‡ A record of 1296 A.D. mentions the king's prime minister Pochirāju, § and another of 1299 A.D. states that Gunda-Nayaka, who was the first lord of the elephant forces (Gajasahini) of the king and who bore the title Svamidraharaganda, was ruling the districts of Gurimalastala, Pingalistala, and certain other pro-

* Nos. 45 of 1909, 570 of 1909 and 572 of 1909.

† No. 238 of 1905.

‡ No. 171 of 1905.

§ No. 45 of 1909.

vinces. Machayanayaningaru, who had also the same biradas together with the title of Imhadi Nissankavira, was another military officer of Prataparudra. He figures in records dated in 1303 and 1311 A.D. In the latter year he made grants for the merit of Gundaya-Nayaka and Marayasahini, who are stated to have been the commanders of elephant forces. About the close of the reign of this king Devaranayaningaree, the son of Machayasahini, who calls himself the rescuer of the Kakatiya family was ruling the country round Mahadevi-charla. We are introduced to a fresh general of Prataparudra, *i.e.*, Muppidi-Nayaka in his inscription of the Arulalaperumal temple dated in Saka 1238 (=1316 A.D.). Prataparudra had, as his *sarvadhikari*, a certain Ellayareddi; and his elder brother figures in a record of 1308 A.D.

One of the first acts of the king was to settle some disturbances in Nellore and this, as we have already stated, was done by his general Misaraganda Adidemma, who put to death the Telugu-Choda chief of the place named Manmagandagopala. In 1303 A. D., the Kākatiya kingdom was pitched upon for an attack by the Muhammadan emperor of Delhi. We are informed by one of their historians named Zia-ud-din-Barni that Malik Fakhruddin Juna, Malik Jhaju of Karra, nephew of Nazarat-khan, had been sent with all the officers and forces of Hindustan against Arangal. When they arrived there, the rainy season commenced and proved such a hindrance that the army could do nothing; and in the beginning of winter they returned to Hindustan, greatly thinned in their ranks. This ill-fated expedition was soon followed by another the result of which was a thorough success. The following is an extract from the account of the Muhammadan chronicler Amir-khusru:—On the 25th of Jumada-lawwal, A. H. 709 (=1309 A.D.) Malik Naib Kafur, the minister, was despatched on an expedition to Tilang (*i.e.* Telingana). The army of the general crossed several rivers, torrents, water courses and forests, and finally, eight days after they crossed the Nerbudda (*i.e.* Narmada), they arrived at Nilakantha (Nelgund in the Nizam's dominions), which was on the borders of Deogir and included in the country of Rai Rayan, whose minister Ramdeo was. Here the Muhammadans ascertained the stages in advance of them and proceeded after a halt of two days. They then crossed three plains and hills and arrived within the borders of Bijanagar (Baugnagar in the

Hyderabad state?) which was situated in the *doab* of two rivers, one being Yasbar and the other Baruja, and which was reported to contain a diamond mine. They then went to the fort of Sirbar (identical with Sirpur in the Hyderabad state), which was then included in the province of Tilang (Telingana). The place was attacked by the invaders, who put to the sword those Hindus that escaped the flames of their fire arrows. Ananir, the brother of the commander of the fort, was forced to surrender it with all its treasures. The Muhammadans then marched to Kunarpal (identical with Sunarpal in the Bastute state) and thence to Arangal (*i.e.* Warrangal). From the last place two chiefs were sent to occupy the hill of Anmakinda (*i.e.* Anmakonda), for from that all the edifices and gardens of Arangal can be seen. The wall of Arangal, says the historian, was made of mud, but so strong was it that a spear of steel could not pierce it; and if a ball from a Western catapult were to strike against it, it would rebound like a nut which children play with. The fort of Arangal, the entire circuit of which was 12,542 yards, was then besieged from all sides. A night attack was made on the Muhammadan camp by 3,000 Hindu horse under the command of Banak Deo, the chief of that country. It proved unsuccessful and the Ravats (*i.e.* the Rahuts who were the commanders of cavalry) were either slain or imprisoned. From those in prison the Muhammadans learnt that in the town of Dhamdum six parasangs from Tilang (Telingana) three powerful elephants were kept. These they soon seized.

The Naib Amir gave daily orders to attack the chiefs of Laddor Deo (*i.e.* Rudradeva) to demolish the wall and to reduce it to powder by throwing Western stone balls. Many breaches were effected and the mud which fell in the trench filled it to half its depth. During the night the Muhammadans mounted the walls by means of ladders and occupied three positions of the outer wall. In the space of three or four days the whole of the outer wall was in the possession of the invaders. They then observed that there was an inner wall and an inner ditch. The success achieved so far filled them with courage and hope. And when the army reached the inner ditch, they swam across it, and commenced a vigorous attack on one of the stone bastions which so alarmed Raidaddor Deo (Pratāparudradēva) that he offered terms of capitulation by despatching confidential messengers to offer an

annual tribute. He also sent a golden image of himself with a golden chain round its neck in acknowledgment of his submission. Next morning the officers of the Rai returned with elephants, treasures and horses before the Malik, who took the entire wealth. Ferishta computes the present at 300 elephants, 7,000 horses, and money and jewels to a large amount. A treaty was then entered into by which it was agreed that the Rai should send *Girya* annually to Delhi. The Malik left Arangal on the 16th of Shawwal (March 1310 A.D.) with all his booty and 1,000 camels groaning under the weight of treasures. It is said that the Muhammadan general gave the king of Delhi, *i.e.*, Ala-ud-din, (in 1311 A.D.) 312 elephants, 20,000 *maunds* of gold, several boxes of jewels and pearls, and other precious effects which he carried from the Dekhan as a result of his expedition against the Hindu kings of the Dekhan. The Tamil work *Koyilolugu* confirms the statement of the Muhammadan historian, when it says that the Mussalman king of Delhi defeated Prataparudra, took possession of Tondaimandalam and Chola-mandalam and other countries, looted temples and carried away images and treasures. Here also the event is ascribed to Śaka 1230 (=1308-9 A.D.). The Yādava king of Devagiri having neglected to pay for several years the annual tribute agreed upon by him, Malik Kafur came to the south in 1312 A.D. determined on punishing him and to receive the tribute from the Kākatiya king who was ready to pay it. The Muhammadan general now put to death the Raja of Devagiri, laid waste the country of Maharashtra and Canara from Dabul and Chaule as far as Raichur and Mudkal; realised the tribute from the Kākatiyas of Telingana and the Ballalas of Karnata and sent the whole to Delhi.*

Taking advantage of the confusion caused by the invasion of Malik Kafur, the Kērala king Ravivarman Kulasēkara obtained possession of Conjeevaram after defeating the Pāndyas and a northern sovereign. The latter was probably a Telugu-Chōḍa chief ruling in Tondai-mandalam. This Kerala sovereign was crowned on the banks of the Vegavati in 1313. A.D. Three years after, *i.e.*, in 1316 A.D., Prataparudra sent his general Muppidi-Nayaka to settle the affairs at Conjeevaram, which he seems to have done by driving out the southern usurper and installing one Manavira as governor of the place. This was

* Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I., pp. 378-9.

perhaps a necessary consequence of Prataparudra's taking possession of Nellore, the affairs of which place attracted his attention. The Kākatiyas were now able to push their way further south to Trichinopoly, as they were left without any rivals in the field. By this time the Chola power had completely vanished; the powerful Pallava rebel Perunjinga had died; and the successors of Jatāvarman-Sundara-Pāndya, the Great, had not the skill or the strength of that sovereign; hence Prataparudra did not meet with much opposition in his endeavour to acquire more territory in the south. About the same time one of Prataparudra's subordinates reduced the fort of Gandikōtta,* and it is said in an inscription found at Upparapalle that a certain Gonkareddi was appointed to the governorship of this place and Mulkinandu. Tradition asserts that in the year Pramadhin, corresponding to 1314 A. D., the fort of Warrangal was taken possession of by a son of Kapilendra-Gajapati of Orissa. There is not much doubt that about this period the Gajapati kings tried to extend their dominion southwards. *Koyilolugu* registers the fact that the lord of Oddiyadesa, i.e. Orissa, made an invasion of the South with a large army. It is not unlikely that the claim of Prataparudra's general, Devaranayanangaru, to the title of the rescuer of the Kākatiya family which we find mentioned in an epigraph of 1315 A. D.,† rests on the fact that he freed the country from the aggression of the Gajapati ruler. It must, however, be noted that the list of the Kesari kings of Orissa‡ omits this name from among those of the sovereigns of this period. Prataparudra's latest date found in his inscriptions is Śaka 1244 §, which takes us to 1322-3 A. D., when he apparently ceased to rule. Perhaps it was now that he refused to pay tribute to the Muhammadan emperor at Delhi, and was taken prisoner, as some accounts have it.

In 1321 A. D., when Ghias-ud-din Taghlak was the emperor of Delhi, he sent his eldest son Mullik-Fukhr-ud-din-Joona, the heir apparent, entitled Aluf Khan, against Telingana. The cause of this expedition was the refusal of Prataparudra to send the tribute agreed to by him. This step was the result of certain disturbances that were caused at Delhi consequent on the change of government. The Muhammadan prince plundered the country in every direction and Prataparudra gallantly attacked him, but

* No. 328 of 1905.

† No. 586 of 1909.

‡ *Sewell's Lists of Antiquities*
Vol. II., p. 201 ff.

§ No. 604 of 1909.

in the end was obliged to retreat to his capital Warrangal, which was immediately invested by the Muhammadans. The siege was carried on with great loss on both sides; but the fortifications having been lately strengthened, no practicable breach could be effected. The season having proved unfavourable to the Muhammadans, and an epidemic having broken out which carried off hundreds of men every day from their ranks, the Muhammadan generals were greatly disheartened. A rumour was spread that the emperor was dead, which caused universal consternation throughout the army and the officers left the camp. The prince was therefore forced to raise the siege and retreat to Dēvagiri, whither he was pursued by Prataparudra sustaining great loss. At this stage the falsity of the rumour was ascertained by the prince, and he returned to Delhi taking with him as captive the authors of the false report, who it is said were buried alive. Two months after, the prince again marched to Warrangal with a large army. Bedur on the borders of Telingana was taken and a Muhammadan garrison was stationed there. Warrangal was soon besieged and made to surrender; Prataparudra and his family were taken prisoners and sent to Delhi; and having appointed a Muhammadan viceroy to rule over Telingana, Ulugh Khan returned to Delhi with immense booty. In 1327 Muhammad-Bin-Taghlak turned his thoughts again to the conquest of the several provinces in India, and Warrangal was now incorporated with the Muhammadan empire along with several others such as Dvarasamudra, Mābar (*i.e.*, the Pandya country), the whole of the Carnatic, etc.

Prataparudra was the last great sovereign of the Kākatiya dynasty. His kingdom, after reaching its zenith during his time, came practically to an end in 1323 A. D. The political condition of Southern India about the second quarter of the 14th century was very precarious. The Muhammadan invasions by the generals of the Khilji and the Taghlak kings of Delhi, which were conducted with much skill and vigour, carried destruction throughout the Dekhan and left it void of all its resources. We are informed that the treasures taken away by the Muhammadans from the South knew no limit. The three great powers of Southern India *viz.*, the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra, the Yadavas of Devagiri, and the Kākatiyas of Warrangal were those who suffered most from these invasions, which, it may be noted, brought them to the brink of complete annihilation.

The confusion caused by the Mussalman raids, which resulted in the prevalence of anarchy in the Dekhan offered nice opportunities for the generals and commanders of forces of these Hindu sovereigns to rise into independence and to found separate kingdoms in the place of the subverted ones.

If the Vijayanagar kingdom was founded on the ruins of the fallen houses of the Yadavas of Devagiri, and the Hoysala Ballalas, we have ample grounds for supposing that the Reddi kingdoms of the Telugu district were founded on the wreck of the Kākatiyas of Warrangal. There is no doubt that the Reddis were originally under the service of the Kākatiyas governing some one province or another. We have seen that the Sarvadhikari (*i. e.*, something answering to the modern position of a private secretary) of Prataparudra was a certain Ellaya-Reddi. It was also noticed that the governorship of Gandikota in the Cuddapah district was conferred on Gonka-Reddi. Tradition asserts that in 1225 A. D., one Donti-Alla-Reddi was in possession of the fort of Dharinikota close to Amravati on the Krishna river, and that subsequently Prolaya-Vema-Reddi acquired power, defeated Prataparudra at Dharanikota, proclaimed himself independent, proceeded to Kondividu, rebuilt Puttakota, and ruled from 1320 to 1331 A.D. From other sources we learn that this Vema-Reddi was originally a commander in the service of Prataparudra, and that when the Kākatiya king was taken prisoner by the Muhammadans, he declared his independence and took possession of the Vinukonda Kingdom. Thus we see that the Reddis were the political descendants of the Kākatiyas of Warrangal, just as the Vijayanagaras were the political successors of the Yadavas of Devagiri and the Hoysala Ballalas.

In 1339-40 the Muhammadan emperor conceived the idea of making Devagiri his capital, as being a more central place, and thought that it would become an important base of operations in Southern India. From here, it is said, that he directed his campaigns against the Raja of Warrangal, and marched by way of Telingana to Mābar.

In 1344 Krishna Naik, the son of Prataparudra who lived near Warrangal, revealed to Ballal Deva, the Raja of the Carnatic, a design of the Dekhan Muhammadans to extirpate the Hindus, and said that it was necessary that a strong combination should be made against them. Ballal Dēva agreed to this. He first strengthened all his fortifications and built a new city in the

mountain fastnesses which he called Vijaiyanagar, 'the city of victory' and raised a strong army. They then reduced Warrangal and forced Imoodulmulk, the governor to retreat to Doulatabad. Several of the Hindu Rajas of the Dekhan were induced to join them. The confederate Hindus seized the country occupied by the Muhammadans and expelled them from the Dekhan. Only Doulatabad remained in the hands of the Delhi emperor. Muhammad Taghlak was greatly exasperated at the receipt of this intelligence, but he could take no effective step because of his hands being already full on account of the anarchy and famine that prevailed in his realm, and the Dekhan Hindus were thus left to themselves.

In 1370 A. D. Krishna Naik and the king of Bijnagar made a final attempt to get back their lost possessions; they sent ambassadors to the Court of the Bahmani king, Muhammad Shah, demanding restitution of the territories wrested from them and threatening him with an invasion in case of non-compliance. Muhammad Shah was not willing to cede any territory nor was he prepared for an invasion just then, as the times were not quite favourable for an undertaking of the kind, because there were dissensions among his nobles and his treasury was poor; he therefore tried to gain time by retaining the ambassadors at his Court, and sending others to the Hindu kings. Thus he evaded a collision for a period of eighteen months by which time he had restored order in his kingdom. He then made an exorbitant demand from the Hindu kings and when this was not complied with, he led an expedition against Telingana.

Vinaik Deva, the son of the Raja of Telingana was sent to recover Kowlas; he was assisted by the Raja of Bijnagar. But the combined armies were completely defeated by the Muhammadan General Bahadur Khan, who devastated the country of the Raja whom he forced to accept a humiliating treaty.

In 1371, on the plea that some horse dealers had been dispossessed by Vinaik-deva at Vellumputtan of some of the fine horses which they were taking for the king of Kulbarga, Muhammad Shah renewed the war against Telingana, and succeeded in entering Vellumputtan by strategic means. The Hindu Raja being taken unawares retired to his citadel where he was afterwards besieged, taken captive and cruelly put to death. Muhammad Shah then took hold of all the treasure and jewels he could lay his hands on and levied an indemnity on the people,

When he retired from the country, the Telingas mustered together the available forces and molested Muhammad Shah to such an extent that when he reached his country he found that his forces were greatly thinned in number.

The Raja of Telingana being sorely afflicted by the death of his son, petitioned the emperor Firoz Tughlak of Delhi to send an army to help him in his wars against the Bijapur king. In return he promised allegiance to him, a good tribute and the recovery of the Delhi possessions in the Dekhan. This proved to be of no avail as the emperor had enough to do in putting down rebellions in his dominion. Muhammad Shah then resolved upon the entire conquest of Telingana. It was with much difficulty that the Hindu Raja purchased peace from the king of Bijnagar by which he agreed to pay a large sum of money, elephants and horses. Muhammad Shah then went to his capital leaving Bahadur Khan at Kowlas to see the terms of the treaty fulfilled. After some time, the Raja of Telingana sent his agents to the Bijapur king praying for permanent freedom from disturbance and in return promised to present him with a curiosity worthy of a great King. Golkonda was made the fixed boundary between the two kingdoms, and Muhammad Shah received a beautiful throne set with costly gems valued at thirty-three lakhs of rupees.

(To be concluded.)

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

MR. STANLEY WASHBURN is doing magnificent service by his illuminating articles in the *Times* from the Russian armies in Galicia and Poland. The Russian retreat is unquestionably a great disappointment, but it has long been foreseen by the military authorities, and carefully prepared for. The capture of Warsaw, it may be frankly admitted, is the greatest German achievement in the present war. It would be folly to belittle this success but it is still more true that the retirement of the Russians is in no sense a *debacle*. It is a masterly, skillfully-planned retreat in the presence, not of superior men, but of superior munitions. The withdrawal is due to the inability of Russia to utilise its vast resources for the purposes of the war. The retreat from Dunajec, according to Mr. Washburn, will form a brilliant page in the history of Russia. It is "an object lesson to the whole world of what a stubborn army composed of courageous hearts can do by almost sheer

bravery alone. The Russians have come through their trial of fire. With the exception of one army, now reconstituted, they have probably suffered far less in *personel* than their enemies. They have reached or approximately reached another point of defence. Their spirits are good, their confidence is unshaken, and their determination to fight on indefinitely regardless of defeats is greater than it ever was before. The Germans have failed in their greatest aim—as the case stands to-day.” It is in this imperturbability that Russia’s strength lies. She takes her victories without elation and her defeats without murmur. She has retired to-day but as every man in her army is assured she will come back again. Mr. Balfour in the great London Opera House meeting last month gave worthy expression to the admiration that is felt for Russia to-day. “I know of no spectacle more moving to a generous spirit than that presented by this contest between men and munitions now going on in the East of Europe. Was there ever heroism greater than that which has been shown by the Russian soldier, power of resistance more splendid, power of attack more brilliant?”

PROFESSOR JOSIAH ROYCE, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Harvard, U. S. A., is one of the leading thinkers of the world to-day. The following letter to Professor Jacks, the Editor of the *Hibbert Journal*, will be read with exceptional interest. It was first printed in the *Morning Post*.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., June 12.

DEAR JACKS,

“In my last letter I believe that I laid some stress to you upon the necessity, both patriotic and academic, of my trying to preserve a formally strict neutrality of expression, not merely because the community of mankind as a total community is my highest interest, but because our President’s advice to the nation and our manifold relations to foreigners have limited our right to express ourselves regarding matters of the war and of current controversy. It is now a relief to be able to say with heartiness that one result at least of the *Lusitania* atrocity has been and will be to make it both necessary and advisable to speak out plainly many things which an American Professor in my position has long felt a desire to say upon occasions when he still supposed it to be his duty not to say them.

“Thus, for instance, immediately after the *Lusitania* incident, and before Wilson’s first letter addressed to Berlin, I quite deliberately told my own principal class in metaphysics that, and why, I should no longer endeavour to assume a neutral attitude about the moral questions which the *Lusitania* incident brought to the minds of all of us. That friends of mine, and that former pupils of mine, near to me as the students whom I was addressing are near to me, were on the *Lusitania*—this, as I said to my class, made it right for me to say: ‘Among those dead of the *Lusitania* are my own dead.’

“And so, I went on to say, I cannot longer leave you to suppose that I have any agreement with the views which a German colleague of mine, a

teacher at Harvard, recently maintained when he predicted what he called "the spiritual triumph of Germany." To you, as my pupils, it is my duty to say that henceforth, whatever the fortunes of war may be, "the spiritual triumph of Germany," is quite impossible so far as this conflict is concerned. I freely admit that Germany may triumph in the visible conflict, although my judgment about such matters is quite worthless. But to my German friends and colleagues if they chance to know what I think, I can and do henceforth only say this: "You may triumph in the visible world, but at the banquet where you celebrate your triumph there will be present the ghosts of my dead slain on the *Lusitania*."

"I insisted to my class that just now the especially significant side of this matter is contained simply in the deliberately chosen facts which the enemy of mankind has chosen to bring in these newest expressions of the infamies of Prussian warfare. I should be a poor Professor of Philosophy, and in particular of moral philosophy, if I left my class in the least doubt as to how to view such things. And that, then, was my immediate reaction on the *Lusitania* situation.

"Of course, one still has to live with his German colleagues in the midst of this situation. I am glad to know at least one such German colleague—and, I believe, a thoroughly good patriot—who views the *Lusitania* atrocity precisely as any honest and humane man must view it, unless wholly blinded by the present personal and social atmosphere of ferocity and confusion in which so many Germans live.

"Of the political consequences of the incident up to this date you will have, I hope, a sufficiently definite ground for judgment. Fortune is fickle; and war is a sadly chaotic series of changes. But this I warmly hope: henceforth may the genuine consciousness of brotherhood between your people and mine become more and more clearly warm, and conscious, and practically effective upon the course of events. The *Lusitania* affair makes us here, all of us, clearer. A deeply unified and national indignation, coupled with a strong sense of our duty towards all humanity, has already resulted from this new experiment upon human nature, which has been 'made in Germany,' and then applied to the task of testing what American sentiment really is.

"I do not know how often the changing fortunes of war, or the difficulties about neutral commerce, will bring to light causes of friction or of tension between our two peoples. But I cordially hope that we shall find ourselves, henceforth, nearer and nearer together in conscious sentiment and in the sort of sympathy which can find effective expression. It is a great thing to feel that Wilson, in his last two Notes to Germany, has been speaking the word both for his nation and for all humanity. I am sure that he has spoken the word for a new sort of unification of our own national consciousness.

"Unless Germany substantially meets these demands, I am sure that she will find all our foreign populations more united than ever through their common resentment in the presence of international outrages, and through their common consciousness that our unity and active co-operation must have an important bearing upon the future of all that makes human life precious to any of us.

"As a fact, I believe that unless Germany meets the essential demands of President Wilson, our German-American population will be wholly united with us, as never before, in the interests of humanity and of freedom. In brief, the *Lusitania* affair and its consequences, 'give one further a tiny

example of that utter ignorance of human nature and of its workings which the German propaganda, the German diplomacy, and the German policy have shown from the outset of the war.'

"Submarines these people may understand, certainly not souls.

"Do with this letter, or with any part of it precisely as you think best, not, indeed, making it seem as if I were at all fond of notoriety, but merely using the right which I give you as my friend to let anybody know where I stand. I am no longer neutral, even in form.

"The German Prince is now the declared and proclaimed enemy of mankind, declared to be such not by any 'lies' of his enemies, or by any 'envious' comments of other people, but by his own quite deliberate choice to carry on war by the merciless destruction of innocent, non-combatant passengers. The single deed is, indeed, only a comparatively petty event when compared with the stupendous crimes which fill this war. But the sinking of the *Lusitania* has the advantage of being a deed which not only cannot be denied, but which has been proudly proclaimed as expressing the appeal that Germany now makes to all humanity.

"About that appeal I am not neutral. I know that that appeal expresses utter contempt for every thing which makes the common life of humanity tolerable or possible. I know that if the principle of that appeal is accepted, whatever makes home or country or family or friends, or any form of loyalty worthily dear, is made an object of a perfectly deliberate and merciless assault. About such policies and their principles, about such appeals, and about the Prince who makes them, and about his underlings who serve him, I have no longer any neutrality to keep."

THE following order of the Government of Madras has recently been issued:—

It has been decided that, as a matter of general policy, it is not proper, during the war, to continue to subsidize institutions directed by members of nations with whom hostilities are in progress and that unless there are exceptional reasons to the contrary such grants should now cease. This principle is also applicable to subsidies given from public funds administered by local boards and municipalities. The Director of Public Instruction has accordingly been requested to give notice at once in respect of all educational institutions which are conducted or controlled by members of nations with whom hostilities are in progress that all grants to them, either from Government funds or from public funds administered by local bodies, will cease with effect from the 30th September, 1915. Any actual specific promise of assistance should however be fulfilled and regard should be had to the interests of individuals, particularly young children, who have hitherto been dependent on these missions.

2. The Director of Public Instruction has been requested to ascertain and report what educational institutions will be closed in consequence of this order and what will be the results of such closure upon individual teachers and others; to consult Collectors and also if necessary the Missionary Educational Council of South India as to the future management of such institutions; and to submit proposals on the subject to the Government. Similar instructions have been given to the Surgeon-General in respect of medical institutions which will be affected by these orders.

We are sure that the Government will in the circumstances do everything it reasonably can to prevent hardship, and the instruction to the Director of Public Instruction to consult, if necessary, the Missionary Educational Council of South India is a proof of this desire. No body is so closely in touch with the education carried on by the Missionary Societies, whether British, American, or Continental, as the Educational Council and there is no doubt that the Council will give every assistance to the Government in trying to conserve the work so long and ably carried on in numerous schools and colleges.

WHEN the history of the War comes to be written the work of the Y. M. C. A. will find no inconspicuous place. Wherever there is work to be done and aid to be rendered the Y. M. C. A. is on the spot, whether at the front in Europe, with the territorial camp in Britain and in India, or up the Persian Gulf. In a hundred ways direct and indirect the Association is seeking to ease the burdens and lighten the tragedy of the present situation. Their work among the Indian troops in France has met with the rich reward of gratitude from men who from ignorance of the language and ways of life in a foreign land are placed in a peculiarly difficult situation. We hope that generous contributions will help them in their self-denying labours.

ANOTHER agency that has accomplished excellent work during this crisis is the "Emergency Committee for the Assistance of Germans, Austrians and Hungarians in Distress" of which Lord Bryce is an active member. This Committee has recently issued its report and one feature of its labours is specially worthy of notice. The following account appears in the *Young Men of India* for August:—

"One of the brightest rewards of our work has been the establishment, early in November last, of a Committee of influential Germans, with offices in Berlin, for the assistance of British and other foreigners in Germany. A translation of their finely-worded appeal has been republished as a leaflet, and is obtainable at this office. Through the mediation of this Committee at Berlin, the German and Dutch Peace Societies, and the National Peace Council (to which body our work owes much), a regular system has been established by which messages can be conveyed by post between individuals in Britain and Germany and their relatives in the other country.

"It may, we think, be claimed that the efforts described in these pages, imperfect as they have been, have helped to preserve from the destructiveness of war some of the links of love and sympathy which should always bind together the nations of Christendom. The smallest things that can be saved from disaster now will serve as foundations on which to build a brighter and better future. All those who have supported and promoted our work have, we believe, done so in obedience to the spirit of Love, which knows no barriers of race or creed."

OUR attention has been called to another article in the July number of *Young Men in India, Play the Game* by Mr. L. R. Kenyon. It is an appeal to the Indian student to play the game in cricket, in football, in tennis, and in life. Mr. Kenyon says only what professors in the colleges are always saying, but he says it well and with fresh illustrations, and we hope it will be read by every cricketer, footballer, tennis player, hockey player and by every student who can play none of these games. Those of us who have watched the growth of games in India know that many examples might be given of manly straightforward conduct, but it remains true that there are still far too many examples of foul play, of loss of temper, of readiness to snatch an unworthy advantage, of refusal to accept the umpire's ruling, and other offences against the true sportsmanlike spirit. So much is this the case that many lovers of sport think that the highest interests of the student would for sometime to come be best served by intra-collegiate rather than inter-collegiate matches. That may be so. Meanwhile we would fain encourage ourselves with the hope that the true spirit is growing, the spirit that resolutely sets itself against all trickery, meanness and false dealing. Games when played in the true spirit are a magnificent asset for life. The boy who refuses to take a mean advantage in a game will almost certainly play straight in life. We reproduce a few of the paragraphs in "College Notes".

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

On some Painters of the Renaissance. By Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, M. A., Sc. D. (The Young Men's Christian Association. Price As. 6)

THIS book comprises a series of more than twenty brief articles written for the 'Bombay Guardian'. The articles were intended primarily for European sojourners in India who might wish to take the opportunities afforded by their journeys to and from England to learn something at first hand of the greatest pictures of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The book is in many ways well written for its purpose, in an easy and interesting style, with a phrasing which is often most felicitous in descriptions of a group of artists or of the characteristics of an individual painter. But in many cases the chapters are almost too slight to be of much value and the whole book might have been improved by a somewhat more solid and ordered background. Perhaps this is more than we could expect for six annas. We presume that

the Y. M. C. A. in publishing this book had in view a wider circle of readers than that for which the articles were originally written. It should certainly be useful to Indians visiting Europe, when Italy, France, Germany and Flanders become once again fit haunts for the peaceful tourist and lover of art. Meantime, perhaps, the students of the Madras University, who find Pater's 'Renaissance,' among their texts for detailed study, may get some light on a few of the essays therein from Mrs. Stevenson's little book.

M. A. B.

Oxford Readers: Reformed Series for India. Books I and II, and Teachers' Book for the same. By R. W. Ross. Oxford University Press. Price As. 4, 8 and 12 respectively.

By an unfortunate chance, the First Book in the above series was sent in advance of its companions, and separately noticed in the *Magazine* for July. Had the *Teachers' Book* been in our hands at the same time, our criticism might have been modified.

Mr. Ross has been at considerable pains to present in these books an aid to the "Direct Method" of teaching English, and if teachers will lay his injunctions to heart the improvement in the reading and speaking of English in South India should be considerable. With regard to the offending photographs, it is only fair to say that in the *Teachers' Book* Mr. Ross warns them against the confusion of English *t*, *l*, and *n* with the Tamil *ṭ*, *ḷ* and *ṇ*, though not (in our judgment) with sufficient emphasis, in view of the frequency of this defect among the teachers themselves. And we still think the photographs in question misleading. The fact is, Mr. Ross has attempted the impossible. You cannot photograph the tongue in the correct position for the English letters in question, for the good and simple reason that it is completely screened by the teeth and lips. It would be better to replace these pictures by sectional diagrams, such as are frequently included in phonetic manuals, to show the true position of the tongue. In using the present edition, the teacher can obviate the danger by drawing such a diagram on the blackboard.

Why the Nations are at War: the Causes and Issues of the Great Conflict. By Chas. Morris and Lawrence H. Dawson. London: Harrap and Co. 1915. Price 5s. nett.

THIS is a popular work, got up with all the thoroughness and distinction which the discriminating book-buyer has learnt to expect in Harraps' publications. It is copiously illustrated with plates of the

notables concerned in the war, or types of the naval and military forces engaged, while the coloured frontispiece gives a vigorous picture of a British submarine of the latest ("E") class. The letter-press gives (1) an account of the crisis of 1914, and of the immediate causes that led to the war; (2) a sketch of European history, including the growth of the British Empire and the question of the Far East, from the end of the eighteenth century. It would not be fair to judge the book, of barely four hundred pages, by high standards of scholarship. But for those in search of a concise outline of the principal matters involved, or of an attractive gift-book appropriate to the time, such a book as this may be commended.

Dent's Readers. The Heroes. Captain Cook's Voyages of Discovery. The Life and Death of Jason. Longfellow's Poems. London: Dent and Co. Price 6d. each.

TWO series are here represented—the *Temple Continuous Readers* by the prose, and *English Literature for Schools* by the poetry. All alike are neatly got up and well printed, and their price (subject to discount) is small. It is interesting to note once more, in *Jason* and *The Heroes*, how the old Greek legends retain their perennial charm.

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LITERARY NOTES.

AMONG contemporary journalists few can compare with Mr. A. G. Gardiner for penetrating analysis of character. Under the title of *The War Lords* he has contributed a volume to Dent's "Wayfarers' Library," which contains sketches of many of the men on both sides now much in the public eye, and notably of the Kaiser.

TALKING of Dent's publications we may call the attention of teachers to a suggestive little pamphlet issued by that house showing how *Everyman's Library* helps the educationalist. It is an advertisement; but the wares advertised are good. It may also serve as a guide to those who wish to continue their own education.

WITH the reviewer in *The Times Literary Supplement*, we welcome the appearance of a real "pocket" Landor. Even the *Golden Treasury* selection, admirable in many ways, is a little too bulky for the pocket. The present selection, limited to *The Imaginary Conversations*, is from the capable hands of Mr. E. de Sélincourt. It is a

mark of Landor's power that both the editor, in his introduction, and the reviewer are inspired by their theme to really notable criticism.

LIKE Landor among men of letters, Pascal has had among the saints a select rather than a numerous audience. In each case, the indirect influence thus exercised is beyond computation. The Cambridge University Press has issued a remarkable monograph on the author of the *Pensées* in Mr. H. F. Stewart's Hulsean Lectures. The title of the book is *The Holiness of Pascal*, and the price four shillings nett.

PROBABLY most of the readers of the *Magazine* are familiar with the name of Mr. R. G. Usher, from the fame of his book on Pan-Germanism. He has now published *The Rise of the American People* (Grant Richards, 7s. 6d. nett), in which he maintains the paradoxical thesis that the nation of the U. S. A. was only born in the crisis of the Civil War. Nevertheless it is an illuminating contribution to American history.

WE referred some time ago to the important series of books on *The Religious Quest of India*. The first volumes, *Indian Theism from the Vedic to the Muhammadan Period*, by Dr. N. Macnicol (6s. nett), and *The Heart of Jainism*, by Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson (7s. 6d. nett), have now appeared, and have met with a most favourable reception.

A RUSSIAN contributor to the *Athenaeum*, commenting on the profusion of pamphlets on the War poured out by the English press, points out that the comparative lack of such things in France can be accounted for by the fact that probably "the large majority of French literary men and of the staffs of secondary and higher schools have been serving since the very beginning of the War, and many literary men and professors . . . have died a glorious death for their country." This is an aspect of universal military service not commonly realised.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE EDITOR, CHRISTIAN COLLEGE MAGAZINE,

SIR,

You dealt in your footnotes with some of the points raised by Mr. Knowles in his letter published in your July issue. But his most dangerous dogmas you were good enough to allow to go unchallenged. I refer to his astonishing statement that the great majority of the sounds in Tamil and English are common to both languages, and his more astonishing analysis in justification of the statement.

It would be very unfortunate if such statements as to the pronunciation of English passed unheeded in an organ like yours. And I hasten to 'step in' in the hope that angels—as they sometimes do—may have got there first, and that there will be no need to print my letter: I shall speak dogmatically because diffidence is long-winded.

1. Mr. Knowles says all the Tamil vowels are found in English. If by this he means that all the Tamil vowel sounds might be found in a survey of the hundred and one dialects still spoken up and down Great Britain (and Ireland), I am not prepared to deny it. That is a principle which if sound is useless. If he means, however, that all the Tamil vowel sounds occur in the speech of an Englishman, speaking educated and polite English—which I should call Standard English did I not recognize that in the last resort 'Standard English' means 'my Standard English'—the statement needs qualification.

(a) *æ*, at least in accented syllables, is much less lax and more frontal than *i*: (as in *sleep*).

(b) *ə* and *ɜ* are by no means identical with *o* (as in *November*) or *ɔ* (as in *long*) and *ou* (as in *note*). *ə* baffles me; but *ɜ* is more like the Scotch *o*: than anything I am familiar with.

(c) *ɛ* in combination is a pure monophthong, and does not occur as such in English. It is heard as the first part of the diphthong *ei* (as in *day*). It is said to occur naked in Scotch, e.g. *de* for *dei*.

(d) *æ* like *æ* is much less lax than *ai* (as in *fly*), in fact much nearer *ei*.

2. Mr. Knowles asserts that the only English vowel sounds not found in Tamil are *ɔ*: (as in *all*) and *ʌ* (as in *but*).

(a) As to *ɔ*: (as in *all*) painful experience has taught me not only that it does not occur in Tamil, but that it is almost impossible to teach it to a Tamilian. So far I agree.

(b) But the assertion that \wedge (as in *but*) does not occur in Tamil is staggering. It would be much less untrue to say that it is the only vowel sound that *does* occur in Tamil. It is the sound value which அ habitually has. Does Mr. Knowles think that Tamilians call தமிழ் *Tamil*, the first syllable rhyming with *Tamworth*? (I suspect the printer's devil here).

(c) The fact is that the sound æ (as in *man*) does not occur in Tamil at all (except possibly on the lips of a very few who try to Anglicize even their Tamil).

(d) The same must be said of (i) ɔ (as in *long*) which most Tamilians therefore pronounce a , a short form of the sound a : in *father* (ii) ɛ in *there*. (iii) ə : as in *bird*.

3. Passing to consonant sounds,

(a) Mr. Knowles says that the *sh* in *ship* is found in Tamil-Sanscrit words. This I take leave to deny. There are two breathed fricatives in addition to the pure sibilant *S* (as in *sin*) in Sanscritic Tamil; they are usually transliterated Ś (as in *Śiva*) and Ṣ (as in *Upaniṣad*); but neither is identical with *sh* (as in *ship*), this last being in fact almost half way between Ś and Ṣ .

(b) I was at first inclined to condemn outright Mr. Knowles' assertion that *V* and *W* occur in Tamil. I still think the assertion very misleading; but I should now agree that though the sounds represented by *V* and *W* in English have no single equivalent letter in Tamil (வ being neither *V* nor *W* but something between the two) still the sounds in, e.g. அவ்வாறு and உவர்ப்பு respectively are sufficiently near our English *V* and *W* to take the sting out of Mr. Knowles' heresy.

But he says nothing of Λ (as in *which*) which some of us still distinguish from *W* (as in *witch*).

(c) The ordinary English *t* and *d* do not occur in Tamil. Mr. Knowles sees that the various sounds represented by த (ṭ) are all different from them. But he does not seem aware that ச and *t* are quite different. ச is dental, *t* is not—in spite even of all the phonetic books in the world. The nearest approach in Tamil to *t* is the first consonantal sound in the diphthong த்ர . த் is a very much rolled alveolar ('rolled dental', some would say, I suppose). But த்ர is a diphthong which may, I think, be transliterated *tr*.

To summarise my indictment of your correspondent may I ask you to reprint part of his very useful little fable, *italicising the sounds* (as spoken in 'careful conversational English') *which do not occur in Tamil?*

A tank in which two frogs had long lived was dried up by the heat, and they were at length obliged to seek water elsewhere. As

they were journeying on they reached the edge of a *deep* well in which they saw a good deal of water.

I am,
Yours, etc.,
C. KINGSLEY WILLIAMS.

SCIENCE NOTES.

FOR some time at various works in Norway, Italy, France and at the Niagara Falls nitric acid has been manufactured from atmospheric air, the nitrogen of which is transformed into ammonia and nitric acid. From German sources within the past few months a great deal has been said about enormous extensions having been made in this process by German chemists since the outbreak of the war. For the manufacture of high explosives, nitric acid is essential and the chief raw material for its preparation is Chili saltpetre, which by our blockade has practically ceased to enter Germany.

THOUGH the details of the new German methods are of course kept secret at present, the process employed must be probably a mere improvement on the existing operations conducted at Christiansand, Legnano and elsewhere. These new methods of preparation are two in number; direct, i.e., nitrogen and oxygen combine directly, or indirect, i.e., ammonia is first made as an intermediate product and then by combustion converted into nitric acid. The first of these has been very frequently attempted but with little success and at a prohibitive cost. The indirect method has given much better results. Here the nitrogen is got from the air by a liquefying apparatus and hydrogen is made by passing steam over red hot iron or coke and the resulting ammonia is oxidised under the influence of a catalyst. The "Ostwald" principle, which is similar, mixes the ammonia with air and the mixture is led in iron tubes to a chamber wherein is the contact agent. The resulting products are then condensed and it is claimed that 85 to 90 per cent of the theoretical yield is got. Germans say they have obtained this result, but other countries employing the same method have never had a yield anything like so great.

THE most successful factories are those at Odda in Norway, a concern largely financed by British capital, where nitrogen from the air is made to come in contact with calcium carbide with ammonia as one of the resulting products. Thus the Germans have no monopoly of this process, for factories are at work in the United States, Switzerland and

Japan. At the same time they are working under conditions which are far from normal and it now remains to be seen whether or not they can make good their boast that they have permanently rendered themselves independent of supplies of nitrates from overseas.

THE Baltic Sea has always been of interest to naturalists because of the differences in salinity which are found within it. At its entrance to the North Sea the salinity is naturally greatest, but as you proceed towards the Gulfs of Riga, of Finland and then on to the Gulf of Bothnia the water becomes less and less salty. From the most recent observations it would seem that the Baltic is becoming more shallow, so that it is every day becoming increasingly difficult for ships to find an easy passage between the various islands of Denmark. A great amount of drainage of marshes has been done lately around Petrograd with the result that more and more fresh water is entering the Gulf of Finland so that there the water is brackish, while at the top of the Gulf of Bothnia it is practically quite fresh.

As a result of this freshening of the waters fluviatile shellfish have invaded the open waters, while at the same time many marine forms have held their ground. Thus at the present time in certain ports such well known sea animals as mussels, cockles, periwinkles and various univalves live happily associated with such typically fresh water forms as the fresh water mussel, pondsnail, etc. Considering the normal habitat of each species, the assemblage is remarkable, for here the Lamarckian theory of modification to, but not by, environment is well illustrated, for the marine species are gradually changing their habitat from a marine to a fresh water one.

ALL military propulsive explosives have cotton for their basis. Cotton waste has first to be nitrated and turned into a satisfactory nitro-cellulose and the process here used is to immerse the purified waste in a mixture of H_2SO_4 , 71 %; HNO_3 , 21 % and H_2O , 8 %. The amount of water here is very important. After mixing for some time in the sulphuric and nitric acids the gun-cotton is washed thoroughly. Formerly the so-called hexa-nitrate of cellulose was aimed at, but the manufacturer now seeks to obtain a nitro-cellulose with approximately eleven molecules of NO_3 to the quadruple molecule $\text{C}_{24}\text{H}_{20}\text{O}_9$ (NO_3). It is absolutely necessary to obtain a uniform and trustworthy material for propulsive explosives and for this purpose there is only one satisfactory material available and that is cotton. As *Nature* says, "any competent chemist in his laboratory can make some form of nitro-cellulose from his own shirt cuffs if he

pleases", but that is no reason why we should feel alarm when we read reports of our enemies making gun-cotton from wood pulp and similar substances. That certainly will produce a nitro-cellulose but not *the* nitro-cellulose which is essential. Trustworthy nitro-cellulose can be made from cotton alone and the process is one which is long, delicate and requires to be conducted with military precision and under constant supervision. Now that cotton has been declared contraband the end of the war may be said to be in sight.

A PROPELLANT charge is used to force the shell through the gun, while the high explosive fills the shell itself and causes it to burst by means of a time or a percussion fuse. Just as all propulsive explosives *have* cotton for their basis, so all high explosives as a rule are derived from coal-tar products. The methods used in manufacturing nitro-hydro carbons suitable for shell-filling are very similar to those employed in preparing nitro-cellulose. A mixture of sulphuric and nitric acids is used and great attention must be paid to the composition of the acids, the agitation, temperature, etc.

PICRIC acid, discovered in 1771 by Woulfe of London, is commonly used to fill shells and goes by a different name in each country which employs it. In Britain it is lyddite, in France mélinite, in Italy pertite, in Japan shimose powder, in Germany Granatfüllung 88 and in Austria Ecrasite. It is made from phenol (carbolic acid) which is obtained from the distillation of coal-tar. Picric acid forms in yellow crystals and if heated gradually takes fire without exploding, burning with a dense black smoke. If it be touched with a red-hot rod it detonates violently, and it can also be exploded by the detonation of a capsule of fulminate of mercury. The defect of picric acid is, that when used to fill iron shells it unites with the metal to form a picrate which is very unstable and therefore dangerous. It is thus being rapidly replaced by the much safer trinitrotoluene, which is variously known as trinol, trotyl, trilit, tritolo or T.N.T. and which is also obtained from coal-tar naphtha.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

THE 'CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.'

THE most noticeable thing in regard to the August number of the *Contemporary Review* is the absence of any contribution from the pen of Dr. E. J. Dillon.

The article to which thoughtful readers will probably turn first is 'The Christian Ideal in relation to conditions of Peace' by Principal A. E. Garvie. The Christian Ideal, Dr. Garvie says, means the Kingdom of God, the rule of the truth and grace of God in the realm of the thought and life of mankind. It is a moral duty resting on a religious good. The Heavenly Fatherhood of God is the demand for and the motive of an earthly brotherhood among men. According to the teaching of Jesus the aim of this brotherhood will be not material goods but the personal good, the growth of each and all in true, blessed, holy, and loving manhood. The material goods of wealth, power, and territory divide men because they provoke competition, envy, rivalry, and even conflict. The personal good unites men, for it demands sympathy, mutual interest, and reciprocal service; and material good may be sought by the Christian only so far as it is in accord with and no hindrance to the possession of the personal good. This personal good is by its very nature universal, and cannot but mean brotherhood towards all men.

Does the desire for and the pursuit of this universal personal good absolutely exclude nationality? Does Christian universalism condemn patriotism as belonging to a lower stage of man's development? With regard to this question, Dr. Garvie calls attention to the fact that while there are institutions, such as slavery, which Christianity has abolished, there are institutions, such as marriage which the Christian Church approves and recognises as necessary in the Christian society. Does nationality resemble slavery or marriage? It is not easy to determine what constitutes nationality, but the struggles and sacrifices of patriotism in the past compel us to regard nationality as so deep-rooted in the nature of man that we cannot suppose that Christianity can aim at uprooting it. The development of civilisation, culture, morals, and even religion, he further observes, has been within national entities, and has resulted in a variety of types even in the higher interests of humanity too valuable for any Christian thinker to desire that they should all at last be merged in a uniform cosmopolitanism. We may therefore confidently answer that the universal personal good of

Christianity need not exclude the fact of nationality and the corresponding feeling of patriotism.

But nationality needs embodiment, and the State which embodies it has as its duty the protection and preservation of nationality from assault within and without. It must therefore when necessary exercise force. What, then, is the relation of the patriotism which approves and supports the exercise of force to the teaching of Jesus on non-resistance? With regard to this Dr. Garvie observes that when Jesus spoke to His disciples about the duty of non-resistance He did not have in view the functions and responsibilities of the State, and that it does violence to His intention to extend to the State a precept given to the individual disciple. Jesus, Dr. Garvie says, nowhere explicitly denies the right of the State to use force for the repression of crime, while Paul expressly recognises the state in this function as a divine institution. Only a literalist interpretation of the words of Jesus which disregards the historical situation involves the assumption that anarchy is a necessary application of the Christian ideal. And if Christianity does not require anarchy within a nation, it cannot be argued that it demands anarchy as between nations. It is the hope and should be the aim of the true Christian to secure some means more in accord with the Christian ideal than war of preventing anarchy both within nations and as between nations, but at the present stage in the evolution of humanity war is sometimes the only means available. In this connection Dr. Garvie points out that just as Jesus admitted the necessity for the Mosaic law of divorce on the ground of the hardness of men's hearts, so war may be permitted for the same reason though it stands condemned by the ideal. From the Christian standpoint, however, only a defensive war is permissible; and the exercise of the right of resistance does not exclude the continued obligation of the supreme Christian law of love. A Christian nation can save its soul from blood-guiltiness only as it wages war in the same spirit of justice and mercy as that in which a worthy judge administers the laws against crime.

If only a defensive war can be justified from the Christian standpoint, it follows, says Dr. Garvie, that only such preparation for war is permissible to a Christian people as such an object demands. From this point of view it is obvious that Germany's preparations for war were far beyond anything that was required for her safety and therefore provocative of war. Britain would have been involved in the same condemnation as Germany had she yielded to the demands of the scaremongers and attempted to form an army for offensive purposes in addition to her fleet, which is adequate for her defence. Her inability to put a large army on the Continent as soon as

war broke out is in no way to be regretted, Dr. Garvie says, for it is conclusive evidence of the sincerity of her efforts to secure more amicable relations with Germany. It cannot be justly a ground of complaints against her by her Allies for the support she has already given in land forces goes far beyond anything required by treaty obligations or even informal understandings, to say nothing about what her navy has done and is doing or the financial assistance which she is rendering. It would be amusing, he remarks, if the issues were not so serious, to observe the righteous indignation against German militarism which is being displayed by some who have been busy in promoting militarism as far as they have dared to use their opportunities. From the Christian standpoint the Government is to be commended for having adhered to the voluntary principle. And this for two reasons. In the first place if war is permissible for a nation desiring to fulfil the purpose of Christ only in self-defence it must rest on the common conscience of the nation to determine whether a war is to be waged or not. In the second place compulsion in such a matter as that of making war is an invasion of the sanctuary of the Christian personality. A man ought to be free to choose for himself whether it is his duty to offer himself to slay or to be slain for King and country.

With reference to what has been done at the Hague to define international law in relation to war and to secure such restrictions, as the not too highly developed common conscience demanded in the interests of humanity Dr. Garvie says that while such endeavours have been approved by the Christian conscience and commended by the Christian churches the present war has shown that there is one thing lacking in all of them. Nations which by their representatives have signed the various conventions for limiting the horrors of war have been standing idly by while one of the belligerents has disregarded all their obligations. When peace is secured, Dr. Garvie says, we must not only work for a fuller, clearer, and still more humane code of international law; but we must provide an international police to restrain and repress crime against that code. A guarantee of the neutrality of a small nation by a great must in future mean something more real than it now seems to mean. The hope of the future, Dr. Garvie thinks, lies in some international court which would give to legitimate national aspirations, commercial, colonial, or cultural, a sympathetic and appreciative consideration.

In the concluding section of his article Dr. Garvie ventures some remarks as to the future. He says that while a nation when persuaded that its freedom and power are imperilled may whole-heartedly support its Government in the prosecution of a war, peace is the great interest

of the masses of the people and therefore it is by a more direct control of diplomacy by the people through their elected representatives that the evils into which the governing classes of Europe have brought us are to be avoided. Popular ignorance and passion can of course be exploited by party politicians for their own interests, but the safeguard against this danger is popular education in the widest sense. The internationalising of national interests like Social Reform, which was making much progress before the war, will become one of the surest guarantees of peace. While the Christian churches have counted for something in the present crisis, they have failed to speak with a universal voice and they must become less sectarian in regard to their difference and less partisan in the patriotism of their members.

Under the title of 'The Soul of Civilisation' Mr. L. T. Hobhouse contributes an article in dialogue form on the inner meaning of the war, and the effect that the war is likely to have on Western civilisation. Germany, he says, stood out from the new civilisation of the West. She reacted against all the ideals that sprang up in France, England, America, and countries in sympathy with them. She developed a new variant in civilisation—in point of fact a new religion, with a god in two incarnations one of which was called Energy of Power or perhaps Will, and the other the State, organised on a basis of militarism. In the present war we see not the break-up of a civilisation but the clash of two civilisations with two religions—the one having as a god Force and the other having a God whose service is perfect Freedom. At first, says Mr. Hobhouse to the other speaker, who is supposed to be a Liberal subject to pessimistic moods, "I feared that we had blundered into a war devoid of historic necessity through surrender to the militaristic elements among ourselves." But, "as events came crowding on," he continues, "I saw that the struggle was quite different from anything I supposed, that essentially it was not a fight between one country and another but a struggle for the elements of a free and human civilisation. In such a struggle many things may go under, but as long as we fight in this spirit we shall save our souls alive." The conclusion arrived at is that to the allied nations war is a calamity, but a calamity that has befallen them from without not the corruption from within of which nations perish; that the loss of young life must impoverish Europe for thirty years; that the surplus of wealth required for social reorganisation is being exhausted; that political parties are in confusion and that reactionary principles may gain a temporary ascendancy; but that civilisation has saved its soul and will live.

In the article with which the review opens Mr. C. Hobhouse deals with the financial situation which has been created in Great

Britain by the war. Many people, do not understand why Germany has singled out Great Britain as an object of special and cultivated hatred. The reason is threefold. The adherence of England to France and Russia meant that Italy would not fight on the side of Germany and Austria, that the German fleet would not be able to blockade the French shores and colonies, and that a financial stability would be given to the combination of Russia, France and Serbia which in the end would be fatal to German success. How far, asks Mr. Hobhouse, is Great Britain justifying on the one hand German anger and apprehensions and on the other meeting the reasonable financial expectations of her Allies? At the outbreak of the war the financial position of the country became very difficult, but an appeal to the rates of exchange in New York on London, Paris and Berlin shows that British credit is now at the end of a year of the war much better than that of France and very much better than that of Germany. As for the future, says Mr. Hobhouse, the position is full of difficulty and embarrassment and will require the most delicate, skilful, courageous, and patient handling, but is not such as to give ground for pessimism.

Mr. Hobhouse proceeds to examine in some detail Britain's capacity and resources for the continuance of the war, and explains briefly the methods by which the war loans have been raised and the sources from which such loans may be obtained. In conclusion he remarks that while there is abundance of wealth in Britain it requires the most careful husbanding. There must be public and private economy on a large scale, a closer scrutiny of the spending department, together with further taxation based on the knowledge that a half of the national income is being spent on the war.

Other articles are 'Labour Unrest and the War,' by Mr. Percy Alden; 'The League of Armed Neutrality,' by Mr. Hubert Hall; 'In Lorraine,' by Mr. Laurence Jerrold; 'The Zone of Peace in Africa,' by Mr. John H. Harris; 'Poland's Ordeal and Poland's Hope,' by the Princess Bariatinsky; 'Dinant la Morte,' by M. Camille David; 'Dostoevsky as a Religious Teacher,' by the Rev. George W. Thorn; and 'The Mystery of Pain' in the Literary Supplement, by Mr. J. E. G. de Montmorency. The number concludes with the usual reviews of books.

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

DR. ARTHUR SHADWELL writes on 'The Industrial Factor in the War.' The military factor was at first the important one; if the war continues long enough, the economic may be; at present it is the industrial.

About October it looked as if the Allies would have a steadily increasing advantage. Then all the combatants began to run short of munitions ; and the Germans got ahead because they were industrially organized for war (not that things went too smoothly with them ; there was much bad management, and many cases of disproportionate profits). The Emperor had devoted special attention to the armament firms. Krupps is not so peculiar an undertaking as people imagine ; in time of peace, its output is mainly of non-military things such as bridges. In technical skill it has no superiority over the French works at Creusot, or over the Sheffield firms. Its advantages lie in its intimate relations with the Government and the docility of its workers. The Germans have had an advantage in their manufacture of machine tools, where they came next to America, while France was very low indeed.

As to Britain, the navy was fairly well prepared ; it has had some little troubles but nothing serious. As regards the army, the War found us at the lowest point of industrial preparedness. The Government establishments had been cut down lower than ever before in modern times, and the private firms had mostly gone out of the business. It meant that we did not regard ourselves as a military power at all. The War Office, however, was wonderfully successful in supplying the Expeditionary Force ; much more successful than were the Germans.

The real trouble has been about armament and specially shell. The Government when it saw the shortage was serious called upon the great armament firms. These extended their works and looked for sub-contractors ; not to interfere with them the War Office refused direct offers. But neither the Government nor the firms realised the difficulties. The Belgians, then the Serbians, then the Russians had to be supplied. But the difficulties might have been realised and action taken in January instead of May. Our weakness is not lack of energy, but stupidity and conservatism, especially stupidity. We have neither the intelligence of the French, nor the study and method of the Germans ; what we have is a sustained energy and dogged tenacity, but these are long in coming into play.

The supply of munitions from America has not been of any great importance ; it is her machine-tools that will help us. Automatic lathes cannot be made in a hurry, nor can the limit-gauges which secure accuracy and interchangeability in the parts of, say, a machine-gun.

The reason for the failure of last autumn is now obvious. The armament firms went into the market for skilled labour, and so, as the supply was restricted in any case and the more so that many had joined the army, they merely secured each other's men at increased

rates. Also, as wages rise, there is a point at which the group of men turns out less work.

A committee on production was appointed early in February. About the 20th of that month 8,000 men on the Clyde had struck; about a fortnight later they went back to work, announcing, however, their adherence to the 'ca' canny' policy of slow and bad work. The Welsh coal strike was due to similar causes. Such conduct has been due to the men not realising the true position of affairs, and their slowness in doing so is largely the result of the success of our navy. In March an understanding was come to with the trade union representatives; but the Government took no steps to impose a corresponding control upon employers in regard either to profits or the practice of taking men from one another. There was an improvement but in the districts most affected the hindrance to production through lost time, limitation of output, demarcation disputes, refusal to work with unskilled labour, and drunken habits was not less but greater than in ordinary times. This was not general, but was prevalent in some of the most important districts. Some employers gave civil work the preference over Government work; there was no co-ordination but reckless competition.

Lately matters have improved, and it may be hoped that by winter things will be in full swing, and we shall be doing what we might have done the previous winter. Meanwhile, if the great German attack in the West is delivered, the resistance they will meet will not be what it might have been.

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

HENRY NEWBOLT reviews the situation under the title of "The War and the Nations." He remarks that if this war is important for the Great Powers it is vital and fundamental for the smaller. For them it is a question of existence or non-existence, an ignoble surrender of their rights or a vain struggle against an irresistible and pitiless conqueror. A people which looks upon Montenegro as a joke among the nations thinks little of violating the neutrality of a nation which on two occasions, in 1839 and in 1870, they themselves solemnly guaranteed. And the crime loses nothing in frightfulness when we know that it was perpetrated in the full knowledge of its wrong. The Imperial Chancellor speaking in the Reichstag on 4th August said, "Gentlemen, we are now in a state of necessity and necessity knows no law! Our troops have occupied Luxembourg and perhaps are already on Belgian soil. Gentlemen this is contrary to the dictates of international law. . . . The wrong—I speak openly—that we are com-

mitting we will endeavour to make good as soon as our military goal has been reached. Anybody who is threatened, as we are threatened, and is fighting for his highest possessions, can have only one thought—how he is to hack his way through." The world, we fear, is persuaded to-day that the wrong can only be made amends for by the thorough punishment of those who have smudged the page of history as never before. It is not the first time an army has had to hack its way through—but as a rule it does not hack its way through women and children, nor does it murder in cold blood or raze defenceless cities. And yet this result is not surprising in a people fed upon Treitschkes to whom "to feel or to show consideration for the rights or aspirations of other States would be pro tanto a renunciation of power and therefore a sin;" for "self-sacrifice on behalf of a foreign State is not only not moral, but it contradicts the idea of self-preservation, which is the highest thing for the State." With this then as its moral code, we are not surprised that the German nation finds its course of action doubly sanctioned. "First, the main function of human existence is war; true culture can only arise from the will-to-power and the will-to-fight, and German culture alone is of this nature. Secondly, no other nation has such a capacity as the German for generalisation and absorption; this 'fits us for leadership in the intellectual world, and imposes on us the obligation to maintain the position—by force.'"

No people or race has any right to dominate the world and surely it is a commonplace to say that all the races and peoples of the world may contribute something of value to the enriching of humanity; if the Anglo-Saxon people do not make any absurd claim to world domination, neither will they permit any other to do so. There can be little doubt how the neutral nations will act when the day of settlement comes: as Newbolt says, "we confidently believe that it will be unanimously in our favour, for with us stands or falls the hope of free existence and national culture for the smaller nations of the world."

Mr. Hurd deals with "Our Trafalgar and Its Sequel." He considers that the German Navy was defeated if not destroyed on August 4th, 1914 and proceeds to indicate the results. He reviews the successes of the combatants and shows that our navy is stronger than ever, and the German as helpless as ever. But the best fruit of this victory lies in the fact that "The British Navy, in short, has carried all the armies engaged with us on the continent on its back; the British Navy has been the hose pipe through which all the armies have drawn a large proportion of their essential supplies." Although the German Navy has failed to fulfil its purpose in protecting Germany's sea interests and colonies, and though in those twelve months she has been

deprived of a large number of cruisers and small craft there still resides in it possibilities which cannot be safely ignored.

Mr. A. M. Murray sums up the result of "Twelve Months of the War" and calculates the possibilities in terms of time and men. He considers that the total permanent loss sustained by the Germans up to date is 3,120,000; deducting this from the 9,000,000 fighting men available leaves 5,188,000 of which number 4,000,000 are in the field. This only leaves 1,188,000 men for new formations, and to replace casualties. The wastage up till the present has been 260,000 men per month which means that in seven months there would no men left in reserve and the army in the field would gradually waste away till they were too weak to continue resistance.

Of Russia less is known; but at the opening of the war she had 32,000,000 men of fighting age and she has only made use of 3,500,000. Granting that she loses as many men as Germany is doing on both facts she can still keep fighting long after the Central Powers are exhausted.

As to France, deducting the permanent losses, the present effective strength of the French Army is 4,000,000 and at the present rate of wastage, France could go on fighting for another twelve months, without weakening any of the units in the field.

We at the lowest computation have 3,000,000 men; the wastage is 18,000 men per month; but even if this were doubled we should still be able to carry on the war as long as is necessary to accomplish the purpose for which we took up arms.

On this computation Germany's doom is sealed; "she has already lost all her colonies except one; world power has fallen from her grasp and fallen beyond the hope of recovery; in Europe her offensive has been stopped, and her armies penned in; hegemony is out of the Emperor's reach.

COLLEGE NOTES.

THE annual reception of new students organised on behalf of the senior students by the College Brotherhood, took place in College Park on the evening of Saturday the 31st July. Nearly all the newly-admitted students were present. To many of them it was quite a novel experience to see teachers and taught, students, senior and junior, moving about in free and friendly intercourse on the broad lawn of the Principal's residence in Kilpauk. The weather proved propitious. After the games and refreshments were over, a meeting was held on the lawn at which the Hon'ble Mr. Pittendrigh presided. Mr. Pittendrigh who is always in his element in such gatherings and rarely fails to catch their spirit, made a speech in which humour vied with good feeling and serious reflection. His definition of new students as those who were not old and of old students as those who were not new, was modelled on the time honoured definition of mind and matter. "What is matter?" "Never mind." What is mind? "No matter." He dwelt on the value of the new life on which the new students were then embarking. It was a highly valuable discipline which they acquired in the lecture room; but the cultural value of the College debating societies and athletic clubs was also great. The Brotherhood in particular gave the students opportunities for the exercise, in a humble sphere, of affections of the highest utility in public life. Thus facilities for mental and moral improvement were afforded by the College, and in welcoming the new comers, Mr. Pittendrigh earnestly invited them to take full advantage of the opportunities placed within their reach.

Welcome was also spoken on behalf of the senior students by Mr. A. S. Rajam of the Fourth Year Honours Class. He compared the reception to the initiatory bath in ancient Athenian academies where the fresh-men were subjected to 'torture' from the animal spirits of the older students until they had gone through the bath, the symbol of initiation, after which they became real students and members of the fraternity. Similarly, the new students were being initiated into the mysteries of the College which were none other than the highest ideals of intellectual and moral life. A true student of the Christian College, while striving for distinction in his University career, should be inspired by higher ideals and feel with Gladstone that "life was a lofty mission and an elevated destiny." The professors laid themselves out for their good, and in co-operating with them in loyalty and devotion to the College, they were preparing to become servants of India and of humanity.

Representatives of the new students from the First and Third Classes having acknowledged the kindness of the older alumni and the professors, Mr. Crawford delivered the usual address to the Brotherhood. He said that he felt a certain trepidation in following a member of the Legislative Council, the 'champion orator of the Madras Christian College' and the two eloquent speakers who had spoken on behalf of the incoming students, but any feelings of alarm were dissipated when he remembered that he was addressing a brotherhood. Never perhaps in the world's history was there more need of brotherhood than to-day when men saw the nations of the world ranged on opposite sides in an internecine conflict. Britain and her allies were defending not merely their own cause, but a heritage of ideals which had been handed down from past ages as the common possession of humanity. Theirs was a brotherhood in arms.

In ancient times blood-brotherhood was the very basis of society. Kinship by blood implied community of institutions and community of ideals, which it was the common duty of the class to depend. Where actual blood-relationship did not exist, it was no uncommon thing for two people to enter into a bond of brotherhood by cutting their palms and with clasped hands allowing their blood to commingle in the earth. This implied a pledge to defend each other to the death.

To-day the College was asking the new students to take a pledge of brotherhood. So far as the speaker knew the blood-brotherhood as practised in the North lands was not known in that particular form in ancient India, but the new brotherhood of all men as the children of God, following the example of Christ, the elder brother, who was the suffering servant of humanity, was one in which all could share. Greatness in olden times was measured by a person's ability to reduce others to obedience to his will; greatness in these days was estimated by the degree in which a man could serve others. Who were the great nations to-day? Not Germany clad in armour forcing in barbaric fashion her will on the peoples of the earth: but Belgium sacrificing herself on the altar of freedom: not the millionaire or the despot, but men and women who were sharing the burden of humanity, even to the point of giving up their lives, as our soldiers were doing, for the common cause.

Service for others was the only way in which we could realise the divine aim for ourselves. Florence Nightingale often spoke of what she termed "the expression of self in service." This was what the College Brotherhood was inviting the students to do—to express themselves in the service of their fellow students, to share with others their sorrows, and even more their joys and their privileges. Each of us

had two selves, but the Brotherhood enabled us to overcome the lower and develop the higher, and thus make it easier for the students of our own generation, and those who were to follow, to follow the things that are pure and lovely and of good report.

The meeting was brought to a close with a vote of thanks to the Hon'ble Chairman and to Dr. and Mrs. Skinner for their hospitality.

LAST month news was received in Madras of distinctions achieved by former students of the College in English Universities. Mr. Kuruvila Zachariah, B.A., who proceeded to England in 1912 as a Government of India scholar and was studying at Merton College, Oxford, has taken a First Class in the Honours School of Modern History. This is said to be the first instance of an Indian student's obtaining a First Class in Honours at Oxford. Mr. Zachariah is the son of Mr. G. Zachariah, the Municipal Secretary, Calicut. Hardly less creditable than Mr. Zachariah's achievement is the Second Class (also in the Honours School of Modern History) obtained by Mr. P. Subbarayan, Zemindar of Kumaramangalam. Mr. Subbarayan, while still at Newington as a minor under the Court of Wards, joined the Christian College, and passed right through it from the First Class to the Fourth, in which he held a high place in the Fifth Branch and acquitted himself well in the University examinations. Going to Oxford at the same time as Mr. Zachariah, as a commoner of Wadham College, he has obtained a Second Class in the same school, and (if report speaks truly) came within measurable distance of a First. The College, therefore, and the other institutions which have contributed to their education, may well be proud of our two latest representatives in Oxford. Another piece of news refers to Mr. George Matthai, whose success in biological research work has already attracted attention. He is now the Mackinnon Student of the Royal Society. He has recently been awarded by Emmanuel College, Cambridge, a grant of £50 from the Research Studentship Fund towards investigating the Morphology of Corals.

LAST month, the College had reluctantly to part with the services of one who has done faithful and valuable work for the past quarter of a century. Mr. K. Chinnatambi Pillai, who has been appointed Professor of Mathematics at Pachaiyappa's College, and assumed charge of his new work, joined the Christian College, as a student in the B. A. junior class in 1887, took his degree in 1889, and was appointed tutor in Mathematics in 1890. In 1897, he was made Assistant Professor. During all these years he has handled classes, large and small, in lower and higher branches of his favourite subject, to the

satisfaction of students who remember him with gratitude and affection. What the Christian College loses in him, Pachaiyappa's gains ; but this is not the first time that Pachaiyappa obtains, ready-made, the services of a Professor trained in the exacting atmosphere of a College in which a teacher's happiness depends upon his efficiency. Mr. Chinnatambi is remarkably young for his years—as youth and age go in this country—and we wish him a long and prosperous career in his new sphere of work.

THE Long Term is the season for games and sports, the Short Term is too much overshadowed with thoughts of examination. It will not therefore be amiss if attention is called in this number of the Magazine to the spirit in which games should be engaged in by our students. This spirit is well portrayed in an article in the *Young Men of India* for July to which reference has already been made in "Notes of the Month" on a previous page. We make no apology for reproducing certain paragraphs as we believe the object of the writer will be furthered and not hindered by our doing so:—

A great deal of emphasis is laid nowadays on the importance of games in schools and colleges in India, and I think no one can deny their value if they are played *in the right spirit*. Too much emphasis may be laid on games from the physical development point of view, and though, no doubt, they are valuable in this respect, it is, I think, debatable whether physical development will not be at least as well assured by means of Swedish exercises, physical drill, athletic sports, gymnastics, etc. But games, if properly played, are incontestably superior to the other exercises and drills, in the moral training they confer, and I am venturing to write this paper because I do not think anything like enough stress is laid in India on the importance of playing games in schools and colleges in the right spirit. If this is so, a great educative power is not being properly utilized, and the training in character of the rising generation is weakened, or is altogether absent, in matters which are of the greatest importance.

When I say that enough stress is not laid in India on the spirit in which games are played, I do not intend to imply that India stands alone in this respect, or to single India out for invidious comparison. The spirit in which games are played in all countries frequently leaves a good deal to be desired. At the present moment, however, it is India only that I am concerned with, and anyone who is interested in India must wish that a very high standard should be set in her schools and colleges as to the spirit in which games are played, for in this respect no one should be satisfied with anything less than the highest standards. These are, I believe, set and generally acted up to by the great English Public Schools and by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. By saying this, I do not mean to imply that high standards are not acted up to elsewhere. I take these merely as examples.

Now the first and most important point in playing games is that they should be played absolutely and scrupulously fairly. There must be no suspicion of meanness, trickery, sharp practice or unfairness. We must not play simply to win ; we must do our best to win fairly and honestly. But if

we are beaten, let us admit candidly and cheerfully that the best side has won, for it is important that boys and men should learn to lose with a good temper.

If games are to be played in the "Win, Tie or Wrangle" spirit, they had better not be played at all. Very unfortunately, however, this is the spirit in which they are too often played, and, for which we have to thank professionalism, cup tie competitions, etc., to a very large extent. These latter competitions, are not the occasions on which games are at their best. Possibly, the most skilful players may be seen there, but that is not the main point of games as an educational means: games are often played in the best, most wholesome spirit, on occasions when there is little public notice taken of them and the skill evinced is perhaps not of the very highest order.

I should like to give a few instances of the spirit in which games should be played. I remember some few years ago an incident in the annual Oxford and Cambridge Rugby football match. For those who have not played Rugby, it may be rational that to score a try (3 points) a man has to carry the ball across the enemy's goal line at any point and ground it; a place-kick at goal (which, if successful, converts the 3 points into 5) is subsequently taken from a point in the ground opposite where the ball has been grounded; it is obvious, therefore, that a player having crossed the enemy's goal line will try to ground the ball as near the centre of the goal line as possible. In trying to do this in the match in question, a Cambridge player crossed the "dead ball line" which should have been marked 25 yards in rear of the goal line, but on this occasion had, by some inadvertence, been marked much nearer than usual to the goal line. The Cambridge men and the ball were therefore out of play, and the referee was about to disallow the try to Cambridge, when Leslie Jones, the Oxford captain, rushed up and asked that it should be allowed, as it was only due to a technical point that the try could be disallowed. This showed a correct sporting spirit on the part of the Oxford captain.

There is an incident I remember at my own old school, Winchester. Then we were playing our great annual cricket match with Eton. It was the last innings of the match, Winchester was batting and were a long way behind in runs. There was very little chance of making the runs needed, but, on the other hand, there were four or five wickets to fall and there was very little time left, and, if each batsman was dilatory and slow in going in on the fall of the wickets, the chance of a draw would be considerable. Instead, however, of the Winchester "men" (we are all called "men" at Winchester) adopting any such time gainings and unsportsmanlike tactics, each man had his pads on and started in the moment the wicket fell. Eton won with a few minutes of time to spare. We were sorry to lose, of course, but we had no desire to win by any mean tricks or dodges, and we all felt our team had done the right and honourable thing. One of the Winchester men present then is now Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary. May we not assume that the honourable dealing taught to him in the games discipline at Winchester bore fruit automatically when, in July and August last, the question arose of whether we were to deal honourably or not with our allies and with Belgium? May we not say that the battle of honourable dealing against cowardly self-seeking had been won years before on the playing fields of Winchester and of our other great Public Schools?

In another Eton and Winchester match, two of the best Winchester bats

were in. They made a mistake in calling for a short run, and it was obvious that one must be run out. The man who considered he was of the least value of the two to his side, dashed across so that he should be the one run out and not the other. Of course, it was the right thing to do (if he really was the one who will be most easily spared), but one wonders if, in teams, or matches or in cricket circles where personal batting averages are so much thought of, many batsmen would so instantly and without hesitation sacrifice themselves for their side and in order to save a better batsman from getting out.

A name I saw recently (Lieut. Earle) in one of the long casualty lists, or Rolls of Honour, of those who have given their lives or have been wounded in our behalf in the present war, reminded me of how Eton by pluck and perseverance pulled round the Eton and Harrow match in 1911. Eton went in first and only made 67; Harrow replied with 232; Eton had a long uphill fight to save a single innings defeat, but they never lost heart; Harrow's total was passed with two or three wickets to spare, and eventually Harrow was given 55 to win. That looked easy enough; but Eton stuck to it. Their bowling was good and steady, their fielding keen and smart. No chances were given away and Eton won the match by 9 runs. Is not this an example on a small scale of what "long enduring hearts can do," and also of not knowing when you are beaten? Lieut. Earle was the captain of the Eton eleven on that occasion, and we know well how the qualities of dogged pluck and perseverance which he, and lieutenants like him, had learnt on the playing fields of their schools, have stood their country in good stead during these months of hard fighting in France and Belgium. Of old Eton boys, since 275 have already laid down their lives in the present war, it is possible to quote Newbolt's lines in the beginning of this paper, that many a time "the voice of the school boy has rallied the ranks."

While games should teach perseverance, do we not infrequently see teams lose all heart when things are going against them? Sometimes they do worse, and lose their tempers too, for it is comparatively easy to play a winning game, but it requires pluck and perseverance to play a losing game, qualities which school and college games should be the means of teaching.

Passing examinations is all very well, but if that is all that schools and colleges effect they have missed their main purpose and duty. The building up of character to a high standard is of vastly greater importance, and games well organized and played in a proper spirit are a most valuable means of effecting this object. This has been the aim of this paper, to bring out and emphasise by actual examples how games have developed and therefore can, in the future, develop such essential characteristics as pluck, perseverance and a high chivalrous sense of fair play and honourable dealing, and any school or college which fails thus to develop these qualities is failing largely in its duties.

IN order to encourage the circulation of the College Magazine among the staff of the College, the Senatus has decided to reduce the annual subscription for Indian Members of the staff of the College and the School to two rupees eight annas.

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*DOUBT AMONG INDIAN CHRISTIANS.**

BY L. P. LARSEN, B.D.

DOUBT is not felt to be a widespread difficulty in the Indian Church.

And one does not wonder. Among large members of Indian Christians it would be strange indeed if serious doubts were felt. They are babes in Christ, in religious experience, and still more in religious thought. And doubt does not trouble little children. They should not be made to know what it is. As that stage of life assenting to all that is taught is natural, and receiving without questioning is right. All the sifting and weighing must be done by the teachers. They are to lead their young pupils into a knowledge of the truth, but they are not to show them the difficulties of finding it.

Perhaps there are more specifically Indian causes at work, too, in the Church in this country tending to make the area of immunity from doubt larger here than it is in the west. Through much of India's religious history there has manifested itself a strong tendency to keep theology and religion, thought and feeling, explanation and worship, entirely distinct. It may be difficult to say, even for those who know the Indian mind and the Indian Church from within, how much of this tendency is found among Indian Christians. But whatever exists of it, is a force that works against the rise of disturbing questionings and grave doubts. And that in a manner which is not altogether to be desired. To distinguish clearly between the intellectual and

*A paper read at the Bangalore Missionary Conference in August, 1915.

the vital sides of religion is certainly legitimate ; nay more than that : it is, as we shall see later, of fundamental importance to any sound treatment of intellectual doubts. But if these two sides of religion are regarded as entirely separate, the result is not merely freedom from doubt but a weakening of the religious life.

The testimony that comes from different parts of South India, both from Indians and from foreigners, indicates that more of serious questioning and more of deep wondering are greatly needed among many Indian Christians if their religious life is to grow deep and strong.

We are not to force big questions on immature minds, not to discuss difficult problems with those who are not capable of understanding them, and who do not need, for the present at any rate, to face them. But there is a cheap certainty and a shallow security against which we also need to be on our guard. If Christians who have had their minds trained, and who on other subjects are making good use of their powers to understand, to find connections, to weigh and to value, are not applying these powers to their study of the Bible, and to the problems raised by their contact with non-Christians or by the phenomena of Christian and non-Christian life and experience, there is something lacking in the life of such Christians. It is not unsettling doubt or fatal uncertainty that one would like to see in them. But doubt is not the only danger to the religious life, and all questioning is not a sign of irreverence or indifference. If I give less thought—even the kind of thought that asks honestly ‘ why ’ and ‘ how ’—to the questions of religion than to the questions connected with the line of study or the type of work in which I am most interested, it proves not that I have a strong faith or a well-founded certainty, but that in my religion I am content with the things that lie on the surface and that can be had without great cost.

But it is risky to encourage men to begin to deal with questions of the kind suggested ; they get beyond their depth ; they are alarmed at discovering how widely the answers differ which intelligent and well-informed men give to the same question ; and they are in danger of beginning to boast of their superior intelligence, even though it shows itself only in the discovery of difficulties !

Yes, it is risky. There are dangers that may creep in or perhaps rush in—when the door is opened to deep, serious questions. But when the questions are there, and when men are showing in other directions that they possess some of the powers required for dealing intelligently with important problems, there is a danger also in trying to avoid the difficult questions of religion. There is the grave danger into which the servant fell who had received one talent. For fear of losing it, and regarding that as the only danger to be avoided he went and hid what his master had given him. Now he thought he had been as cautious and careful as a man could be. And then, in spite of all his caution and care, he was condemned for his failure to use what he had received. Are there any kinds of gifts to which the lesson of this parable does not apply? It is not reckless daring that is recommended in the use of any of the powers and possibilities with which God has entrusted us. But faithfulness in the use of what He has given is what the Lord looks for, a faithfulness not hindered or limited by any faint-hearted or indolent fear of danger connected with the use of God's gifts. The intellect is not the only one of God's gifts the use of which is beset with danger. The power of decision is beyond all others difficult and dangerous to exercise. But if we fail to use it we do not keep ourselves free from danger, we lose everything.

Those of us who know what doubt and uncertainty mean, do not desire to see them cultivated among the Christians of India. We know that they are, wherever they occur, as blighting and weakening as is suggested by our Lord's words in the Gospel when He rebukes His disciples for their 'doubt' and 'little faith'. But doubt is not the only thing we are afraid of among Christians. Are there not Indian Christians whose own spiritual life is the weaker, and whose influence is very much the smaller, because they have not been helped and encouraged to use in religious matters the powers of thought and inquiry which have begun to be developed in them. They are making use of those powers in other directions, but not in what has to do with their religion. Here the talent is still lying buried. That, no doubt, makes things easier to them in various respects; but it also makes them poorer. They see less of the beauty, the depth and the greatness of God and of His truth than they might see. And if some day

they are forced to take up one, or perhaps several, of the questions which have been surrounding their life all the time, the shock may become greater than it would have needed to be. It is dangerous to keep our talent buried.

And it is not on the intellectual side of life only that Christians may live with a feeling of security and contentment too cheap and shallow to be of any real value in life. There are some—and it seems to be not a few—Indian Christians who are kept free from the practical kinds of doubt in a manner that is equally unsatisfactory. They have come to look upon failures, both in themselves and in others, as something natural and inevitable. When they find themselves face to face with experiences of that kind they are disturbed by no painful, “Why could we not.....?”

It is not among Indian Christians only that such people are found. Many of us, by the experiences of the world to-day, are being forced to realise, in a painfully fresh manner, that we have been making Christianity and the Christian life much too simple and easy. Our Lord's standards and promises, we are now being made to feel, have so much in them of that which is “impossible with men”, that we have got into the habit of accepting as satisfactory, or at any rate as possible, something very much lower and very much less impossible than that to which our Lord has pointed us. We are being shaken up at present by God's mighty hand to see the insufficiency of any standards and forms of life which are not regulated by God's will and based upon God's promise and God's power.

Whatever there is among Indian Christians of that convenient, compromising contentment which takes the sting out of failures and saves Christians the trouble of considering the many disturbing questions which failures raise, we must desire and strive to get removed. We do not want exaggerated ideas to take the place, expectations that the result will be attained at once, and that where God's power is working victory will be easy. The faith and expectancy of God's children are not only compatible with, but can thrive fully only when found together with, a sound mind. The equilibrium thus secured is unstable. One is so frequently compelled to stand still and ask ‘why’ and ‘how.’ And when it is life's deepest interests, and not curiosity only, that

prompt those questions, they interfere seriously with the feeling of comfortable security.

It is not doubt we want to see more of among Indian Christians. Those who say that they would welcome signs of honest doubt in the Indian Church, do not, I imagine, think of doubt as a result but as a method. It is not a fixed attitude of denial or undecidedness they would like to see cultivated. That is, as all Christ's disciples know—and many others too for that matter,—a source of unhappiness and of weakness in a man's life. But what we do want to see more of in the Church of Christ in this land—and not in this land only—is the quickened and deepened soul which in the world of thought, as well as in the world of action, will not be content with any thing less than the very best that God can give us and make us. If we have that mind in us we shall have to live with fear and trembling. But that does not mean doubt and uncertainty. Looked at from without the former may seem to be dangerously like the latter. Yet, the one is as indispensable to, as the other is incompatible with, the life to which Christ calls men.

In the process of cultivating such a spirit of earnest questioning and deep longing, disappointments and doubts may arise. But the path of truth and life is not to be avoided because such dangers threaten those who try to follow it. The right path does not cease to be right because it is difficult. We will endeavour to do all we can to prevent the difficult and disturbing questions assuming a more serious character than really belongs to them. And where the matter has become serious, we will strive to be channels through which God's light and power may flow into the troubled soul.

There are such troubled souls among Indian Christians to-day. The number of those who are carrying in their own mind a burden or a cloud of doubt, is probably much larger than most of us realise. The intellectual kinds of doubt are, of course, mostly found among those who have been through Colleges or High Schools. But the practical forms of doubt, those connected with repeated experiences of failure and with frequent discoveries of the discrepancy between Christ's promises and the Christian's life, are not confined to men of any particular degree of education.

In very many cases an Indian Christian speaks of his doubts,

if he speaks of them at all, only to one or two of his most intimate friends. Often he is afraid of speaking to his pastor or missionary, or whoever else he might think of consulting, about the questions that trouble him. What would they think of him, if he told them all this? It is sad to get a letter from a young man several hundred miles away, explaining in some such way as has been here suggested why he sends his questions to one so far removed from him, instead of asking somebody in his own neighbourhood with whom he might talk the whole matter over personally.

The important thing is not to find out whose fault it is that such ideas and feelings often stand in the way of the needy ones seeking help where it could best be given, but to do what we can to get those deplorable obstacles removed. If we are to be able to help those who most need to be helped, and more particularly also the class of whom we are now thinking, we must get men to look upon us not as religious police officers to whom nothing unfavourable should be told, not as spiritual school inspectors or examiners before whom everybody wishes to be seen only at his best, but as the disciples and fellow-workers of Him who came inviting and attracting to Himself not those who deserved help but those who needed it.

In a large number of cases the reason why nobody else knows anything of an Indian Christian's doubt is the vagueness and indefiniteness of it. He does not know himself what is the matter. It is a general feeling of haziness and timidity that troubles him rather than any particular problem that might be stated and attacked. Among Christian students, in some parts of South India at any rate, this is the atmosphere one finds one self in again and again. Questions may have to be answered and problems to be discussed, but the real difficulty one does not seem to be able to lay one's hand on. There is not the definiteness, and perhaps not the intense mental struggle either, by which doubt is generally characterised in our Western world. But the danger to character and life is only the greater when the trouble is so vague and evasive. If we are to be able to help men of this class, we must first of all help them to come close enough to the problem to be able to distinguish its real nature, and then to face the difficulty they have perceived.

The questions and troubles which are found to be working in and weighing upon the minds and hearts of Indian Christians, when the nebulous mass begins to take definite shape, are probably of very numerous kinds, both on the theoretical and on the practical sides of religion. To think briefly of a few of the most common and most characteristic forms may be instructive.

One is struck by the almost entire absence of all doubts and questions which might arise out of contact or comparison between Christian teaching and Hindu thought. Old Indian ideas do not appear at all to be entering into the working of the Christian mind in India. Indian Christians in this respect show very few signs of being Indians. The explanation of this fact is not difficult to find. But it is only the fact itself to which attention is here called.

Some of the intellectual problems that exercise the minds of Indian Christians, and that not infrequently contribute towards the development of the chilling mist of which mention has been made, are closely connected with questions which have been for ages enquired into and discussed by the Hindu mind. But it is very rarely the Hindu side of the question which among Indian Christians is felt to be the cause of the difficulty.

The problem of forgiveness, in so far as it is an Indian problem at all, becomes so difficult because of the emphasis given to the doctrine of *karma*. It is not from a peculiarly Indian point of view only that this aspect of the problem is visible. With the place given in our present-day views of the world and of life to the idea of law, we realise that the existence of fixed and unalterable laws makes the problem of forgiveness even more difficult than it used to be. But that is not what appears to be most commonly and most strongly felt by Indian Christians as the difficulty of the Christian doctrine of forgiveness. A difficulty is very generally and sometimes very seriously felt among them in connection with this subject. But what they find most difficult is not, apparently, to harmonise the idea of forgiveness with the idea of law, but heartily to assent to a doctrine which says that our sins can be forgiven only because Christ suffered our punishment.

The personality of God is another characteristic Indian

problem. In its peculiarly Indian form and application this problem can hardly be said to exist among the Christians of India. What does perplex some of them is the question whether God could not, if He is all-wise, all-good and all-powerful, have so made the world and man that all the sin and suffering which we now see in it should not have been possible.

The question, again, of divine immanence and divine transcendence is one which exercises the Christian mind in India very much less than it has been exercising the Hindu mind. But some of the difficulties connected with this question one does hear about when Indian Christians begin to speak of the things that trouble them in their religious life. What do we mean by miracles? What are the relations between God's government and the 'reign of law'? Are miracles as real and as great a factor in the life and work of God's kingdom as the New Testament represents them to be? These are not merely questions which the younger generations of Christian students are interested in discussing. They touch many of the deepest vital problems of their Christian life among a considerable number of the older men as well as among students.

The doctrine of the divinity of Christ is one that raises many great and grave questions in the minds of not a few thoughtful Indian Christians. What do we mean by calling Christ divine? What difference does it actually make in our religious life, whether we believe in His divinity or not? How are we to conceive of Jesus Christ as at the same time true God and true man? What constitutes the unity and what the distinction, within the eternal Godhead, between the Father and the Son and the Spirit? These are the kinds of questions which many of them are anxious to get light upon, not that they may meet others in argument, but because they feel the need of it in their own spiritual life.

The question as to what the conditions of life after death really are must also in the case of several Indian Christians be reckoned as one of the hard problems; it keeps coming back in a manner that is perplexing and disturbing. The natural feelings of the human heart tend to raise that question in India as elsewhere. But in this country, where Hindu ideas on this subject meet one at every turn, and where questions

asked—sometimes, at any rate, with great earnestness—by Hindus regarding the position and prospects of relatives who died without any knowledge of Christ, in this country it is not strange that this question about the world beyond should sometimes take hold of the minds of Christians with a power that seems to force them to stand still until they find an answer, or at any rate get their minds set at rest.

How to deal with men who come to us with doubts of the kinds that have been illustrated, cannot be indicated in a few general sentences. Individual differences in those who ask the questions, as well as in those who answer them, have to be reckoned with. A few general points only can be mentioned, but they are of fundamental importance.

We must beware of frightening those away who come to us with their questions. That can be done by giving them the impression, either that we despise them for asking silly and useless questions, or that we regard them as very wicked because they doubt or question some of the great truths of Christ's Gospel. Let us remember that people troubled with real doubts or serious questions are very sensitive. That is, partly at any rate, because such doubts and questions lay bare something of what is holy ground in the heart. On that ground none are allowed to tread but those who come with sympathy and respect. This sensitiveness makes it impossible for us to help men if—even though not outwardly—we laugh at them or condemn them.

• Then we must be patient in our desire to understand what the questioner's difficulty really is. The more clearly we can help him to state it, the nearer he will be getting to the point where he can receive help.

We must be careful to have a clear idea in our own minds as to what the Bible says with reference to the question on which light is asked, and how to state the doctrine about which our questioner is feeling troubled or uncertain. But this is not sufficient; we must also do all we can to get the answer which we want to give, expressed in language which will not in the mind of the listener awaken ideas entirely different from those that in our own minds are associated with the words. Much unnecessary discussion, and not a little avoidable doubt, has been occasioned in connection with the atonement question by

people putting different meaning into such words as 'vicarious', 'punishment', 'God's anger'.

And finally, if we are to be able to lead men out of intellectual doubts, it is of supreme importance to make the distinction very clear between two things which are often confounded, and not by doubters only. One thing is to explain the process by which a certain result is being brought about. An altogether different thing is to fulfil the conditions necessary for the accomplishing of, or for the sharing in, the result. How different those two things are we all realise when we have to do with, e.g., medical questions. But the difference is as real and as great in religious matters. The two problems—that of explaining processes and that of fulfilling conditions—are entirely separate. The former is of theoretic interest, the second is the very soul of the practical side of the question.

There are other aspects of the question of doubt that deserve to be carefully considered, but which we can only touch upon in passing.

The more sympathetic way of looking upon non-Christian religions has not, as far as my experience and information go, been the cause of any serious intellectual unsettling among Indian Christians. I have the impression that wherever it has led to anything at all amounting to doubt, it has done so only because the newness of the new view was so exalted and so emphasised, in contrast to the old view, that the feeling of conflict was the inevitable consequence.

This is a most important point for us to bear in mind when we want quicken the minds of people into larger interests and more earnest enquiry. To do this requires us to introduce them to questions with which they have not been familiar, and to ideas the full meaning of which it is difficult at first to perceive. The result will depend very largely on this very thing, whether or not our emphasis on that which is new is polemic or constructive. In the minds of some, at any rate, we shall inevitably be calling forth opposition, and possibly giving rise to doubts, if the new ideas that we desire to commend are not linked to the old with sympathy. It must not be forgotten that sympathy in such cases is required in both directions.

Many of the doubts that trouble Indian Christians centre

around Biblical questions. This is a large problem, large enough for a separate paper. But even though we can only touch the outer end of the fringe of the question we must refer to it.

Biblical difficulties are much more numerous and much more serious than the difficulties connected with doctrinal questions. That is what Indian Christians in all parts of the South are saying. It is at the transition from high school to College that these difficulties begin to be keenly felt, and some of the students find it very hard ever to get out of them again. That is the sad testimony that comes from teachers as well as from others.

We know what kind of questions men are arrested by in connection with this subject. Some of us have had to struggle our way through these questions ourselves, and would like to do all in our power to be able to help those who, for the time being, are finding more questions than answers in the Bible, and who are feeling puzzled and confused by its apparently insoluble problems.

An article, 'Is the Bible Infallible', in the July number of the *Modern Review*, is a good illustration of the manner in which Bible problems are attracting attention, but also of the kind of treatment which they not infrequently receive. With such an article before us it is important that we should remind ourselves that we cannot solve the Bible problem among Indian Christians by trying to keep them from reading books and articles embodying the kind of teaching that has been summarised by the *Modern Review*.

We want Indian Christians to read the Bible with such deep personal interest and, in so far as they are capable of doing it, with such close and thoughtful attention, that the Bible itself will be leading them to ask many of the same questions which are found in the hostile critic's writings. We do not desire that those Indian Christians who are able, not only to read but to read and think, shall be ignorant that the Bible raises many difficult questions. We want them to apply the very best powers of their mind, as well of their heart, to the study of the Bible. No cautious burying of the talent!

One of the striking characteristics of our Lord as a teacher and guide during His earthly life, was the entire absence of any

desire to conceal difficulties. When He encouraged His disciples to pray He warned them to be prepared in their prayer-life for experiences that would look very discouraging. And this is only an illustration of the manner in which, on many occasions and in various connections, He spoke and acted. Christ does not want to hide from His friends the difficulties that are found in the way to which He points them.

We certainly do not wish to see men boasting of their ability to find difficulties in the Bible. But if we are to be of any real help to those who suffer from such difficulties, we must bear in mind that many of the problems are raised by the Bible itself, and that in Christ's school the best lessons cannot be learnt if we wish to avoid difficulties. It is the spirit in which we approach the difficult questions, the point of view from which we look at problems, and the methods we use in our endeavours to solve them, that determine the different results which men get out of their study of this book in which all of them are conscious of many difficult problems.

What is needed is not that we shall supply Indian Christians with strong arguments for the defence of the Bible. The answer which Spurgeon is said to have given to a member of his Church who was anxious to know how best to defend the Bible, indicates the way we must follow. "Defend the Bible!" Spurgeon said, "how would you defend a caged lion? Let it out". The Bible will defend itself if only we can get men to read it and use it aright. And one of the first things necessary to that end, among many also in this country, is to awaken and strengthen in them the confident assurance that, with all its difficulties, the Bible is inexhaustibly rich in the gifts it has to offer us.

Before closing this paper we must think, though only very briefly, of the practical forms of doubt with which many Indian Christians have such painful acquaintance. It is not among the intellectually trained members of the community only that these doubts are known. They are found among men of all classes in whose hearts God's Spirit has begun to do His quickening and awakening work, but whose faith is being seriously shaken, more especially by what they see in other Christians.

All that our time will permit is to refer to two groups of

difficulties which, when they take hold of men's souls, threaten to shake the very foundation of their Christian faith.

One difficult question, or set of questions, makes men uncertain of the value of Christianity. They may continue to find that Christ's Gospel is good and beautiful. But that is not enough for faith to build on. Christ's case is decided against Him unless He is found to be uniquely good and His gift as perfectly satisfying as the water of which He said, that those who drink of it shall thirst no more. When the value of Christianity in this absolute sense is made uncertain to men's minds or hearts, we are face to face with doubt of a vitally serious kind.

The two most common causes working from without to produce this kind of uncertainty may just be mentioned. Educated and respectable Christians take a young convert aside and tell him that he has acted as a fool in taking a step by which he has isolated himself from those to whom he belongs and who would have been best able to help him in life. The fact that those who say and think this have no idea of turning away from Christianity themselves does not alter the impression left in the mind of the convert. Is Christianity not worth suffering for? Is Christ's gift no longer a pearl of so great price that it is right to part with all other possessions in order to acquire it? Have those who know Christianity from an experience extending over many years come to the conclusion that it is no longer so supremely valuable as the New Testament affirms? The question, we perceive, may be raised by many other experiences than the doubtless somewhat unusual one to which reference was made.

And the same searching question is raised from another side, when men are impressed by the goodness and nobility of non-Christians. If one gets the impression that a certain Hindu—or Muhammadan or Buddhist—is more like Christ than any Christian one has known, to some minds the question will soon suggest itself whether there is any real difference between Christianity and other religions, whether the Gospel of Christ possesses the supreme value which is claimed for it.

Much more widespread than the doubt regarding the value of Christianity, is the question whether Christianity is practicable

in actual human life, as human nature is in most men, and as the external conditions of the lives of most people are.

There are many who have begun to see a little of the beauty and the claim of the life to which Christ calls men, and who have understood that it means something much more than to be a respectable man, trusted and spoken well of by others; and yet they gradually settle down to that very life out of which they saw that Christ wanted to save them. Why did they do it? Some of them would answer that their prayer-experiences have shown them that Christianity in the New Testament sense is not possible. Others will confess that old habits and old associations have proved so strong that they have been forced to the sad conclusion that to them, at any rate, Christianity in the New Testament sense is a beautiful impossibility.

But saddest of all is the case of those whose faith has been—or is threatened to be—paralysed by what they have seen of the failures and imperfections of other Christians. Many are the young men in the Indian Christian community of South India who went out from the educational institution where they spent the years of their boyhood and youth, with a vision of Christ before them and with an honest desire to be obedient to the heavenly vision. But the worldly standard which they met at every step, among the people with whom their life was bound up, the standard that makes men ask about income and influence where the young man would have been guided only by what could be ascertained to be the Lord's will, was found gradually to raise a barrier by which he was held back from following the way of his vision. And wherever that happened, one more was added to the already sufficiently large number of Indian Christians who go about with something of a sting, and with not a little sadness, in their heart because they feel themselves forced to the conclusion that "Christ's ideals are too high for ordinary men to follow."

And a new and terribly strong piece of evidence that real Christianity cannot be practised, is being borne in upon the minds of not a few Indian Christians at this time by the European war. Even among earnest Christian Europeans it looks to the Indian Christian as if the standards that govern feelings and determine valuations are not Christian at all. Pagan virtues

and worldly maxims is all that one sees, says one Indian Christian. After saying a little in explanation of that sentence, he breaks off with these words, "The few (Indian Christians) who have talked to me about this have grave misgivings about the value of Christianity paganised and militarised".

Against doubt of this kind arguments are of no avail. In so far as wrong ideas have been the hindrance, right ideas are needed for help. But where men get a wrong impression of Christ's power to do what He has promised, nothing will suffice but a truer and fuller showing forth of His glory. It is by seeing Him that longing souls, without knowing themselves how, are helped to believe.

SOME PROBLEMS OF NATIONALITY: I.*

E. M. MACPHAIL, M.A., B.D.

It is impossible to overestimate the importance of the part that has been played by the principle of nationality in the history of Europe during the past hundred years. It is true that before the present war broke out many of those who thought and wrote about political and social problems had begun to fancy that its importance had waned. Western civilization, it was believed, had become cosmopolitan and international. Art and literature, science and religion seemed to know no geographical bounds. Finance and commerce appeared to bind the world into a great international community. Men were turning their attention to the features common to all countries in connexion with the problems of capital and labour, and an idea was abroad that the working classes of different lands felt that they had much more in common with one another than they had with their fellow-countrymen belonging to a different and higher social class.

These beliefs have been rudely shattered by the events of the past year. The dream of a peaceful family of nations vying with one another only in the arts of peace has been dissipated, at least for a time, by the revolt of Germany against this ideal and by her cynical disregard of all international obligations and

* A Lecture delivered in the Kellett Institute, Triplicane, Madras.

agreements. When we ask the cause of this revolt we find that it is the determination of Germany to carry out into practice what she regards as necessary for the development of her national life and the extension of her national ideals. In other words we see that it is to the spirit of nationality—a perverted spirit in my opinion—that we owe the present war.

If turning from the fundamental cause of the war we look more closely at the proximate causes we find three ways in which nationality may be said to be its cause.

First: there is a clashing of rival nationalities. The outrageous ultimatum which Austria-Hungary sent to Serbia in July of last year was, apart from ulterior motives, an expression of the hatred which the Germans and the Magyars or Hungarians have for the Slavs, and the Russian assistance to Serbia was assistance given to brother Slavs. The age-long struggle between the Latin-speaking peoples and the Germans accounts in great measure for the side taken by the French and the Italians. The Turks have allowed their fear of Russia to throw them into the arms of their older enemies, the Germans, and the British have at last awakened to the fact that their national existence was endangered by the hatred and envy which the existence of the British Empire had created in the minds of the German people.

Second: the war has been caused by the recognition of the fact already indicated that Germany aims at imposing her peculiar national ideals on the world at large. "World Power or Downfall" is the title of one of the chapters in Bernhardi's notorious work, *Germany and the Next War*, and that title by itself explains the present struggle. Germany, so the Germans hold, must expand if her national life is not to be stifled, and she can do so only at the expense of the national life of others. It is true that the Germans believe that in imposing their national ideals on others they are conferring a boon upon them, as they fancy that German *Kultur* is the highest in the world, but other nations hold a different view and are obstinate enough to prefer their own. In Britain we are old-fashioned enough to believe that the German ideal is not new but is very old, and is simply the old bad principle of 'might is right' dressed up in a new form and dignified, in virtue of the scientific thoroughness with which it is carried out, with the ill-chosen name of *Kultur*.

Third: the third way in which nationality is the cause of the war is closely connected with the second. The immediate causes of the war were the bullying of Serbia by the central Teutonic powers and the violation of the neutrality of Belgium by the German armies. In carrying out her national ideals Germany, as we have noticed, considers herself entitled to disregard the rights of all other nations. This became most flagrantly manifest when in disregard of her solemn promises she violated the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg. To those who knew what German soldiers and political thinkers had written with regard to the rights of small states, and who were aware what preparations Germany had been making for years for the invasion of Belgium, this did not come as a surprise, but the callous disregard of the rights of a small nation, which her action revealed to all last August, had a most powerful influence in deciding the British nation to declare war upon the transgressor. Whether therefore we look at the underlying or at the immediate causes of the great war we see that nationality may be said to be its cause—the desire on the one side to assert its own national ideals and, to develop its own national life in whatever way may seem to it best, and on the other side the determination, no less strong, to preserve its national existence and ideals from the attacks of an unscrupulous and powerful enemy. Since this is so it is not amiss at the present time to consider some of the problems of nationality, and I propose first to consider, what is in itself a very considerable problem, the real meaning of the term ‘nationality,’ and then to look at some of the problems of nationality with which Europe is confronted and has been confronted during the past hundred years.

Nationality is one of those words which every one uses and which every one supposes he understands but the meaning of which when one comes to analyse it and to test it by actual facts is rather difficult to discover. It is used both as an abstract and as a common noun. As an abstract noun it means the quality or group of qualities which make a number of individuals feel that they are nationals, that is that they belong to the same nation. As a common noun it means a group of such individuals, and it is often specially used of such a group when it does not by itself form a state, but either forms only one part of a state or

is divided up among a number of different states. In a state we have a number of individuals united together by the tie of a common government. In a state which is also a nation we have a group united by other ties also. Its members feel themselves to be united to one another in a way that they are not united to others, and they regard themselves as possessing a common nationality—a something which often persists even when they go and live elsewhere.

Now it is fairly certain that most people regard nationality as meaning much the same as race, and this is no doubt the etymological meaning of the term. The English word *nation* is derived directly from the Latin word *natio*, the root idea of which is being born, and the best translation of *natio* is probably race. When, however, we look at the nations of the present day we see that many of them are composed of people belonging to different races who in one way or another have been welded together until they now form one nation. For example the heroic Belgian nation, whose national self-consciousness is so keen, and has cost it so much, is a mixture of Teutonic Flemings and Romano-Celtic Walloons. The Swiss nation is made up chiefly of German, French and Italian elements. The British nation is an amalgam of many races, and the nation which inhabits the United States of America is so on a much larger scale. Again the fact that people belong to the same race does not necessarily imply that they have the same nationality. For historical reasons peoples of the same race have often been found included in different and even hostile nations. Still popular usage has this to say in defence of itself, that men belonging to the same race, or who at least believe that they do so, are more likely to form a nation than a heterogeneous body of individuals. Like draws to like in ordinary circumstances, and the tie of kinship or of blood relationship is one of the oldest bonds of human societies. Men of the same race are more like one another than others, and thus are more ready to co-operate with one another and to form the society we call a nation.

But if race is not the tie which forms nationality what are the ties that do form it? The answer must be that while there are many ties which help to produce a feeling of nationality there is no one which can be said to be absolutely essential. The spirit

of nationality can perhaps best be defined as the result of the feeling of oneness animating a number of persons occupying a definite territory, which feeling is itself the result of the presence, to a greater or less extent, of a number of different ties which make these individuals feel distinct from others and united amongst themselves.

It is impossible here to investigate these ties fully but we can see what they are if we try to picture to ourselves a completely united nation. Such a nation would be one in race, language and religion, inhabiting a country with clearly marked boundaries inside which no aliens lived, and which all would defend against any common enemy. Its inhabitants would have the same economic interests, and cherish the same historical and literary traditions. They would all have the same manners and customs, enjoy the same civilization, and living under a common government would possess common political, social, and moral ideals. I do not mean to say that there ever was a nation possessing all these ties, nor do I think that it would necessarily be a very perfect nation, but such a nation would possess all or almost all the ties which have by their influence gone to the making of nations.

Perhaps the most important of all these ties is the possession of a common language. While it is true that even that tie is not essential it is impossible to overestimate its importance as a unifying influence, for it is very difficult to produce the feeling of oneness which nationality implies if the members of the community are unable to communicate freely with one another. It is in fact more important as a tie even than race, for often it is the possession of a common language that makes people believe that they are of the same race. Diversity of language is a bar to co-operation while the adoption of a common language makes for union. The growth of national feeling, however, is checked by the absence of other ties also, and all social customs and institutions which hinder the unity of a people prevent the growth of national self-consciousness and of a feeling of nationality.

The growth of national feeling often shows itself by the desire of people to be united under a common government which shall be carried on in a manner conducive to their common interests and expressive of their common ideals. This desire may be achieved in union with other nationalities or may lead to a demand

for a separate independent political organisation. In its most extreme form the principle of nationality means that every state should contain one and only one nationality. It is impossible, however, to admit such a principle in practice, for nationalities are often intermingled and the only way to carry out the demand would be to extirpate or remove the alien elements of the population. Further, such a demand would imply the right of secession of groups of individuals forming parts of existing states. It may be desirable that this should be allowed in certain cases, but to admit it as a universal principle would mean the possibility of the large nation states being broken up into a number of independent fragments. It was to prevent such a secession that the War of the Sonderbund was waged in Switzerland in 1847 and the great American Civil War in 1861-65.

The principle of nationality has been recognised as a determining element in settling the boundaries of states only during the last hundred years. In the middle ages when national feeling in Europe had not developed, peoples were transferred from one sovereign to another with but little regard to their wishes. Even after the great nation states of Europe had risen the idea of territorial sovereignty continued, and although popular feeling did sometimes, as in the case of Holland and Switzerland, exert an influence, monarchs and statesmen cut and carved the map of Europe to suit diplomatic convenience and dynastic considerations. The French Revolutionaries while insisting on the rights of man, seemed to care little for the rights of nationalities, and annexed Belgium and part of Germany. Napoleon served himself heir to that part of the Revolutionary doctrine, and thus ultimately brought about his own downfall. When after he had fallen the Congress met at Vienna to settle the map of Europe no regard was paid to the principle of nationality, and it is not too much to say that most of the wars that have occurred in Europe during the past hundred years have been due directly or indirectly to attempts to readjust the map in accordance with that principle.

(To be continued.)

THE EVOLUTION OF THE DRAMA IN MALAYALAM. PART I.

BY T. RAMALINGAM PILLAI, M.A.

KERALA or Malabar (comprising British Malabar, Cochin and Travancore) is a patch of territory as interesting to the antiquary and the anthropologist as to the globe-trotter and the sight-seer. It preserves to this day, despite the onslaughts of modern civilization, its old-world institutions, such as its games, theatrical representations, laws of inheritance and marriage customs. Though in point of literature Malayalam is poorer than Canarese and poorer still than Tamil and Telugu, it has preserved for us certain forms of dramatic poetry which are lost to Tamil and which, I venture to think, will throw considerable light on the earlier dramatic works in that ancient language.¹ The dramatic effusion of a people being an unconscious but true reflection of their civilization and thought, the achievements of the Malayalis in the histrionic art have, therefore, more than a mere academic interest: they give us a glimpse, however dim, into the ancient history of this section of the Dravidian race.

Love of pleasure is coeval with the beginning of man; nay, it is almost instinctive with all sentient beings. With all his contempt for this transient world and in spite of his transcen-

¹ It is worthy of note that Silappathikaram, the earliest dramatic representative in the Tamil language, is the work of a Chera (Kerala) prince, named Ilanko Adigal, a brother of Chenkuttuvan who, it is surmised, held court in Kodungallore, the modern Cranganore. Vide Art. "The Travancore Tamils" p. 119 of Vol. II. No. 5, *The Argu*, Madras (August 1902). Though the work is called 'Dramatic', (Vide A Primer of Tamil Literature by Mr. M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, B.A., L.T., p. 3. Introduction) under the time-honoured classification of classical Tamil into *Iyal*, *Isai* and *Natakam*, I should think that it is not dramatic in the modern sense of the term or even in the sense in which 'Rama Natakam' of Arunachala Kavirayar (1712-1779 A. D.) may be classed as such. In his Tamil paper on "Natakattamil Araichi" or "Researches in Dramatic Tamil" published in the *Anglo-Tamil Stage Lover* Vol. I, No. 2 (September 1911), the late Dewan Bahadur Krishnamachari writes as follows:—

"In Malabar which has been, as it were, the hospitable land where forsaken institutions take their refuge, *Airarkali*, *Parisakali*, *Ottumtullal* and other 'plays' are still extant. They show that, throughout the length and breadth of the Tamil country, such dramatical representations must have been put upon the stage". (Translated from the original passage in Tamil).

dental philosophy, the Hindu is as keenly alive to the pleasures of life as any other man. The pursuit of knowledge, pure and simple, unmixed with pleasure, is irksome; but when combined with the fine arts, it is both pleasant and profitable. The art-consciousness in man manifests itself in various ways. Poetry, sculpture, painting, acting and music have really made life worth living, for in them are to be found the never-ending sources of harmless pleasure. In the drama, the co-operation of *Abinaya* or acting, *Kavita* or poetry, and *Sangita* or music, is brought into play. Of the three, the art of acting is the most indispensable to the dramatic; the drama has developed out of dancing, though the two arts have not developed *pari passu*. The combination of poetry and music in the drama is almost accidental.

The drama in Malayalam, as perhaps in the rest of the world's literature, is to be traced to religion. The words *Nata* (actor) and *Nataka* (play or drama) are derived from the verb *nat*, the *Prākṛit* form of Sanskrit *Nrit* to dance. The art of dancing in India, which is a preliminary to *Abinaya* or acting is very ancient, and has a divine origin attributed to it. Siva has his *Tāndava* dance; his consort Parvati, her *Lāsya*; and Krishna his *Rāsakṛīḍa* or cyclic dance. Bharata is the accredited inventor of dramatic entertainments in India, or at any rate, the first codifier of the science. His work is called *Nāṭya Śāstra*, and sometimes *Nāṭya Vēda*.²

There are three varieties of Bhāratīc representations: *Nritta* or simple dancing without gesticulation and speech, *Nṛitya* or gesticulation without language, i. e., pantomime, *Nāṭya* or gesticulation with language, from which the *Nataka* or drama takes its origin.

The pure Tamil word for *Nataka* is *Kuthu*, which term is perhaps still retained in the Malayalam word, *Chakkyarkuthu*, other verbal equivalents therefor being *Āttom* and *Kali*, and all these three words are of Tamil origin. The first rude attempts at histrionic representations still maintain their hold on several old castes in Malabar. The *Ghāvittukali* or *Atavuchāvittu*

² Prof. Macdonell suggests the Sixth Century A.D. as the probable date of Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* (p. 434 *History of Sanskrit Literature*).

It is interesting to note that Bha-ra-ta consists of three syllables, each of which is said to have some significance. *Bha* stands for *Bhāva* (gesticulation) *Ra* means *Rāga* (vocal music) and *Ta* stands for *Tala* (keeping time by means of cymbals); all this, however, appears to be merely fanciful.

(dance on the ground) and the *Kolkali* or *Kolati* (stick dance) of the Valans, the *Vēla* dance of the Parayans, the *Pānānkali* of the Pānans, the *Kolam-kettukali* of the Kaniyans, the *Kyēkottikkali* of the Brahmins and the Nayars, the *Padhakam* and *Kūtiāttom* of the *Chakkiyars*, and the *Sāstra Kali*, (familiarily known as the *Yātrakali*) of the Namburis are instances in point. The earliest beginnings of our drama have to be found in these mimic dances, accompanied in some cases by vociferous songs. Most of the *Kalis* or plays of Malabar are of native growth. However worthless they may have been from the literary and the histrionic standpoints, they entertained the family circle and amused social gatherings. Some of them are as follow :—

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|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Bhadrakalipattu | 11. Yezhamattakkali |
| 2. Tottampattu | 12. Tumbitullal |
| 3. Devendrappalla | 13. Kallukali |
| 4. Ammānakkali | 14. Karikkakali |
| 5. Kōlatikkali | 15. Thēnkali |
| 6. Kalyānakkali | 16. Tattumelkkali |
| 7. Ayvarkali | 17. Mōhiniyattam |
| 8. Parisakali | 18. Irakkali and |
| 9. Kurakkali | 19. Andyattam. |
| 10. Natayarikkali | |

It is in these shows that the first traces of a dramatic tendency are visible ; but it is impossible to determine which evolved from which, or how the drama proper was evolved from these. We are very prone to look at the manners and institutions of ancient times through the false medium of our every-day associations of an advanced age. Unless we can look upon ancient institutions with the eyes of the ancients, unless we can transport ourselves in spirit to earlier times, all our conceptions of what was done by them must be dim, uncertain and unsatisfactory.

Most of the minor *Kalis* above referred to, except the *Mohiniyattam* and the *Kykottikkali* are confined to South and Middle Travancore and are quite unknown in the rest of Malabar. There are about one hundred and fifty kinds of these *Kalippattus* (action-songs), but few of them have seen the light of publication. Some of them are carefully preserved in manuscript in Kalapparakkal Panikkar's family in Shertalai, North Travancore, and in many houses in Vattiyurkavu, Tiruvallam, Kusavarkala, Chirayinkil and other suburbs of Trivandrum. The stories are mostly taken from those inexhaustible treasure-houses of Indian national legends and myths, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. *Krishnarjunayudham* and *Santana-gopalam* are the best known

of these songs. Most of these are after the model of the *Kāvadichhintu ragam* in Tamil. The *Atavuchavittu* has peculiar songs and *tālams*. The use of pure Tamil words in these songs is apparent and points to an early period when the influence of Sanskrit on Malayalam had not begun to assert itself. My account below of some of the *Kalis* is imperfect, being based on hearsay reports from the last representatives of an older generation which is fast dying out.

The *Kolati* or *Kol-kali* is a dance in which a party of ten to fifteen persons move in a circle, around a burning lamp, with a stick in each hand and strike one another's sticks, singing and keeping time with their feet. In the Tamil land, this is maintained as a periodical duty for the elder boys of pial schools, and is performed in connection with the *Vindiyaka-chaturthi* and the *Vijayadasami*. This obtains even now among the Pulayans and the Valans of Malabar.³ The author of the *History of Malayalam Literature* says that stories of the type of *Santana-gopalam*, *Krishnaleela* and *Kamsa-vadham* have been rendered into *Kōladikkali* songs. (Para. 107. Part I).

The *Vela* dance of the Parayans is performed in honour of Kodungalloor Bhagavati. They sing to the accompaniment of the drum and the flute.⁴

The *Panan-kali* is almost a regular play. It lasts a whole night and is acted by two women actors and two men actors.⁵

The *Kolam-kettu-kali* belongs to the Kaniyars, the hereditary astrologers and Mantravadins of Malabar. It is performed after the first quarter of the night, the party consisting of men and women. It is more or less a devil dance, accompanied by blood-red scenes, got up by preparing a boiled solution of chunam and turmeric.⁶

The *Kai-kotti-kali* is confined to the women of the higher classes, the Brahmins and the Nayars. It is a circular dance accompanied by singing, in which ten to thirty girls take part at a time.

The *Tiru-vatira-kkali* is in commemoration of Kamadeva, the Cupid of our mythology, who, as the story goes, was burnt to ashes by the great God Siva. A number of young girls meet

³ Vide p. 123, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes* by Mr. L. K. Ananta-krishna Aiyar, B.A., L.T.

⁴ Vide p. 83 of *Ibid.*

⁵ Vide p. 178 of *Ibid.*

⁶ Vide p. 142, *The Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. V. No. 2 (June 1906).

at a tank, early in the morning on the Tiruvatira day, in Dhanu (December or January) and plunge into the water. They sing until the peep of dawn.⁷ Their singing closes with a Polappattu⁸ which is in the form of a dialogue between a caste lady and her slave woman.

The *Bhadrakali-pattus* or *Tottam-pattus* are sung in praise of the goddess Bhadrakali in Palaghaut and in the neighbouring parts of Trichūr. There are certain dances also in connection with them. They originated before the fourth century A. D. The *Mannotu-kali*, *Lāla-kali*, *Kannyārkalī* and *Dēsattu-kali* are varieties of the dance. The dance lasts three days.⁹

The *Ammana-kali-pattus* are among the oldest songs in Malabar. They must be traced to a greater antiquity as they are of the recognised species of the early songs of the Tamil land. The play consists of throwing up three or more balls of bell-metal and catching them alternately by the right and left hand.

The *Ayvar-kali* obtains only among the Tiyas or Elzhas of South Travancore. It is a representation of the story of the five Pandavas, each of whom is personated by an actor. The entire story of the *Mahabharata* is rendered in easy songs to be sung and acted to the accompaniment of hand-drums, called *tappu*. It is performed only in the day-time and is completed in two days.

The *Andy-attam*, played at night with the help of a burning lamp, has but one player in it who does not open his lips.

The *Kalyana-kali* is performed on marriage occasions among the Nayars of South Travancore. To this day in Chirayinkil Neyyattinkara and Kuzhitura, there are regular troops of these players, called Sankhakkars. The actors who have no special costume for the play, sing merry-songs and dance to the tune in many merry-go-rounds. The songs¹⁰ sung in all the above *kalis* are regulated by *mātrās* and not by syllable in each foot or *padam*.

The *Yātra-kali* or, more correctly, *Sāstra-kali*, is performed by a section of the Numburis, called Sastrangakkar or Kshātran-gakkar, on occasions of the first feeding ceremony of babies, of thread-investing, marriage and the first anniversary of a death

⁷ Cf. p. 299, *Nayars of Malabar* Madras Government Bulletin by Mr. F. W. Fawcett.

⁸ Vide Appendix for a sample Polappattu.

⁹ Vide paras. 77 & 97 of *The History of Malayalam Literature*.

¹⁰ Vide Appendix for a sample *Kalyana-kali* song.

among the Numburis. It has at present religious, social and farcical elements combined with it. The *Kali* propitiates chiefly Siva and Pârvati, as well as Bhadrakâli, Sâsta and Subrahmanya. It is of two kinds: (1) *Kali* and *Satram* (2) mere *Kali*. In the first, the performers undertake the cooking business at the feast; in the second, they merely perform a play. The Numburis and the Malabar Potties are trained in the art. In the first variety of the play, at about 4 P.M. on the day of feasting, some ten or fifteen of these men rush into the dining pandal, on the floor of which are scattered the remnants of rice and curry, and invert the empty unwashed *chempu* or copper cauldron and continue to strike it with a ferule each singing to the metallic music thereby produced. One of the party suddenly jumps off his seat, takes hold of a spoon, dances about, becomes inspired and assumes the roll of Sir Oracle. He runs up and down the pandal, jumps upon the cauldron, calls out 'hip hurrah' many times, and breaks a cocoanut. At night-fall, four of the party circumambulate a burning lamp in the parlour of the host's house and sing songs in praise of Bhagavati. This is called *Nâlupadam*. In the course of supper, they call out for certain eatables which are less often than not, supplied to them. They also sing in long tones, songs called *Karislukas* of which samples are cited in the *History of Malayalam Literature*. They also recite some 'royal commissions' or *neets* in prose indited by reputed scholars and based on Puranic episodes. Supper over, preparations for the real *Kali* are begun. They repair to a neighbouring temple or Numburi's house and put on the actors' dress and move in slow procession to the pandal. They reach the host's pandal and sit round the lamp and sing songs in praise of Ganapathi and Siva. This is followed by diverse kinds of dumb-shows and exhibition of skill in swordsmanship. Certain songs, called Polivu songs, are recited to the accompaniment of the studiously slow drumming of the *chenda* (drum). Till day-dawn, rude imitations of the Nayar soldier, 'Pandaram', 'Lauderer and Laundress', appear on the scene and play several farcical parts. With the rising of the next morning sun, all this is over. The songs are mostly in pure Malayalam, though there is a large admixture of Sanskrit words in those composed recently.

It is interesting to inquire into the connection, if any, between this *Yâtrakali* and the *Jâtra* (Yatra) of the Bengalis, which latter is generally an exhibition of some of the incidents in the youth-

ful life of Krishna, maintained also in extempore dialogue, but interspersed with popular songs. But it is impossible to say, at this distance of time, if the Jatras of the Bengalis did not find their way into Malabar through the Aryan settlers of North India during their migration hither and become the present *Yātrakalis*.

If the nautch represents the beginnings of the Indian drama, we may well say that the *Mohini-attam*, which answers to the *Dasi-attam* on the other side of the Ghauts, serves more or less the same purpose. The dancing party consists chiefly of a male leader called Nattuvan, one Bhagavatar or Singer, a Drummer, and two or three Nayar girls of low extraction who do the actual dancing and whose limbs are trained for different postures and gestures. In this *attam*, only one *rasa* (emotion or sentiment) viz., *Sringara* or the erotic, is brought into play and that, perhaps, of a rather low type. The girls exhibit certain signs by the figures and dance more or less in accordance with the injunctions of Bharata. *Mrudangam*, *Titti* and *Kuzhi-talam* are the musical instruments used in the *attam* which is performed at night.

The *Chakkiyarkoothu* is a peculiar institution of Malabar, more or less akin to the *Kathā-kālakshepam* of the East Coast. The Chakkiyars are hereditary actors.¹¹ Their very occupation is to act plays in temple-mandapams, called *Koothambalams*. They are the children of adulterous Namburi women, born after the commencement of their guilt. Boys, so born and invested with the sacred thread, are Chakkiyars and those not so invested, Nambiyars. The unmarried daughters are classed among *Nangayars*.¹² The Chakkiyar is a mimetic dancer and his *Koothu*, a monologue, consists mainly of a sort of combined recitation of, and commentary on, passages from the Puranas and the *Itihāsās*. Broadly speaking, the *Koothu* originally included the acting of *natakams* or dramas. Their earliest patron was Kulasekara Varma Cheramanperumal, a Sanskrit poet and dramatist, whose plays *Subhadra-dhananjayam* and *Tapati-samvaranam*, as well as *Ascharyachudamani*, *Naganadam*, etc., were put on the boards by them for the first time. This prince has composed for them, a book called *Aṭṭa-prakaram*, laying down canons for the *Koothu*

¹¹ It is worth observing that elsewhere in India there is no separate caste or class of men whose life-long profession is acting. The derivation of the word 'Chakkiyar' from 'Slaghya-kulam' or Slaghya-vakku is more fanciful than real.

¹² Vide *Jātinirṇaya*.

and fixing the *Ankavila* (fees) therefor. The enacting of a play is called *Kudiyattam* and in this the Nangayars take the female part. *Mattavilasam* and *Anguleeyankam* are only two out of the few *Koothus* where in a single actor appears. *Prabandham* is the general name for the works used for recitation in *Koothu*. The *Prabandhams* are adaptations in Sanskrit of the Hindu Scripture, for the use of the non-Brahmins. Melpattur Narayana Bhattatiri, the author of *Narayaneeyam* in Sanskrit, has composed about fourteen *Prabandams*. Minor episodes are introduced in the *Koothu* by the reciter.

The *Kuthoos*, meant for the propitiation of the gods and the felicitation of men, form important items on the *Utsavam* (festival) programme of almost every temple worth the name in Malabar. Private individuals also arrange for these performances in temples, and meet their cost, by way of discharging their vows. A single session of these *Koothus* lasts twelve, twenty or forty days and, on no account, exceeds forty days. The belief is that liturgical recitations are as efficacious in obtaining salvation during the *Kaliyuga* as divine service, and will be a check on the growing materialism of the iron age. The *Koothu* is performed during the afternoons. A burning lamp is placed before the Chakkiyar; the only article of furniture is a three-footed stool on which he, now and again, sits in the course of the performance. He wears a quaint headgear and an uncouth dress; his face is grotesquely painted with sandal paste and ashes, and his eyes with lamp-soot. He has several brummagem bracelets on the forearms and the feet. A Nambiar accompanies him and opens the *Koothu* by sounding his big jar-shaped metal-drum. The Nangayar sounds her cymbals occasionally. The Chakkiyar opens with a prayer, with gesticulations, and well-regulated movements. He cuts a caper or two. Though the entire audience may burst in laughter at the jokes cracked by the Chakkiyar at the expense of any particular individual, it would be a serious breach of etiquette, if the person so ridiculed, replied to the Chakkiyar. The Nangayar should not even smile at anything that takes place at the *Ambalam*; and if she infringes the rule, the performance will be stopped at once.

The Chakkiyar is a rhapsodist having the gift of a good memory and strong common sense. He is a reciter, preacher, jester, cynic, satirist and connoisseur of public morals, all in one. He has an observant eye for men and manners. He recites epic

poems very charmingly, with peculiar intonations and emphasis, all his own. The recital, in great part improvisation, is acted and sung distinctly, and acquires a dramatic character by his introduction of hypothetical dialogues with imaginary interlocutors. There are elements of frank gaiety and amusing buffoonery, as well as serious heart-thrusts and withering sarcasms. If his eloquence is energetic and sublime, his humour is at times coarse and broad, his personal satire stinging, his attack on social institutions acrimonious, vehement, and even indecent. His allusions, elucidations, and gestures, for instance, in enacting Ahalya's and Indra's freaks, are too broad and coarse nay, positively immoral for any audience. His references to the posture of labouring women in confinement are simply demoralising.

To make a skilful actor at the *Koothu* requires several years of hard study and training. The novice has to study Sanskrit *nātakas*, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, as well as Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*. He has to spend about a decade in these studies and in physical training, such as squeezing his body into shapes, ogling, winking, staring, etc. In certain kinds of *Kūḍi-attam*, the jester has no place. But in those in which he has a place, there are four parts called *vinōdam* (amusement), *Vaṇchanam* (deception), *Rājasēva* (service to kings) and *Asanam* (food), an explanation of which would take us too far. These can bestow *Purushartham*, viz., *Dharma* (duty), *Artha* (wealth), *Kama* (love) and *Moksha* (salvation) on all who listen to them. Some of the *slokas* in Sanskrit are Bhartruhari's; the Malayalam *slokas* are by a Numburi Brahmin named Tolakavi, a dependant of Bhaskara Ravi Verma Perumal, *alias*, Kulasekhara. He was a satirist who made light work of all poets, whether they were princes or peasants.

Among the most famous Chakkiyars may be mentioned (1) Ittyamman Chakkiyar, (2) Potiyil Narayana Chakkiyar of Kottayam, (3) Potiyil Rama Chakkiyar, (4) Kuttancheri Narayana Chakkiyar, (5) Kidangur Madhva Chakkiyar and (6) Nilakandan Chakkiyar of Ambalapuzha. Ittyamman Chakkiyar performed one *Parakkum-koothu* (flying performance) in 1744 A. D. under the patronage of a Raja of Cochin who passed away in 1745 A. D. at Kurikkad. This was in connection with the representation of the Sanskrit play, *Nāgānandam*, wherein a kite is depicted as descending from the skies to eat up Jimuthavahana who lies flat on a piece of rock. It is a dangerous performance, costing some-

times the very life of the actor. The actor has to hover above the ground of the *Nandap* or shed, as he descends, and sing *slokas* simultaneously.¹³ Potiyil Narayana Chakkiyar was an expert actor and first-rate humourist of powerful elocution. He regaled his audience with biting sarcasms on the best scholars of the day. But Chakkiyars with such remarkable powers have become rare. In earlier days every Chakkiyar had to proceed to Perunchellurgramam in Kolassunad and to exhibit his skill at the Talipparambu temple before the Namburis, and receive his *muti* or crown from the Cherakkal Raja. It is a matter for regret that the Chakkiyar Koothu is going out of fashion. Divested of its later undesirable accretions, it would be an excellent institution, and, under proper guidance and control, would make a potent factor in our religious and moral elevation and a powerful instrument of education.

(To be continued.)

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

AMID much that is painful in the present war there are facts that fill us with nothing but gratitude and admiration. Among these the relief of the Belgium sufferers mainly through the instrumentality of a number of leading Americans is one of the most prominent. The *Times History of the War* devotes a whole weekly part to this subject and it tells a remarkable story of charity and organization. It does not overstate the truth when it says that the work of the relief and feeding of Belgium must take its place among the highest achievements compassed by the heart and mind of man in the exaltation of a great struggle. The task before the organizers was the feeding of seven millions of destitute persons in a country where the ordinary means of transport were monopolized by a hostile army in occupation. They had therefore, in the absence of railways, to use the canals. They had to find the food, to secure the money to purchase it, to negotiate with the different governments for its safe transport, and to make gigantic plans for its proper distribution. All this has been accomplished by the Commission for Relief in Belgium, aided by the Comité National de Secours et d'Alimentation. These two committees were however practically one and the same body. The Commission consisted of seventy-one Americans, and four Spaniards, all of whom gave

¹³ Vide Art. 'One Parakkumkoothu', p. 4, No. I, Vol. III; *The Rasi-karnanjin*, September, 1904.

their services free of charge. The chairman was Mr. Herbert C. Hoover. The American commissioners were almost entirely business men, with a knowledge of business methods, and a training for organization on a large scale. What the task laid upon the Commission actually was may be faintly inferred from the fact that the value of the foodstuffs imported amounted to about £1,500,000 a month. For sheer magnitude and complexity the story of the feeding of Belgium will rank high among the services rendered to humanity in time of need.

MEANWHILE the conflict proceeds with varying fortunes. The Russians, with magnificent courage have held on against tremendous odds, and for the time at all events, have not only kept the enemy at bay, but have won considerable successes. The greatest admiration is felt for our gallant allies on the Eastern front, and it is confidently hoped that with the increase of munitions they will turn the tide as they have done before. On the West a great offensive has begun, the offensive which has been long looked and longed for. Already as we write about 25,000 Germans have been made prisoners, and enormous numbers placed *hors de combat*. Experts warn us against undue optimism, for each great advance must be carefully prepared for, and the writer is already at hand nevertheless one great step has been taken, and others will follow. It is significant that H. E. the Viceroy in his closing speech at the recent meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council stated that he believed that the close of the war would be within sight a few months from now, that the end would not be far away when his term of office expired. It is the first real prediction we have seen from one who may be presumed to know the facts from the inside.

FEW efforts in Madras are watched with more eagerness than those connected with the anti-malarial operation. Statistics have long shown that the health of Madras as a city is bad. Compared with European towns the death-rate is extraordinarily high, but it also high compared with that of other towns in India. The quarterly report of Dr. K. Raghavendra Rao, the special malaria officer, has just been published for the first three months of the present year. From the point of view of public interest it is somewhat belated. What we want to know is not what was done from January to March, but what has been done up to September. We may presume, however, that the methods in force then are being pursued still. The chief effort apart from the cleaning of tanks is made by the introduction of larvicidal fish into wells. Over 11,000 wells had been stocked with fish, and after a considerable interval from six to twelve wells were selected at random in each street and examined for larvae. Out of 1,392 wells

examined 103 were found to contain anopheles larvae, and fish were not seen. In the others the fish were lively and there was an absence of larvae. The water in the 103 wells was invariably foul, and covered with leaves or weeds. If further investigation carefully carried out over a still wider area confirms this result it may be regarded as proved that the introduction of larvicidal fish into all wells and tanks will do much to destroy anopheles larvae. There are, however, multitudes of stagnant pools, which cannot be stocked with fish and these equally demand treatment. A very interesting account of the Buckingham canal shows that there are danger spots in it specially where the canal has become practically a cesspool.

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This last month we reprinted Professor Royce's letter. We quote now from the *Spectator* Dr. Baldwin's letter on the same subject :—

New York, —, 1915.

Dr. HUGO KIRBACH, Recording Secretary,
German University League, New York.

DEAR SIR,—I am in receipt of your letter requesting me, as a former student in certain German Universities, to join the German University League in the United States, the object of which is to 'unite and take the lead in spreading the truth and in understanding of German aims' in view of the 'conflict now being waged against Germany by vastly superior numbers.'

You are right in thinking that, as such a student in and of Germany, I am not unqualified to speak of German aims; and also that I am desirous of spreading the truth. Consequently, I send you the following expression of my opinion, which has been reached after full deliberation, and in spite of early prejudgments in favour of Germany, due to my stay there and to my friendship for many German scholars during a long academic career.

1. *As to the truth* :—In my opinion, the truth is that no country was ever more fully bound by the duty of bringing 'vastly superior numbers' against another country than were England, France, and Russia against Germany and Austria. The diplomatic exchanges preceding the war show, on the part of Germany, shameful dishonesty, cynicism, and blackmail. The gage of war, finally flung down by Germany, could not have been refused by any self-respecting or honest people. France and Russia were under both the duty and the necessity of fighting. England was under the duty only—a duty to Belgium and to civilization. All the more honour to England that she accepted the duty although not under the necessity!

2. *A further truth* :—Germany has conducted the war as a national bandit and pirate, taking advantage, in every instance, of the chivalry and high honour of her opponents. Her methods have been those of official vandalism. She has placed herself outside the pale of all possible sympathy on the part of those whose culture is not that of the primitive savage. The appeal to American scholars and teachers is itself an affront. These men are in the front rank of those who keep alive the fires of moral enthusiasm, who seek to maintain the integrity of humane and Christian ideals, who are responsible for public opinion, and the moulding of youth. Their response is: Shame on you and your house! That German professors of morals and of true science can 'justify' German methods of warfare and German ends, as revealed by these methods, causes a

shock from which the body of American university men will never recover. In their eyes, the moral *débâcle* of Germany seems to be in sight.

And yet another truth:—The aims and the procedure of a group of Germans in the United States, with whom you are likely to be confused, are becoming noxious to all good Americans. Study in Germany has not made us less patriotic as Americans or as lovers of Anglo-Saxon ideals: we were not 'made in Germany.' We are beginning to demand that the made-in-Germany brand of scholar, journalist, or politician be repudiated; and that those who exploit it, using the United States as a base for an unneutral and unpatriotic propaganda, be given their passports (German passports, *not forged American ones*!). Led by the German Ambassador, whose early activities would have justified the demand for his recall, carried on by means of newspapers, circulars, and public harangues, it is not strange that the campaign has reached the stage indicated by the bomb, the incendiary fire, the political plot. These Germans are traitors to their adopted country. Our people have shown to them a toleration equal to their contempt for them. But all good citizens of German birth should make haste to join with other Americans—those to whom I write with those who would write as I do—to protest against this abuse of our generosity. Germans living here must have a care that in future the term German-American be not synonymous with the terms intrigue and disloyalty. Certain it is that a very large body of Americans look with distrust upon Germans—even those who are naturalized in the United States—whose patriotism has not had some adequate proof. The first task your organization should undertake is that of exposing German treachery to the laws of the United States. You would thus lift from the German-Americans the opprobrium that is likely to be a serious element of discomfort to them in the future.

4. *As to the German aims*, which you wish to have set forth—they are clear enough. The word Pan-Germanism defines them; and the war has placed Pan-Germanism sufficiently on record. The aims issue from the means adopted, and the means are foul enough: violation of public and private right, destruction of the high monuments of human aspiration, lying official statements suited to the consumer's needs, brazen bluff of unheard-of crudity, reckless bravado typified by the floating mine and the submarine set to destroy the innocent and the weak. I myself know of instances of devilish atrocity, reflecting an official system of procedure. The 'Hymn of Hate' is performed at the table of the Emperor! The end to be reached by such means, say apologists for Germany, is the universal spread of the culture whose hand holds such weapons as this. A German victory would destroy for generations all hope of a peaceful settlement of the problems of world politics—problems, moreover, in the treatment of which a strain of barbarism has been kept alive until now by reason of the rise of modern military Germany.

These are, briefly stated, my dear Sir, my views as to the truth about Germany and as to her aims. I trust, if your desire for the co-operation of American professors who have studied in German universities be sincere, you will give to them the publicity accorded to those of others whose opinions may be different from mine and more in accord with your own.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) J. MARK BALDWIN, Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D.,
Lately Presided Intern. Congress of Psychology;
Correspondent of the Institute of France, etc.,
Former Student at Berlin, Leipzig, and Freiburg.

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

Kindergarten Subjects and Methods. By Rebekah McLeod.
(The Christian Literature Society. Price Re. 1-12-0.)

"THERE is nothing evil in the world that could not be abolished here and now. There is nothing fettered and dark that could not be liberated and made light here and now." With such words of introduction from the author, we see that we have to deal with an idealist and similar views pervade the whole book. "All educators, whether parents or teachers, should be persons who are themselves first of all liberated personalities, persons in touch with all that is great and good, persons who live in great spaces, who are true in every fibre of their being, who rejoice in goodness and beauty, and who have an unconquerable conviction of the immediate and eternal triumph of goodness everywhere, in all circumstances." Here is the ideal educator of children; but the poor Indian teacher we are afraid will not recognise himself as anywhere near such a pinnacle of perfection. "Any man or woman who dares to be the guardian and guide of little children should be one who has leaped beyond his fetters, who is a freed personality, who is indubitably a genius."

The opening chapters introduce us to an atmosphere of cleanliness, truthfulness and trustfulness which give a healthy tone to the whole book and which alone would be grand ideals for our elementary school teachers.

"Indian kindergartners must carefully and scientifically watch Indian children using Indian materials, and must invent Indian apparatus and an Indian system if they would do successful kindergarten work." Quite so—why then make the children sit on chairs in European fashion as shown in the photograph facing pages 20 and 57 for example?

"Rightly speaking there can be no such thing as kindergarten work forming part of a primary school scheme of work. The whole primary school is the kindergarten." Then the period of free play with infants marching round the school making as much din as they like by blowing continuously tin trumpets or by banging an old tin basin with a stick as described on page 25 must be a particularly trying one for the higher pupils and their teachers engaged in their own work elsewhere within the school precincts.

"A child who is naturally courteous should not be made the corrective to a second child who is a little offender in lacking good manners." Human nature being what it is, the likely result of such

treatment will be that the very good little boy, who, it is hoped, is of the type that die young, will develop into an insufferable little prig, cordially detested by the unfortunate school-fellow who is compelled watch every act of this paragon.

"The kindergarten, because it is a place of joyful growing, does not need to be a place of disorder and noise"—why then should pupils ever be having "a particularly hilarious time" as described on page 9, where also the writer "has been tired of hearing class after class being particularly noisy"?

With such remarks about particulars we now pass to a consideration of the book as a whole. It is wide in its scope, covering all the subjects of the elementary school curriculum and drawing upon a fine range of helpful books for the teacher's further study. The suggestions of what is lacking in literature for the teacher's guidance in teaching history, music and composition, open up a great field for original work on the part of Indian educationalists. Throughout, the treatment of the various subjects takes for granted an expenditure on apparatus and materials which is far beyond any but Government institutions, and necessitates a freedom of space for individual class work, games and free play which is procurable in very few city schools. Notwithstanding the fact that between the Training College at Saidapet and the ordinary village school there is a great gulf fixed, the writer's ideals should be an inspiration to every earnest teacher and some of the methods adaptable to all schools.

W. R. S.

We acknowledge with thanks receipt of *An Introduction to Shakespeare* by Hiram Corson, LL.D. It is published by D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, New York, and Chicago. (Indian Agent, P. T. I. Book Depot, Bangalore.)

It is unnecessary to review a book that has been so many years before the public. It may suffice to say that Dr. Corson's acute mind is manifest on every page. Not a little Shakespearian criticism has been published since this volume saw the light, but it has not yet been superseded, and contact with Dr. Corson's vigorous individuality will stimulate thought and investigation.

Handbooks of Hindu Law. Part I. The Hindu Joint Family.
By H. D. Cornish, B.A. Pages XXXVII + 171. (Cambridge, University Press. Nine shillings net.) Part II. *Partition and*

Maintenance. By H. D. Cornish, B.A. Pages XXXVI+203. (Cambridge University Press. Nine shillings net.)

MR. CORNISH, the learned writer of these handbooks, is evidently a master of the subject on which he writes. His object is, in his own words, "to present Hindu Law in the form most likely to meet the requirements of the law student and the practitioner," and it is but proper to say that he has admirably succeeded in his object. The principles of Hindu Law, so complicated and involved, are stated with great clearness and lucidity so as to suit beginners; while the wealth of cases cited on every subject is sure to be welcomed by the busy practitioner. The author prefers to speak as far as possible in the language of the Judgments themselves and in fact relies mostly upon them as his authorities. He holds that 'although a study of the commentaries is essential for a proper understanding of the principles of Hindu Law for all practical purposes, Hindu Law may now be said to consist of a considerable body of Case Law.' Accordingly the original authorities are very sparingly used. The result is that the books are not encumbered with abstruse discussions of purely academical interest. But it cannot for a moment be maintained that the practical value of the original authorities is at an end. Many new cases arise which have to be decided with reference to the unused original dicta and there is a limit within which the latter cannot be superseded by Case Law however abundant it may be. One could have wished that the author had made a more generous use of the original authorities. But this is a fault of omission and not of commission. Mr. Cornish has done well to point out the difference between English and Indian coparcenary, as the similarity of names has led to confusion even in learned quarters. The chapter on Alienation is admirably full and this can be said generally of the Second Part.

The printing and get-up of the books leave little to be desired. We extend our hearty welcome to them and hope that the learned writer will complete his series with similar books on other departments of Hindu Law such as adoption, succession and *stridhanam*.

T. L. V.

Ballads, Ancient and Modern. Edited with an introduction, notes and glossary, by Oliphant Smeaton, M.A., F.S.A. The Temple English Literature Series for Schools. (London: Dent and Sons, Ltd. Price one shilling.)

MR. OLIPHANT SMEATON has done teachers of English Literature a service by bringing out in such a compact form a selection of the best English ballads. It is a pity that so many of the younger generation

are growing up in ignorance of the ballads of their country, which are second to none in European literature. How very few schoolboys to-day know anything about *Sir Patrick Spens*, or the *Nut Browne Mayd* or the *Heir of Linne*, or are barbarous enough to feel like Sir Philip Sidney—*I never heard the old song of Percy and Douglas, that I found not my heart moved more than with a trumpet.*

Mr. Sineaton has provided his selection with ample notes and a useful vocabulary. We cannot say that we agree with all he says in his Introduction. Of course the origin of the ballad is a thorny problem, but the evidence seems to us to be in favour of its being a product of a late period in literary development and of regarding it as the outcome of the breaking up of the romances, about the end of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, rather than as a fresh popular form arising from the very heart of the people.

The publishers are to be congratulated on the attractive appearance of this little volume.

LITERARY NOTES.

AMONG the literary products of the great war, one of the most important is the output of books by American writers on the causes and implications of the struggle. In one of these (*The Diplomacy of the War of 1914* by M. Constable, 21s. nett) the author, Prof. Stowell, makes the suggestive point that it is an antagonism between the purely national ideal, in Germany, and that of the "super-empires" of Britain, France, Russia and Japan; for the latter, as he points out, stand for the principle of "international control to protect the interests of civilization and maintain the peace of the world."

THE Oxford University Press has published two contributions to the deeper analysis of the issues of the war—*Political Ideals*, by C. Delisle Burns (2s. 6d. nett), and *National Ideals*, by P. E. Matheson (3d. nett). Both books are saturated with historic feeling, and may help the reader to understand all that is at stake in the present conflict.

BOOKS on the Balkans continue to multiply, and the need for them is great. European peace might have stood more secure had European statesmen taken the pains to master the problems of the Balkans. We commend to the reader who would understand these issues a little book by that acknowledged authority, Dr. R. W. Seton-Watson—*The Balkans, Italy and the Adriatic* (Nisbet, 1s. nett). His only hope for the future is in a cordial understanding between Britain,

Italy, and the great South Slav state which seems to hold the keys of the future.

THE Balkan Wars of 1912-13 now seem like ancient history ; but their importance is far from negligible. Historians and publicists will do well to study the discriminating review of this theme given by " A Diplomatist " in *Nationalism and the War in the Near East* (Clarendon Press, 12s. 6d. nett). If nationalism, for which the Allies are fighting, is to be the principle of settlement, it has an important bearing on such matters as the treatment of Dalmatia.

IN *Attila and the Huns*, Mr. Edward Hutton, the historian of Ravenna, develops with considerable skill the analogy between the devastating hordes of fifteen centuries ago and the enterprise of modern Germany, with the peril in each case not only to civilisation but to Christianity itself. The Kaiser's now notorious exhortation to his troops has proved to be apter than he himself suspected.

THE elegant, yet withal popular, series in which Messrs. Harrap present the story of the " Great Nations " deserves the attention of educated readers. A recent volume, by Mr. H. B. Cotterill, deals with *Mediaeval Italy*. It is a subject of perennial fascination, well suited to the exercise of the author's gifts and of the publishers' resources in getting up books.

CORRESPONDENCE.

NĀTHA MUNI'S MUSIC

TO THE EDITOR, CHRISTIAN COLLEGE MAGAZINE.

SIR,

I think I can throw some faint light on the questions raised by Mr. V. Rangachari in his learned article on Nātha Muni regarding the celestial music of the Prabandhas. Some of the Rāgas or musical modes which are said to be obsolete in southern India are well-known in the Hindustani music of northern India. Indōla or Hindōla is sung after midnight, Gāndhāra in the forenoon, Nāṭa between 9 and 12 P.M., Panchama in the small hours of the morning. Some of the names appear to be translations or transformations of Sanskrit words. If Perunīrmai be Jaladhara, Sīkāmarāma the same as Madhumata, Kaiśya identical with Kōśi, these are not unknown in northern India. Though the Rāgas may not be commonly sung, the names can not

have been forgotten in Madras, for some of them may be found even in Singarābhārya's little *Sangīta Kalānidhi*. I do not mean that if you know how a Rāga is sung in northern India to-day, you can tell how Nātha Muni sang it. The Hindus have no satisfactory musical notation, and the same Rāga may be sung in one way in southern, in another in northern India ; it may be sung in one way to-day and might have been sung differently ten and even five centuries ago. If the Prabandhas are chanted in a style handed down by tradition, further light may possibly be thrown on the subject.

Mr. Rangachari asks what 'celestial music' is, and how it is related to human music. In the Marathi books on Hindustani music published by Mr. Bhatkhande, a very learned authority on this subject, it is mentioned that Sanskrit writers divide music into two kinds—Mārgi and Dēsi. The former style, the "way" prescribed by the ancients, was supposed to represent the old Gandharva or celestial music and has latterly been obsolete. The latter, which represents local or provincial variations of the old prescribed way, is the only kind of music that is sung at present. In contradistinction to Gandharva, it might have been called 'human,' if such a technical term is used at all. Whether the Gandharva method was common, or known even to a few, in Nātha Muni's time is an interesting question. If Nātha Muni himself professed to set the Prabandhas to Gandharva music, the question may be answered in the affirmative. But if that description of it had a much later origin, the probability is that when the Rāgas ceased to be familiar in southern India, the people adopted the distinction of the Sanskrit writers to which I have referred and spoke of the unknown Rāgas as celestial, though they were commonly sung in northern India. As Nātha Muni had travelled in the north, other hypotheses may be suggested, but they would not be capable of verification.

Yours truly,

H. NARAINA RAO.

BANDRA (BOMBAY),

4th October, 1915.

SCIENCE NOTES.

STILL more remains of fossil man are being discovered. From the Transvaal comes the Boskop skull and bones which, on first examination, were thought to be Neanderthal. Prof. Arthur Keith however declares they are more modern and a detailed account of the find is being awaited with great eagerness by anthropologists generally throughout the world. No matter what the final opinion on the remains will be, it is now shown by their discovery that Palaeolithic man has at last been proved to have existed in South Africa.

RADIOACTIVITY has for some time been associated with the cause of cancer. But such forms as "industrial cancer," "smoker's cancer," "sweep's cancer," "arsenic cancer," etc., are caused by commodities other than radioactive substances. The names above used refer only to a predisposition to the disease, for the substances themselves, manure, tobacco and its smoke, tar and soot, etc., do not actually cause this fell disease but merely render the tissues prone to it.

COAL causes no cancer; tar, the first residue after distillation, accounts for some cases; pitch, the residue after distilling tar, produces many cases while soot, the last residue of the carbonisation of coal, causes most cases of cancer among men occupied industrially. From this it appears that some substance, unknown as yet, is being gradually concentrated. How it acts is also unknown.

It appears that two forms of pitch are known, the blast furnace kind produced mostly from Scotch coal and the gas-tar variety made from bituminous coal. The former is harmless while the latter has caused so many cases that the Home Office has held two separate enquiries on the subject. X-rays and radium rays in certain doses do produce cancer, but they also destroy the cells of the tissue completely even causing ulceration.

MANY classes of cells can be made to divide in response to auxetics, i. e., chemicals containing the amidine or amino groups. Auxetics are physiologically set free in a tissue as the result of cell death caused by injury. Another group of chemicals, mostly alkaloids of choline, cadaverine, etc., increase the action of auxetics very much and are therefore known as augmentors. All known substances causing cancer

have either auxetics or augmentors present but hard Scotch coal and the blast furnace tar and pitch have neither.

WE have had many reports, most of them probably unfounded, of there being a great scarcity of food materials in Germany and Austria. The *Scientific American* in an article on "Inorganic Fodder" refers to what German chemists are doing by way of obtaining substances that will nourish from wood pulp, straw and hay. In the American papers these chemists are said to have treated sawdust so that the so-called "bread from sawdust" has been obtained. This is a nutritive product which is said to be able to be digested by man.

MODERN aeroplanes such as zeppelins are of such huge dimensions that the amount of gas needed to fill the reservoirs must be made quickly and in large amount. Hydrogen is the gas employed but the usual methods of obtaining and preparing that gas are too slow and require too much accessory plant to be of much use on the field. The zinc-sulphuric acid reaction needs much transport of materials, while electrolytic production means having a fixed station with its plant. The gas can be carried about compressed in cylinders, but the transport difficulty is the chief one here while it is not safe to handle the cylinders roughly.

OF methods of producing hydrogen for field use we have several, the most successful of which is by the action of water on calcium hydride (ca H_2), known commercially as hydrolite, or by the action of caustic soda on silicon or ferrosilicon. Hydrolite is expensive but the cost of producing 50,000 cubic metres by this method is only one-third of the cost of the cylinder method; while the transport of the hydrolite plant requires only one vehicle, whereas the cylinders would need twelve. Hydrogenite, a mixture of ferrosilicon with dry caustic soda, requiring only the addition of water to produce the gas, is said to be used by the French. No matter how quickly the hydrogen may be produced it must take a long time to inflate fully the balloons of a zeppelin which are said to be 30,000 cubic metres in capacity.

CAPTAIN ACTON at Simla recently delivered a lecture on snakes and snake-charmers. He said that many snake-charmers aver that they owe their immunity to graduated doses of the venom but examination of several individuals had failed to verify this statement. Graduated injections, if used at all, would have to be continued for six months at least before they could counteract the large amount

of venom injected by a cobra's bite. "It is" continued the lecturer "a well-recognised principle in medical service that any disease which has a host of reputed cures means only one thing—that there is no cure and that the disease has a small death-rate. About 90 per cent. of the cases survive whatever remedy is employed and this large percentage gives sufficient excuse for reputed cures." The snake-charmers themselves, it seems, either employ harmless snakes like *Eryx johni*, which they represent as being two-headed, or else they exhibit venomous reptiles, immunity to whose bite is obtained by very carefully handling of the snakes, an art which the charmers are taught from early youth.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE first place in the September number of the *Contemporary Review*, is given to an article on 'Modern Treaties of Peace' by Sir John Macdonell. In this article Sir John Macdonell disclaims all idea of joining in the speculations now common as to the terms of the peace at the close of the present war. He has in view mainly the past though the facts which he brings under review may be of use as guides or more frequently as warnings for the future. It may seem doubtful whether there is or can be unity in treaties of peace. But confining his enquiry mainly to modern treaties he is of opinion that certain broad facts emerge—of the nature for the most part of tendencies and subject to exceptions, but tendencies distinct and unmistakable.

One fact, Sir John Macdonell says, is fairly clear: the characters of treaties are mainly determined by the issues or results of the wars which they close and the manner in which these have been waged. If the struggle has ended in the decisive victory of one of the belligerents, the treaty will record that fact: if it has been pursued with brutality and cruelty, brutality and cruelty will probably characterise the terms of the treaty, and the conqueror will seek to impose harsh terms on the vanquished. Treaties of peace may be regarded as the true and durable records of military results—equitable if those have been indecisive, generally ruthless if they have ended after large sacrifices in complete victory to one of the belligerents. If the victors are allies with interests divided or divisible, the treaty will probably be more favourable to the vanquished than if there were only one conqueror. But generally speaking treaties contain few signs of chivalry, forbearance, or generosity to the vanquished. They almost all indicate

a desire to use force to the utmost limit, the diplomatist continuing, sometimes with less mercy, the work of the soldier; and rarely do they seem to be the work of statesmen who for the sake of durable harmony are willing to sacrifice passing advantages. Broadly speaking, modern treaties which do not close either a long war with uncertain military results or a war in which the conqueror has succeeded with ease, do not confer reciprocal advantages on the belligerents. As examples of treaties in which great forbearance was shown by the victors Sir John Macdonell refers to the Treaty of Paris of 1898 between the United States and Spain and the Peace of Pretoria. In this connexion he remarks that treaties of peace prove that nations differ very greatly as to the manner in which they use their power as victors. While no nation is above reproach in the matter of enacting hard terms of peace some nations show to much less advantage than others; and Sir John Macdonell remarks of Prussia that except in regard to those treaties terminating wars in which she was unsuccessful no nation has so consistently pressed her demands on the conclusion of peace as she has done. The history of her treaties, he says, is the history of the absorption of the territories of her neighbours.

Regarding the differences to be noted between ancient and modern treaties of peace Sir John says that the latter seem at first sight much the more humane. The typical Roman treaty was altogether merciless, the conqueror acquiring every thing belonging to the conquered State—private as well as public property, and the entire population being liable to be sold into slavery. This is not the case in modern treaties. But the advantage here indicated has been much offset by the imposition of heavy indemnities to be paid by the conquered nation. Another difference to be noted between ancient and modern treaties of peace is the greatly increased complexity of the modern treaty. With regard to any treaty that may be made at the termination of the present war, Sir John Macdonell points out that there cannot fail to be one notable difference between it and treaties of peace concluded in past times. Hitherto Colonies have been passive subjects of the Mother State; but in this case the Dominions which are taking their part in the struggle must have their say in the settlement.

Another peculiarity of modern treaties of peace besides the imposition of indemnities is the introduction of amnesty clauses. This, Sir John Macdonell says, is one of the great improvements in the public law of Europe. Dealing with the defects or shortcomings of modern treaties he examines a few of the great treaties beginning with the Treaty of Westphalia. He finds that in many respects more recent treaties show a declension from that treaty. The diplomatists of the eighteenth century had a larger outlook than their succes-

sors. They recognised that Europe was a political unity, and they needed a theory as to how it was to be maintained. Recent treaties rarely show any perception of common interests of a general society or family of nations. Each State or group of states makes the best terms for itself. There are no principles of public law in Europe to which in negotiations the weaker party can appeal with certainty that the principles will be admitted even if the particular application is disputed. Another defect of modern treaties—at least of those involving annexation—is that they are in flat contradiction to principles which have now obtained wide acceptance. While the principle of nationality is nominally recognised, and while it is universally agreed that arrangements which ignore it are very unstable, this principle is generally forgotten or disregarded when modern States settle their boundaries. Strategic or military considerations, of the desire to acquire rich territory, are the usual determining factors. The State is being exalted as an end in itself and not as a stage in the development of a higher organization embracing several States and one day, perhaps, embracing all. Political particularism tends to become more and more pronounced. There are no *constructive* treaties that is, peace-treaties which form new ties between countries and uproot the causes of war. Modern treaties of peace are often of the nature of truces, framed with reference to passing exigencies and in order to obtain the maximum of advantages to the conqueror. It is to be hoped that the treaty or treaties which will mark the close of the present war will show more breadth of outlook and foresight than Sir John Macdonell finds in the treaties of the last hundred years.

Mr. J. A. Hobson deals with the very important question of 'The Coming Taxation.' It is of paramount importance, he says, that a nation engaged upon the serious business of war shall have the full meaning and responsibility of that business continuously kept before the mind of all its citizens. Experience shows that the heavy toll of life demanded by the most devastating war does not of itself suffice to secure that object—more especially in a country which is not subjected to the physical devastation of war. Mr. Hobson is of opinion, therefore, that the Government did wrong in financing the opening period of the war as much as possible by borrowing and as little as possible by additional taxation. Besides being unfair to posterity, he says, this is bad finance. While there exists no fixed rule for the equitable settlement of the ratio between borrowing and taxing he maintains that the Government have erred on the side of under-taxation and that this error ought to be and must be repaired in the near future. The question, therefore, for the Chancellor of the Exchequer is, by what process of taxation can I get the largest sum

of money for the further maintenance of the protracted struggle in ways which do not impair the national efficiency and productivity? Many proposals have been put forward for the taxation of specific classes of commodities. Underlying most of these, Mr. Hobson says, are the following three objects, viz., the provision of revenue, the enforcement of economy, and the reduction of the national dependence upon import trade.

With regard to the last of these three objects it is supposed by some statesmen that it could be attained by putting a tariff on imports; but Mr. Hobson is of opinion that most of the advocates of a tariff on imports are probably influenced more by the desire to seize the opportunity for getting into being an instrument which can afterwards be used for protective purposes than by any serious belief in its immediate efficacy for war-finance. He calls attention in this connexion to a mistake made by those who advocate a reduction in the consumption of foreign goods rather than of home-made goods. What is required, he says, is a general reduction of consumption: And this should consist not merely in the reduction of expenditure on luxuries but in the prevention of waste in necessities.

Taking it for granted that compulsory economy by process of taxation is desirable and necessary, Mr. Hobson says the question arises whether taxation should take the simpler general form of income and property taxes or operate through a number of specific taxes. In regard to this he remarks that instructed public opinion, realising that it is more important to secure a large reduction of consumption than to dictate the precise forms that reduction should take, will favour the former method. It ought to be possible to draw in a handsome sum by the taxation of war profits, though there may be considerable difficulty in determining what war profits are, but the general Income Tax and Death Duties will remain the most obvious instruments of increased tax revenue. And of these two sources of revenue by far the most important is the Income Tax. The question then arises whether the increase of revenue from this source is to be obtained by raising the tax upon existing taxable income or by lowering the present exemption limit. Mr. Hobson would consent to a direct tax on wage-earned as a substitute for certain indirect taxes, provided its incidence does not damage the vital efficiency of the worker or his family. But he shows that the aggregate income of the working classes does not constitute the large reservoir for revenue that some politicians imagine it to be. The increased revenue required must therefore be obtained mainly by increasing the rate of taxation on existing taxable income.

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

In the *Nineteenth Century*, the most important articles are three on the cost of war. Mr. Hobson deals with the War Loan as an instrument of economy. Our war expenditure is 1,100 millions a year; this means that out of the current output of wealth, that amount of arms and ammunition, food and clothing, transport, medical service have to be provided for the fighting forces and their dependants. And this has almost all to be provided by the labour of the year. The supplies from the United States are almost indispensable but the balance of trade is much against us, which means that credit is not likely to be given freely. By sale of securities and by loans we may raise £ 52 millions. Part of that 250 millions will still be private British money and will have still to be raised in Britain by loan or taxation. But 850 millions has to be provided out of current real income; whether by borrowing or taxation is a secondary matter, in either case it has to be saved by the individual, and the only difference is which individual. In an ordinary year 350 millions out of 2,200 millions are saved. So far as these are real savings, they are represented by new plant, railways, drainage, etc. This year, except for say 50 millions put into munition-works, it will not be capital expenditure. There will probably be say 50 millions of tear and wear not made up. That leaves us with 350 millions out of ordinary savings towards 800 millions. The ordinary savings have to be more than doubled and the working classes cannot help much, "unless the instrument of a forced loan, accompanied by a total suspension of the liquor trade were deemed feasible."

Borrowing is easier and quicker than taxation, but less effective in diverting productive energies from other activities into the production of war-goods; yet the former has been almost exclusively adopted. So far of the reduction in expenditure ten per cent. would be a liberal estimate. The nation, taking their cue from the Government, have not considered the subject seriously.

On the other hand the loss of production due to the absence of three million able-bodied men has been less than one might expect. Absorption of the unemployed, full time and overtime, the use of women, children and amateurs account for this, along with the fact that many of the three million were from the professional and commercial classes. Still the amount has to be saved out of a diminished real income.

Now, how far does the War Loan represent real savings? Out of 600 millions and odd, 400 millions have been taken up by the general public, and do on the whole represent real savings. The rest, which

has come from the banks themselves, represents merely an increase in credit, arranged between the Government, the Bank of England, and the banks; which amounts to the Government-lending itself money in a round-about way. Now this increase in circulation means a supply of commercial credit which facilitates commerce in the usual channels. The saving must come, but it is postponed and will therefore have to be made in necessities as well as in luxuries. Also it aggravates the problem of exchange.

Mr. Mallock continues the discussion, taking the same figures. If 1,100 millions the substantial part of it, is to be raised out of 2,200 millions how is it to be done? We require to know the distribution of this income. For convenience, his figures apply to 1907; when our income was 10 per cent. less. 190,000 incomes are over £700, and aggregate 390 millions; the balance, about 20 millions, aggregate 1,700 millions. Mr. Mallock takes a graduated war income-tax varying from six pence on incomes between £60 and £65, through 2s. on those between £400 and £700 up to 15s. on incomes over £45,000; these rates he takes as definitely extreme. The total only comes to 200 million.

As to taxes on expenditure: a tax on liquors would be beneficial, but not to the exchequer directly. Bread is the only other generally used commodity and is out of the question. As to the luxuries of the rich, heavy taxation again would be beneficial as ending them not as producing revenue.

This leads up to the third article, "Thrift no Panacea without increased Production," by Mr. Hyndman. He considers the 350 millions of normal savings of the first paper decidedly high. As we depend upon foreign sources for five-sixths of our food, unless we can pay for that out of earnings it will mean a heavy drain on our gold or our credit. Extreme thrift will not meet the situation. In fact Mr. Hyndman warns us that thrift may be overdone, and that there was more sense in "Business as usual" than people will now admit.

For, consider what happens to the savings. They are put, presumably, into the War Loan, and go to purchase the munitions. Lessened demand means a diminished output and diminished employment. Take for instance, domestic servants, a natural point for economy. There are two million, and many are no doubt unnecessary; but, unless those discharged are used to increase production, the country is not benefited. The same is true to a certain extent of those engaged in producing articles of ostentation and luxury; many of these, too, come from France, which is losing about 80 million a year of income from tourists. Again, there are luxuries which increase efficiency, and to give these up is a doubtful advantage. In the case of the working

classes, there is no great room for thrift. (At this point, Mr. Hyndman turns doctrinaire. The more difficult part of thrift is sound spending. And saving for a specific purpose, e.g. to buy a house, may be as good as a hobby with some people; i. e. an amount of saving which would in general be harmful may be, if undertaken gladly for a good reason beneficial.) Workmen's savings are apt to increase the power of capital over labour.

As to the positive part of Mr. Hyndman's proposals we may hope for more agreement. Education and training of both body and mind are needed. Agriculture must be treated as a great national business. There are two great obstacles at present; the land laws, and the railway companies.

Mr. Hyndman points to the Co-operative Societies with their eleven million customers with their economic and conservative habits as an appropriate engine for increasing production.

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

MR. HURD discusses Germany's new policy in an article on "The Freedom of the Oceans" in which he shows the power of a very specious argument and lays bare its weakness as applied to Britain. The Imperial Chancellor, in the name of the Emperor now claims that Germany is fighting among other things, for "the freedom of the oceans." There are many especially in America who hold that the day of sea control by one Power is past and urge that the seas are the property of all nations and that their free use for commerce should be guaranteed by a joint alliance of the powers. Until a quite recent date, the idea of freedom on the seas was unknown for the seas were looked upon as the property of the conquering people, but now the doctrine of the freedom of the seas has been universally accepted. In no small measure this is due to Britain's rigorous extirpation of piracy, and yet we find Germany smugly declaring that one of her objects in fighting now is to secure this end. For such a purpose she needs a large navy hence she excuses herself in the eyes of the world for seeking world dominion by telling us that she must set the world free. But the fact remains that Europe as well as the British Empire is indebted to the English navy for the benefits of peaceful commerce. Germany says, however, that Britain has by "luck and a certain law-cunning" used her sea supremacy to secure her what she wished in colonies. Now as a matter of fact the Empire has grown almost in absence of mind—as a healthy man eats in absence of mind; but having grown she must have the necessary defence. Mr. Hurd rejoices that the sea instinct has returned to his countrymen; if in 1870 Britain was

content to be free from the current of the world's history and almost hoped that her colonies in due course would drop off the mother stem like ripe fruit, her spirit and her policy are now completely changed. But Germany now thinks all this outrageous; a few years ago she determined that the trident should be in her hands; now having failed in her ambition, it is demanded that the trident shall be abolished, because forsooth she loves peace. It has been suggested that the five seas shall only be traversed by merchantmen and while men-of-war shall not be abolished their sphere of operation shall be limited to home waters. A nation like Germany could not desire conditions more suited to her methods; we have already seen how she treats honest nations like Belgium who trust the word of others; we know her power for secret organisation and preparation while others sleep in false security.

A freedom of the seas such as has been suggested would mean command of the seas by the nation possessing the greatest ability for preparation in secret, and no conscience in observing the rights of others. On the other hand, "our case at the judgment-seat of history rests on the fact that our fleet is the life-line of a maritime Empire, that it defends the freedom of the seas for us and for all law-abiding Powers, and that behind it stands no great army to which it can give safe and rapid transport on any errand of aggression."

There is an article on "The Russian Character" by E. H. Parker and another on "The Italian Temperament" by Herbert Vivian, which form an interesting contrast. The chief feature of the Russian character is the presence of "soul"; the Russian is essentially religious and devotional—he is never ashamed of his religion nor is he ever lax in fulfilling its rites. The Italian is light and superficial compared with the Slav, but the basis of all that is strong in him is love of country. He can scarcely speak a dozen sentences without revealing it, while all his efforts in other lands are to prepare a nest-egg against the day when he returns.

The fundamental characteristic of these two races makes them no mean allies in this great war for freedom.

Mr. Whelpley, dealing with "the German War in America", shows again how thorough are German ways; she loses no opportunity in spreading stories many of them false to gain the support of the American public. "Should Germany succeed in hampering the Allies in any degree through American agencies, either by helping to create friction between the American and English nations, by restricting American export, or by helping to confuse the issues at stake in this war so that a peace unsatisfactory to the Allies be considered possible, the German Government will play along with

the *Lusitania* and other controversial matters indefinitely. Should it come to pass in course of time however that Germany became convinced that her work in America had given and would result in no advantage to her cause in Europe, it seems possible that open warfare with America would be preferred to a state of affairs such as exists at present, in which the Allies have all the advantage, and one which constitutes a most powerful factor in the success of their arms and the comfort and safety of their peoples at home.

COLLEGE NOTES.

THE Michaelmas holidays have come and gone. From the 18th September to the 3rd October is not a very long period of respite, but sufficiently long to enable a good number of students to get to their homes and by tasting of the joys of home life—a happy change from the regimental monotony of hotel or hostel fare—to come back with refreshed energy to more strenuous life in the College. Nor is the vacation less welcome to professors who, having been tied to the chariot wheels of the college time-table, find in this halt an opportunity of grazing at will in their respective fields of favourite study. Though September is generally not a particularly healthy or pleasant season in Madras, the city has, in spite of the very heavy rate of mortality throughout the year, been free from the usual visitations of epidemic disease, and professors and students who stayed in Madras have had a quiet and pleasant time of it, and are no longer in fear of hearing the booming thunders from the *Emden*, the anniversary of whose visit was celebrated in talk by more than one denizen of Madras on the bright moonlight night of the 22nd September—a contrast to the dark eventful night of the *Emden's* visit. Remembering all the noise and confusion and anxiety which prevailed at that a time, one is tempted to ask, "Where is the *Emden* now?" Similarly, will it not be possible a year or two hence—remembering the seeming formidableness of the power which at present disturbs the peace of the world—to ask in all humility and gratitude, "Where is the Kaiser, where is Germany, now?" What is wanted at the present moment among those who enjoy the blessings of comparative immunity from the horrors of war is a perpetual battle against despondency. We all require the heartening admonition of the poet:—

Say not the struggle nought availeth,
The labour and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
And as things have been they remain.

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars,
It may be, in you smoke concealed,
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
And, but for you, possess the field ;
For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making.
Comes silent, flooding in, the main ;
And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes comes in the light :
In front, the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But westward, look, the land is bright.

THE War is with us and, sad to think, will be with us for a considerable time yet. While we do well to allow our thoughts to dwell upon the tremendous loss of life and the acute suffering in the theatre of war, we do not always realise the nature and extent of the disturbance which has taken place in the system of producing distributing and consuming material wealth, upon which so much of human happiness and human efficiency depend. This may be due to the fact that those who have made a special study of this vast and complicated subject do not agree in their views. But those desirous of becoming conversant with the various factors of the intricate problem could not have done better than to sit down and listen to the learned lecture on the Finances of the War, delivered by Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Sub-Editor of the *Hindu*, at the inaugural meeting of the Associated Societies held in the Anderson Hall, on Wednesday, the 1st September. The chair was taken by Mr. W. B. Hunter, Secretary of the Bank of Madras and a member of the College Council. At the end of a discussion which seemed to have so little of "human" interest though involving points on which so much of human welfare depended, it was refreshing to hear a practical financier like Mr. Hunter strike a deeper note when, remarking on Germany's reckless sacrifice of able-bodied men, which he believed would bring about her economic ruin and retard her recuperation when the war was over, he said that after all a nation's wealth was chiefly dependent on the number and quality of its able-bodied workers. "As John Ruskin remarks, the true veins of wealth are purple and not in rock but in flesh. The final outcome of all wealth is in producing as many as possible full-breathed, bright-eyed and happy-hearted human creatures. I can even imagine England one day casting all thoughts of possessive wealth back to the barbaric nations and able to lead forth her sons saying, These are my jewels."

A vote of thanks to the lecturer and the chairman, proposed by Mr. Pittendrigh brought the meeting to a close.

A BOOK announced by Mr. Unwin from an Indian author is "Village Government in India" by Mr. John Matthai, B.A., B.L. After graduating from our college in 1906, Mr. John Matthai, a brother of Mr. George Matthai, the zoologist was Lecturer in History for two years before he qualified for the local Bar. His knowledge of history and law combined with his patriotic desire to study social institutions by way of equipping himself for a career of social-service in India, led him to join the London School of Economics. In the work under notice, "an attempt is made to set forth the extent to which the village community, even now, takes an informal part in the work of administration and how far it has been employed by legislative enactment. The work is based largely on official reports and publications, and has been carried out under the direction of the Research Department of the London School of Economics. The reconstitution of the ancient village community and its adaptation to modern needs is of great importance in Indian administration and in the past sixty years legislation has made various experiments in the employment of village institutions for purposes of local Government. Any endeavour to introduce self-government in India must be based on the fact that to a large extent it must start from below and proceed upwards, and the political education of the great mass of the population will have to be imparted through the ancient institutions of the village panchayat. Mr. Matthai's book will undoubtedly be of great value to all those who are interested in the question of self-government.

A discussion has been started in Social-Reform journals in Bombay and Madras in connection with the publication of a pamphlet by the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri advocating the introduction of "a conscience clause" enabling parents to withdraw if they choose, their sons, from the religious lessons imparted in a state-aided institution. Though Mr. Sastri says that his proposal is intended to apply to *all* aided institutions, he knows full well that it will affect Christian mission-schools and colleges more than other aided-institutions. The question raised by Mr. Sastri is a large one, and a full and exhaustive discussion of it should be looked for elsewhere than in these Notes. But as observers of the movement of opinion among the educated classes, we cannot help noticing how some of our former students have not been slow to protest against some of the reasons urged in favour of the introduction of the clause. The most notable contribution on the subject has come from Mr. H. Naraina Rau, B.A., B.L., for several years intimately associated with the late Mr. Malabari in the editing of the *Indian Spectator* and *East and West*. Though the *Indian Spectator* has ceased to be published, Mr. Naraina Rau's pen has been

by no means idle. His contributions to current journalism are marked by a refreshing detachment which affords free scope for his keen insight, incisive logic, subtle humour, high seriousness, and scholarship of no mean order. Writing in the *Social Reform Advocate*, he says:—

Mr. Sastri contends for the principle that all Indians have a right to the secular education given in public schools, whether state-maintained or state-aided, without liability to receive religious instruction. As this right is conceded in England and in Anglo-Indian or European schools in India, he sees no reason why it should not be made the general rule here. The tax-payer's right referred to is entirely distinct from the grievance of a parent who is compelled to submit his children to religious instruction of a kind of which he does not approve. The latter hardship may be removed, for example, by providing a purely secular school side by side with a religion-teaching school. The Education Commission of Lord Ripon's time recommended that "when the only institution of any particular grade existing in any town or village is an institution in which religious instruction forms a part of the ordinary course, it shall be open to parents to withdraw their children from attendance at such an institution without forfeiting any of the benefits of the institution." I believe that owing to the paucity of European and Anglo-Indian Schools in India, the denial of such right in their case would have constituted a great hardship, whether the reason of the concession was in reality recognition of that hardship, or merely an importation of the English rule in recognition of the principle contended for by Mr. Sastri. The mere removal of the hardship will not satisfy Mr. Sastri: he will not be content with the application of a conscience clause where it will relieve parents of the necessity of sending their children to a particular school. He would secure for the tax-payer the right of sending his children at his choice to any state-aided institution to receive only secular instruction. Even if a parent can in a given instance send his children to a school which imparts no religious instruction and which is in every way as good and cheap as another where such instruction is compulsory, has not the parent the rights of choice? It is this right on which Mr. Sastri insists.

The main question raised is therefore political. How can it be settled? If a certain theory of the tax-payer's rights prevails in England at a given time, why should it be contemporaneously adopted in India? Mr. Sastri has to admit that the approved Indian practice does not correspond to English theories. Lord Morley, as Secretary of State for India, once conceded that principles could not be stereotyped apart from the circumstances in which they might have been formulated. In India the state aids institutions exclusively meant for a sect or a community. If so, why should it not aid a school or college meant only for those who are willing to receive instruction in a particular religion? Mr. Sastri is not bold or consistent enough to say that communal and sectarian institutions should be denied grants in aid. He shifts his ground and replies that "no Government that cares at all for its character for impartiality or for the moral character of citizens can allow a manager to make selection of those who are ready to sacrifice their consciences to their immediate interests." This pronouncement is as arbitrary in regard to the appreciation of the Government's impartiality as it is insulting to the thousands of Indians who have received their education in mission schools and colleges, and whose character may be as high and whose consciences as pure and intact as Mr. Sastri's. To grant to one religion a privilege which is denied to another would be partiality. But no such

invidiousness is involved in the present policy. Their champions of Hinduism in the past have charged Government, not with partiality, but with too much impartiality, in that all religions, whether proselytising or not, and agnosticism too, are allowed freely to compete with one another. The late Mr. Ranade in one of his essays protested against Principal Selby of the Deccan College, a state-maintained institution, teaching agnostic philosophy and undermining the religions of the tax-payers. It is notorious that English education, received in Government Colleges and in non-Christian private institutions, works as much havoc in Hindu society as the religious instruction imparted in Christian institutions. Can the orthodox tax-payer protest that his national self-respect is violated by such application of the public funds? The very decision of the British Government to impart European knowledge in preference to Oriental learning, which was officially pronounced to abound in error, was a blow to Hindu and Musalman self-respect. That could not be helped, and the Government impartially ignored all religions and irreligion. That is the only policy possible in India at the present day.

The alleged sacrifice of conscience in attending mission schools and colleges needs more than a passing notice. This sacrifice may be charged either against the students or against their parents. In many cases the parents leave the choice of a college to their sons, who are guided by their friends. Two years before I joined a Christian college, while I was yet in a Government institution, I had learnt to take an interest in Christ's teachings and was an admirer of the Sermon on the Mount. It was the result of English education and contact with Brahmo friends. I studied the Gospel as I studied Mill and Spencer. How was the conscience sacrificed more by the one than by the other kind of study? What is wrong in trying to understand what the followers of another religion have got to say? Is conscience synonymous with bigotry and a blind adherence to one's ancestral faith? Does national self-respect consist in living like frogs in a well and shutting one's eyes to the light which streams in from all quarters? Perhaps many students do not care for religious study. I know many students who dislike history and geography and learn distasteful subjects as a matter of necessity. How is the conscience sacrificed more in the one than in the other case?

Let us take the parent's point of view. If a parent thinks it wrong to expose a boy to the influence of another religion, and yet knowingly lays him open to such influence from ulterior considerations, he may be sacrificing his conscience. But most Indian parents do not believe that instruction in alien religion results in the effective influence of that religion. The boy remains under the influence of his home and his society; in the school he only learns what the followers of other religions think and believe. This knowledge may in exceptional cases outweigh the domestic and social influence, and the parent may find that he has miscalculated. But his misappreciation of the possible consequences does not argue that he sacrificed his conscience. The case may be different in England, where the different Churches acknowledge a common great religion, where no caste interposes between teachers and taught a barrier corresponding to religious differences, and where the boarding-school system makes the religious influence different from what it is in India. But we are not concerned with facts of English life. Europeans may be less tolerant than Hindus. What does it matter to us? We have to consider Indian conditions.

Orthodox Hindus of a different generation felt that they constituted the vast majority of the tax-payers, that the Christian community contributed a very small fraction of the taxes, and therefore that the payment of large sums

of money to Christian Missions, while Hindus got little, was a piece of favoured treatment. But now-a-days Hindus too have established or are establishing their own institutions and indeed they are within sight of their own university, which the Government will subsidise. When this fact is considered along with the growing national sentiment which seeks to suppress the sectarian consciousness, one may easily perceive how inconsistent the talk of partiality is with the realities and the spirit of the times.

Mr. Sastri has reopened old discussions, and I can recall allegations on which Mr. Sastri has not dwelt. I have remarked that one's conscience may be no more sacrificed by reading the Gospels than by reading Mill or Spencer. Dr. Duncan raised another point of controversy when he said that in mission schools and colleges Hindu students are compelled to take part in Christian "worship." The only sense in which this is true is that when the teacher prays standing, the students must also stand. While Dr. Duncan's comment was being discussed in the newspapers, I wrote to Dr. Miller explaining the view of an old student and asked if it might be published in the College Magazine. He, however, replied to the effect that it was not necessary to take Dr. Duncan's remark seriously. But it may be repeated in the present discussion. I may therefore add that it is not un-Hindu to begin a day's work with a prayer, and it is not necessary for the student to concur in every sentiment expressed by the teacher. But most students stand as a matter of etiquette. Travelling on board a steamer I once found myself in the company of several Musalmans. We were all sitting on the deck, when the hour of prayer arrived and the Musalmans stood up, and I also rose and remained standing while they were engaged in prayer. Hindu friends asked what I meant thereby, and I explained that however widely we may differ in our religion beliefs from others, it is good manners to show our sympathy with the feeling of reverence that inspires religious exercises. I could tell other incidents of the same kind to explain that a sympathetic posture which shows respect for the feelings of others involves no sacrifice of conscience. Far from constituting a defect of character, as Dr. Duncan and Mr. Sastri insinuate. I hold that readiness to show sympathy with the religious feelings of others and willingness to listen to the religious teachings of others enrich our character.

To return from this digression, which was necessitated by Mr. Sastri's offensive reflections on the character of those who attend mission schools and colleges, I may repeat that he enunciates no principle on which a concession granted to a sectarian or communal institution may be denied to a school open only to those who are willing to receive religious instruction. So far I have approached the question from the standpoint of the tax-payer's right on which Mr. Sastri primarily insists.

I, however, admit that in as much as the aid given to a school or college where religion is taught reduces the facilities to provide or aid other institutions where the student may receive only secular education, it is equitable to insist, as the Education Commission recommended, that where local conditions compel a parent to send his children to a proselytising institution, he should be at liberty to withdraw them from religious instruction. If you discuss principles and rights, I should place a proselytising institution on the same footing as a non-proselytising sectarian or communal institution. But a proselytiser should not fight for legal rights against the people whose good-will he has to earn. It cannot be denied that the majority of the tax-payers in this country are non-Christians. Therefore if the Christian teacher wants pecuniary assistance from the public funds, he must have sufficient charity to sympathise with the non-

Christian standpoint and to admit that the want of other suitable institutions in a locality should not compel non-Christians to do what would hurt their religious susceptibilities. In other words the recommendations of the Education Commission indicate the true lines on which future action may proceed. They may be made a little more elastic to suit the variety of local conditions with which educational authorities may be confronted. But they indicate the direction in which we should proceed, rather than English statutes or Irish regulations. I have not adopted the reasons which may have led the Education Commission to make the particular recommendations, but only recognised their expediency from the point of view I have presented.

DR. MILLER'S many friends will sympathise with him in the loss he has sustained by the death of his eldest brother, Mr. John Miller of Scrabster. The late Mr. Miller was one of the best known men in the north of Scotland. In addition to his property of Scrabster near Thurso, he had large farms in Sutherland and Caithness and was a leading authority on all agricultural matters. A staunch follower of Mr. Gladstone, he took at one time a prominent part in politics and to the end of his life he did much work in connection with the local affairs of his native country. As a brother of Dr. Miller's he was naturally much interested in Southern India and in the work of the College.

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*THE LAUGHTER OF SCORN.**

BY A. TEMPLETON, M.A., B.D.

And they laughed Him to scorn: Luke viii. 53.

THE honest laughter that arises from some incident that is amusing and the laughter of scorn or ridicule are like each other, but they are only alike in the same way as truth and falsehood are alike. Truth is without respect to consequences; it never intrigues; its purpose is seldom beyond itself, and its purpose certainly is not to destroy; falsehood's purpose is always outside itself; it is swathed in machination and intrigue and its purpose often is to destroy. So there is this difference between honest laughter and the laughter of scorn; the honest laugh bubbles up spontaneously; it is for itself, it is within itself, it is purposeless and innocent even though the incident that is its cause may be elaborate and involved. The laugh of ridicule is not for itself, it is not spontaneous, it is not purposeless and it is not innocent; it always has an end to gain, it is always related to others who by it are intended to be influenced. And yet these two are like each other.

Now several theories are offered in explanation of laughter, but one of the most recent and most simple is both interesting and satisfying. We laugh when we see something that does not seem to fit the place it happens to be in; at the man who wears in public an article of dress whose fashion is a century old, at a vessel that is put to a wrong use, at a word cleverly

* A Sermon preached in St. Andrew's Church on Sunday, July 4th, 1915.

put in its wrong context, or a phrase or a sentence taken from its old and well known setting and put into a new and ridiculous one. If this be even part of the explanation of laughter, then we may find in this text a clue to the very subtle as well as the very mean method which the Pharisees used to rob Jesus of his legitimate honour. They laughed Him to scorn; it is not the honest, spontaneous, innocent, purposeless laughter, it is the laughter of purpose, intrigue and calculation; it is not meant to be for itself, it is meant much more distinctly to persuade, and to influence others. Now we have said that laughter of all kinds is alike in this that it ought to spring from the same source, *i. e.*, it should be the result of incongruity. Now supposing the Pharisees or anyone wished to rob a man of the authority, of the respect, of the honour which his position gave him, which his character or disposition had won, and if people were inclined to accept him as he appeared, they could not have a safer a meaner a more subtle and hurtful weapon for disillusion than the laughter of ridicule. It was equivalent to shouting on the house tops, "this man is an impostor; come and see what he pretends to be, what he pretends to do; come and look at him."

Now let us turn to this incident. Jesus was in Capernaum, there came one from the ruler of the synagogue saying that his daughter was sick unto death. Many delayed the Master by the way; the crowd interrupted and the father's agony increased as the chances of saving the child's life slipped away. Ere He reached the house death had claimed its victim. Already the wailing and the shrill lament fill the air while the mourners beat their breasts. When Jesus came all was over—at least so it seemed—and when He said "She is not dead but sleepeth" they heaped ridicule upon His head and they laughed Him to scorn. Of course there were many there who believed that this statement was preposterous.

Sometimes the laugh of scorn comes from those whose narrow experience, whose meagre charity, limits their view and what is really quite correct and fitting may seem ridiculous to their ignorance. But there were others who already had had experience of Jesus' noble words and great deeds and knew that all Israel had gone after Him and who now felt it was time to stop it and so they laughed in order to stop His progress and stay

His influence. Time and again during His life-time, He was assailed by ridicule in one form or another. The hatred of Him grew till at the end He had but a handful with Him; but I doubt if He ever suffered from hatred, what He felt from the sneers of contempt and the laughter of ridicule.

When a man is surrounded by love he will expand like the flower in the genial sun; if he is hated, the hatred may brace him as the winds do the pine on the mountain top; but if he is ridiculed and scorned then only the grace of God can keep him. But Jesus was subjected to this throughout His life. Who is he—this man who is making so much noise in the world? He is the carpenter's son, that's all, and so they ridiculed his birth. Who is he who makes a pretence at holiness? He is the friend of publicans and sinners, and so they ridiculed His actions. Who is this man who stands before you? Is not this broken dreamer like a Cæsar and so they ridiculed His noble bearing and His fearless speech. And surely not in all history is there such exposure to ridicule as the mocking and taunting on the Cross, the purple robes, the sceptre that was a reed, the crown of thorns.

To be scorned is worse than to be hated and only some of the grace which was in Him can carry us through. It is not the coarsest natures that are most exposed to this weapon; and just because Christ was Christ, far from His being impervious to ridicule, He was more keenly susceptible to it. When Lord Byron published his first book of poems, he was covered with ridicule, but there is no trace that he felt it deeply. Keats met with the same treatment, and it almost broke his heart. The only difference was that one was of finer fibre than the other. Jesus was sensitive as few men are; he was no Roman Stoic but rich in sympathy, compassionate and tender. The other aspect of that beauty must have been exquisite susceptibility to pain; the thrust of the spear and of the nail were not more cruel than the deep searching pain of ridicule.

But sometimes the laughter of ridicule arises from ignorance; and it is not surprising that this was often the cause where Jesus was concerned. He spoke words that were enigmatical in their simplicity; He taught lessons of which after centuries, only a small part has entered into the habits of the people; He revealed a command over forces which were believed to be beyond the

control of man ; it is little wonder therefore that when He made His extraordinary claims that having failed to catch His meaning having failed to understand Him, they burst into derisive laughter. The maiden is not dead, but sleepeth. He said the same of Lazarus, "Our friend Lazarus sleepeth, but I go to awake him out of his sleep." We remember too that at Pentecost when the people failed to understand the manifestations of God in the apostles they said, "These men are filled with new wine." Now admitting that sometimes as in the case we have been speaking of there was ample excuse for their failure to understand and comprehend, yet that is no justification for offering a sneer. The sneer implies superior knowledge, superior cleverness, superior virtue, superior holiness ; but it is not always the mark of any one of these. Very often it is the mark of their absence—an admission that the straightforward, honourable weapon is one that is feared, while the other is safer, subtler and does not so readily betray the hand that wields it. There are some institutions like the Salvation Army that have had to pass through such ridicule. The day is not long past when men stood and smiled as they listened to the band and looked at the banner that spoke of blood and fire ; but the Salvation Army continued and men have ceased to smile at what seemed methods so crude. Ridicule is now impossible, for a sneer cannot deface what it has been, what it has done and what it is. It is the handy weapon of the ignorant as well as the subtle weapon of the intriguer and the separator of friends.

So if at first they laughed Him to scorn, very soon the ridicule was changed to reverence, for we read that the parents were astonished ; and it is always so where Jesus is.

Ridicule has not always the same power at different stages in a man's life. It is most keenly felt, I suppose, by those who know the world least ; it is not when we have weathered the storm of life for a time that its power is strongest. Just at the beginning a man is unwilling to seem ridiculous and this charge cuts more deeply than any other. Sir Walter Scott, speaking of the enthusiasms of his boyhood said, "At that time I feared ridicule more than I have ever done since" ; and if it may come to many as a temptation to do certain things of which their conscience is afraid, in order to escape the charge, it

is a much more grievous fault to insult by ridicule the hope that shines on the brow of youth.

Of course it has a place in life but it is a very small one, and its use is best left to men of genius; it is a dangerous toy in the hands of the unimaginative or the uncharitable. But it has a place. At a time (16th Century) when the popular literature was the romance of chivalry and this type of literature was like to run to seed the story of Don Quixote turned men's minds from it by making it into a jest so that men were checked with a laugh. But the ridicule of genius is very different from the sneering of the world which finds its happiest victim in him who is possessed of enthusiasms and aspiration. You cannot refute a sneer and probably that is why it is so often used because there is no corresponding foil in the other hand. It is the apology for argument made by a man, who does not understand—and it can only be met by ignoring it.

But if Jesus was open to this form of ridicule and laughter *i.e.*, the ridicule of ignorance, it is also true that it was often used by His enemies not as the result of ignorance, but as the result of a well thought out plan to ruin His influence. Did He heal a sick man on the Sabbath day—then the fact of the healing could not be gainsaid, but they might rob Him of something by putting Him in a false position. Did He resort to the homes of those He came for, the publican and sinner, then take away the motive and put a false one in its place and He appears to deny what He teaches.

This use of ridicule is not unknown in the world—it is used not by the ignorant, but very often by the clever against the simple and unsuspecting whose purposes are written on the surface.

But Jesus was never turned aside from any task He had set His hand to by ridicule, and it is good that we too like Him should be unwilling to turn aside from what we know to be right and good—from what for the time being we know is our duty, by anything that speaks of ridicule. We serve a Master who was laughed to scorn, but we also serve a Master who despised the shame; and "the servant is not greater than His Lord".

*SOME PROBLEMS OF NATIONALITY: II.**

BY E. M. MACPHAIL, M.A., B.D.

WE shall now consider the chief ways in which the Congress of Vienna disregarded nationality, and the results of its actions.

1. The important question of the future of the Austrian Netherlands—the modern Belgium—had to be settled. Austria was not anxious to retain the Netherlands which had proved troublesome during the latter part of the eighteenth century, and consequently they were united with Holland to form the Kingdom of the Netherlands under the rule of the house of Orange. It is true that centuries before the two sections of the new Kingdom had been united under the Valois Dukes of Burgundy and the Hapsburg Kings of Spain, but the course of their historic development had been different. The Dutch were mainly Protestants while the Belgians were Roman Catholics, and the economic interests of the two peoples were also divergent. The attempted union proved a failure, and in 1830 a revolt took place in Belgium. Belgium was supported by England and France, and eventually it was agreed to dissolve the union and to make Belgium into a separate independent kingdom, while the great Powers of Europe guaranteed its neutrality in that treaty which has become so famous as “a scrap of paper.”

2. To compensate Austria for giving up the Netherlands and some territory in Western Germany her dominions had to be extended in other directions. This was done by giving to her the most of northern Italy—Lombardy and Venice—and the Venetian possessions on the Adriatic. Italians and Slavs alike came under the sway of the house of Hapsburg. Austrian princes also sat on some of the thrones in Italy, and Austrian influence was paramount throughout the peninsula for fifty years. The statesmanship of Cavour and Victor Emmanuel, the enthusiasm of Mazzini and Garibaldi, and the assistance of the French were required before Italy was able to become a united kingdom under the sway of the house of Savoy in 1861. In 1866

* A Lecture delivered in the Kellett Institute, Triplicane, Madras.

Austria was compelled to yield most of Venetia to Italy, but the Trentino with other Italian territory still remains in the possession of the hated Tedesci, as the Italians call the Austrians. It is partly in order to regain these unredeemed Italian lands—*Italia Irredenta* as it is called—that Italy has joined in on the side of the Allies in the present war. The unification of Italy was not fully completed until 1870 when on the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome the Italian army entered the eternal city. The power of the Pope as a temporal sovereign ceased and Rome at last became the capital of a United Italy.

3. Had the Congress of Vienna been interested in the question of nationality it would have sought a more satisfactory solution of the Polish problem than the one it made. In the closing years of the eighteenth century Poland had been erased from the map of Europe and its territories had been divided between its powerful neighbours Prussia, Russia and Austria. It was impossible to expect that that great political crime would be undone by a Congress where these three great Powers exercised enormous influence. The only question it sought to decide was how to divide the territory of the unfortunate country so as to satisfy the demands of the imperial and royal robbers. Russia was anxious to obtain most of the territory which had become Prussian Poland but which had been taken away from Prussia by Napoleon. Ultimately this was agreed to, and to compensate Prussia half of Saxony was given to her along with the wealthy Rhinelands. Thus the Polish nation was left divided, and much has it suffered during the century that has elapsed since then. Insurrection led merely to repression, but the Polish national spirit has persisted in spite of all. Of late years the Prussian Poles have been cruelly treated by their German conquerors. Fearing the growth of the Poles the Prussian Government has sought to crush out their language and to drive them from the land, but the attempt has been unsuccessful. The great war has brought the Polish question to the front again. It is in Poland that the chief fighting between the Russians and the German powers has taken place, and both sides have been courting the good will of the Poles by holding out the hope that an autonomous Poland may again be called into existence. It may be hoped that when the war ends we shall see

this prospect realised, and that a reunited Poland, purified from its ancient factiousness, may come into existence under the protection of the kindred Russian nation.

4. In the early years of the nineteenth century Russia had gone to war with Sweden and had conquered Finland. The Finns do not belong to the Indo-European family of nations, but they had been long connected with Sweden and had much more in common with that country than with Russia. The Congress of Vienna however confirmed the acquisition of Finland by Russia, and to compensate Sweden for her loss allowed her to take Norway which had hitherto belonged to Denmark. That union was not popular in Norway, and after years of friction the people of Norway at last in 1905 declared themselves separated from Sweden, and chose as their King a son of the King of Denmark who is married to a sister of our King-Emperor.

The case of Norway and Sweden is of special interest to the student of problems of nationality. The two countries form a well defined geographical unit and seem as much marked out by nature to form a single state as are England and Scotland. Racially the people of both countries belong to the same Scandinavian stock, they speak kindred languages, and they have the same religion. And yet their historic development has been different, and the two peoples have become distinct nations one of which could not endure even the slender bond which latterly united them. If ever there was a case in which amalgamation or at least union might have been expected to be found it was in the case of Norway and Sweden.

5. One great problem of nationality which the Congress of Vienna hardly attempted to solve was that of the unification of Germany. The old German Empire of the middle ages had, owing to different causes, gradually become disintegrated. That process was fairly complete by the middle of the seventeenth century, and when the Peace of Westphalia was made in 1648 the Empire practically came to an end. There were then nearly 350 states in Germany owing a nominal allegiance to the Emperor. The wars of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars swept most of these states out of existence, and the Holy Roman Empire came to an end in 1806. When the Congress of Vienna met there were less than fifty sovereign German states and there

was no longer an Emperor of Germany. No attempt was made to undo the work of Napoleon and to restore the small states, for it was the larger German states which had gained by their disappearance. The overthrow of Napoleon had been brought about largely by an outburst of genuine national feeling and many Germans hoped to see a united Germany created. Their hopes were, however, disappointed, for Metternich, the Austrian minister whose influence was supreme in the Congress, hated all national and popular movements. Germany was made into a loose confederation, for the headship of which the two chief powers in it, Prussia and Austria, quarrelled for half a century. At last Bismarck with his policy of blood and iron, with his efficient Prussian army and his unscrupulous diplomacy, succeeded in driving Austria out of Germany, and in bringing the other German states under the influence and ultimately under the control of Prussia. The national union of Germany was achieved, but the nature of the means used to achieve it has exerted an evil influence on the future of Germany, while the Prussianising of the other German states has been a disaster for humanity.

The principle of nationality, it will be noticed, exercises sometimes an integrating and sometimes a disruptive influence. In the cases of Germany and Italy it has during the past century brought about the unification of great nations and transformed them from being merely geographical expressions into powerful states. On the other hand, in the cases of Norway and Belgium it has led to disruption and separation.

The most important problems of nationality that have arisen in Europe since the Congress of Vienna, problems, I mean, other than those started or continued as a result of its action, have been, or, I may say, are, the problems of the Turkish and the Austro-Hungarian Empires. In both cases the problem is due to the same cause—the heterogeneous character of the populations that inhabit these lands. Let us look first at Turkey and then at Austria-Hungary.

In 1815 the Turkish Empire in Europe consisted of most of the Balkan peninsula and the territories now included in the kingdom of Rumania. In addition to the Turks, the ruling race, it contained Greeks, Serbians, Albanians, Bulgarians, Montenegrins, Vlachs and Rumanians, not to mention Jews and other

smaller bodies of people. Already at that time the Serbians had made a beginning in their attempt to become independent, and the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, the modern Rumania, were practically autonomous. It was the Greeks in the south, however, who first secured their independence with the assistance of Britain, France and Russia. That was finally secured by the treaty of London in 1829. The treaty of Paris in 1856 which put an end to the Crimean war practically secured the independence of Rumania, but it was not till after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8 that that country, Serbia, and Montenegro became entirely independent of Turkey.

The treaty of Berlin, which in 1878 declared these countries to be independent states, at the same time granted autonomy to the northern part of Bulgaria lying between the Danube and the Balkans. The southern part was made into a province called Eastern Roumelia. In 1885 Eastern Roumelia and Bulgaria declared themselves to be united and in spite of opposition this union was successfully accomplished. In 1908, when the Young Turks took the power in Turkey from the Sultan, Bulgaria evidently fearing that the new government might seek to make Turkish suzerainty a reality, took the further step of declaring her independence.

Of late years the two most serious questions have been those of the future of Crete and Macedonia. The population of Crete is mainly Greek, and the Cretans have long been anxious to be joined to the Kingdom of Greece. It was the Cretan question that gave rise to the war between Turkey and Greece in 1897. As a result of the Balkan War of 1913 Crete has at last been annexed by Greece. The Macedonian question has proved more difficult of solution. When Russia crushed Turkey in 1877 she proposed to create a big Bulgaria extending from the Black Sea to the Aegean and containing most of Macedonia, but the intervention of Great Britain led unfortunately to Macedonia being handed back to Turkey. I say unfortunately for ever since then Macedonia has been the storm-centre for south-eastern Europe. It has of course been badly governed but in addition to the usual Turkish misgovernment it has suffered from the fact that its population is heterogeneous and that in it different nationalities are hopelessly mixed up. In addition to Turks it contains Serbians,

Bulgarians, Greeks and Vlachs. Each of the three neighbouring states has been coveting Macedonia for years, and the different nationalities in Macedonia have been constantly committing outrages on one another. To the surprise of Europe, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece three years ago succeeded in laying aside for a time their mutual jealousies, and, taking the disgraceful condition of Macedonia as their excuse, attacked Turkey. The attack was, again to the surprise of Europe, and to the annoyance of Austria and Germany, successful, and Turkey was deprived of almost all her possessions in Europe. Unfortunately, however, Bulgaria encouraged, there is good reason to believe, by Austria, suddenly attacked her two allies. She was, however, defeated in the summer of 1913, and Rumania took the opportunity to demand the cession of territory while Turkey retook some of the territory of which she had been deprived. At the same time Bulgaria forfeited to Greece and Serbia parts of Macedonia which would naturally have fallen to her share. The problem of nationality in the Balkans is thus not yet settled, and so long as national feeling is as bitter as it is amongst the different states there, it is difficult to see how it can be settled satisfactorily. Unfortunately, as has been mentioned, the different nationalities are intermingled, and it is difficult to draw boundary lines which will not be regarded as a grievance by one or other of the rival nationalities.

One effect of the Balkan War of 1912-13 was the creation of the new Balkan state of Albania. The Albanians are a brave and rather turbulent people who inhabit the ancient Epirus, and are frequently on very bad terms with their neighbours the Montenegrins. They form a race by themselves and are neither Slavs nor Greeks. The spirit of nationality is in a way strong in them, but its development is checked by internal feuds. The Montenegrins in the north and the Greeks in the south covet parts of Albania and the Italians have an eye upon part of the Albanian coast. A German princeling, William of Wied, sat upon its somewhat unsteady throne for a few weeks last year with the title of Mpret, but he has disappeared, and a satisfactory solution of the Albanian problem will tax the skill of statesmen and diplomatists when the time of reconstruction comes.

The population of Austria-Hungary is almost more heterogeneous than was that of Turkey in Europe. It contains two

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dominant races the Germans in Austria and the Magyars in Hungary. Until 1867 there was only one dominant race, for Hungary had been practically reduced to the position of an Austrian province. Austria however after her defeat by Prussia in 1866 found it necessary to make concessions to Hungary which made it almost an independent kingdom. The same war, as has been mentioned, deprived Austria of most of her remaining Italian territory. Since then Austria has annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina—two Serbian provinces of the Turkish Empire. These provinces were handed over to her for administrative purposes by the Congress of Berlin in 1878. In 1908, for the same reasons that led to the declaration of the independence of Bulgaria, she declared them to be annexed to her Empire, an action which Serbia most bitterly resented and which for a time seemed likely to lead to a European war.

At the present day the Empire of Austria-Hungary contains about 50,000,000 inhabitants, of whom about 27,000,000 are Slavs. The two dominant races are the Germans and the Magyars who are in number between ten and twelve millions each. The other races are Czechs or Bohemians, Poles, Rumanians, Ruthenians—a Russian race—Serbians, Bosnians, Croats and some other subdivisions of the Slavonic race. It is easily seen how with such a mixture many problems must arise. There has been during the 19th century a revival of national feeling amongst all these peoples, and in some cases this has been intensified by the rise and development of states composed of members of their own race to which they desire to be attached. This has been most clearly seen in the case of the Rumanians in Transylvania and in that of the Serbian races bordering upon Serbia—it was in fact this latter case that led to the sending of the ultimatum to Serbia which was the immediate cause of the European conflagration.

Since 1866 Austria has been much more liberal in her treatment of the subject races than she was before. All attempts at Germanisation have been given up except perhaps in the Italian-speaking territories. The Czechs or Bohemians have developed their national literature and institutions, and both they and the Austrian Poles have been granted a certain amount of self-government. But national jealousies are constantly making them-

selves felt, and often give rise to internal troubles. If current reports are true the Czechs at present are showing little enthusiasm as soldiers for the German cause.

It is in Hungary that there has been most complaint from the subject nationalities. The Magyars constitute only a minority of the population, but they, having escaped from the process of Germanisation, have been doing their best to Magyarise all the peoples under their sway. It is the oppression of the millions of Rumanians in Hungary that leads them to look with longing eyes to their brethren across the Carpathians in independent Rumania.

From all that has been said it is clear that there are many problems of nationality waiting to be solved in connexion with the Empire of Austria-Hungary, when the war is ended by the defeat of the Germanic powers. Some of them such as the Italian one may be easy of solution, but in other cases there will be great difficulty in finding an equitable solution. In Austria-Hungary as in Macedonia different nationalities do not inhabit clearly defined territories but are intermingled. Thus among the Czechs there are many Germans, and in Transylvania there are not only Rumanians but Germans and Magyars, while Galicia contains not only Poles but Ruthenians, and Dalmatia has both an Italian and a Slav population. It may be hoped, however, that when the great reconstruction takes place an honest attempt will be made to recognise the principle of nationality as a guiding principle, and that a solution of the problems of nationality in Europe will be reached which will satisfy all reasonable demands, and will be conducive to an abiding peace.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE DRAMA IN MALAYALAM PART II

BY T. RAMALINGAM PILLAI, M.A.

THE *Attakkatha* or *Kathakali* is our most intensely national and popular amusement. In it is illustrated and summed up the spirit of our drama. It is a pantomime or dumb-show performed to the accompaniment of wild music, the meaning of the show being conveyed by a variety of gestures, (absolutely unintelligible and preposterous to laymen, but perfectly intelligible and significant to the initiated few), where the text is vociferously sung by the chorus, which consists of the singer, assisted by two or three co-singers. The ruling chiefs and princes of Kerala, as well as many of the landed gentry, maintain even now troupes of *Kathakali* players at considerable cost.¹⁴

The authorship of the *Kathakali* is attributed to a prince of the name of Kerala Varma Raja of the Kottarakara Royal family who flourished between the fifteenth and the sixteenth century A.D. The circumstance which led to the opening of this new

¹⁴An earlier form of the Malabar drama is the *Krishna-nattam* which itself was preceded by another called *Ashtapadi-attam*, based on the Sanskrit poet Jayadeva's *Gita Govindam-Ashtapadi*.

The influence of *Gita Govindam* can be discovered in the *Krishnan-attam* and the *Ramanattam*, the last of which being another name for the *Kathakali*. The subject matter of the *Ashtapadi* relates to the amours of Krishna with Radha and other Gopi-women, and it is but natural that the *Krishnan-attam* should have been derived from the *Ashtapadi*. Tradition has it that Manadevan Raja, an old Zamorin of Calicut (1049 A.D.), requested Vilvamangalat Swamiar, a devotee of Sri Krishna living in his hermitage at Guruvayur, to show him the god in his divine form. A rendezvous in the temple and a certain hour were fixed for the purpose, and the Raja espied with his mortal eyes the immortal in a juvenile form, engaged in boyish pastimes. Over-powered by joy, the king attempted to take hold of the bright little lad when lo! "Vilvamangalam has not said that", cried the Lord, and suddenly disappeared. In the hurry-skurry, one of the peacock feathers stuck on to the boy-god's coronet dropped on the floor. The king picked it up and used it as an ornament to the crown of the character Sri Krishna in his *Krishnan-attam*, and the belief is that he who wears the crown with that feather, will be unable to control himself, being subjected to a spell of divinity, while on the stage. The drama, which is in Sanskrit, depicts the life and deeds of Krishna, beginning with his birth and ending with his death. This quasi-dramatic performance usually lasts eight days, but owing to the popular aversion from closing it with any calamitous conclusion, the birth-scene is re-enacted on the ninth day. Unlike *Kathakali*, the characters in *Krishnan-attam* do not indulge in finger-signs.

path in literature was a misunderstanding between him and the Zamorin of Calicut who insinuated that for want of scholarship and refinement, the Southerners could hardly understand and appreciate the *Krishnattam*. The scholar-poet, Kerala Varma Raja, could not brook the insult; he designed a new model and opened a fresh field in Malayalam literature. He wrote eight plays,¹⁵ drawing his materials from the *Ramayana* of Valmiki and dealing with the episodes of the demi-god Rama which were put on the boards for the first time in the Ganapathi shrine at Kottarakara.

He had a host of imitators, some of whom excelled him. Kerala Varma Tampuran of Kottayam in North Malabar (1664—1744) wrote four *Kathas*.¹⁶ Among other *Attakkatha*-writers, the most prominent are (1) Raman Varma Maha Raja *alias* Karthiga Tirunal (1729—1803 A.D.), (2) Prince Aswati Tirunal (1755—1787 A.D.), (3) Unnai Variar, (4) Kalakkattu Kunjan Nambiyar (1704 A.D.), (5) Kalakkattu Raghavan Nambiyar (1782 A.D.), (6) Kottur Unnittan, (7) Irayimmen *alias* Ravi Varman Tampi (1782 A.D.), (8) Kilimanur Cherunni Koil Tampuran *alias* Vidwan Koil Tampuran (1811 A.D.), and (9) a well-known woman-writer, Kuttikunju Tankachchi (1819—1903 A.D.). Some of the later day writers are (1) H. H. Kerala Varma Valia Koil Tampuran, (2) Mr. Pettayil Raman Pillai Asan, (3) Mr. Karattu Subrahmanyam Potti, (4) Mr. Kottarattil Sankunni and (5) the late Mr. K. C. Kesava Pillai.

H. H. Marthanda Varma (Uttram Tirunal), who ruled over Travancore between 1846 and 1860 A.D., was a liberal patron of *Attakkathas*. He encouraged the publication of a collection of

¹⁵ The plays are (1) Puthrakameshti or Sacrifice for Sons, (2) Sita Swayambaram or Sita's Marriage, (3) Vichchnabhishekam or The Coronation Interrupted, (4) Khara-vadham or The Slaying of Khara, (5) Bali-vadham or Bali's Death, (6) Torana-yudham, or The Fight at Lanka's Gate, (7) Setu-Bandhanam or The Construction of a Bridge, (8) Yuddham or The Battle. With the exception of Torana Yuddham, this series of the Raja is not popular either with scholars or with actors. No earlier writer in Malayalam had so liberally made use of Sanskrit words in his works. The Raja's works mark the transition period when Malayalam forsakes Tamil and seeks the help of Sanskrit.

¹⁶ They are (1) *Krimmera-vadham*, (2) *Nivata-kavacha-vadham*, (3) *Vataken Beka-vadham*, (4) *Vataken Kalyana-Saugandhikam*. The author revels in Sanskrit, and it is doubtful how far his works can be appreciated by the non-Sanskritic Malayalee. They are praised by the singer and the actor, as being eminently fit to be sung and acted. There are very few Malayalam slokas or verses in them. To this day, his *Attakkathas* have been deemed the best available for acting.

fifty-four *Kathas* from the Kerala Vilasa Press in 1860 A.D., by His Highness' *Palliyara Vicharipukaran*, (Lord Chamberlain) Kumaran Eswara Pillai. The only other collected edition of the kind was issued by Mr. S. T. Reddiyar of Quilon in 1907, with an introduction by the late Mr. K. C. Kesava Pillai. Neither of the collections is exhaustive. What the principle of arrangement is in either, nobody can say. The only female-writer in the whole galaxy, Kuttikunju Tankachchi,¹⁷ is conspicuous by her absence from the list of writers whose works are embodied in the latter collection.

We will now examine the literary character of this species of composition. Among the *Drisyakavyas* in Malayalam, strictly so called, there are three varieties, viz., the *Attakkathas*, the *Tullals* and the *Natakams*, of which the first and the second—or to be more accurate, the second alone—are purely indigenous. The *Attakkathas* are an early species of dramatic literature found in the language and have for their prototype, in respect of internal arrangements, the earlier Tamil *Nātakas*. The poet's own words are in the form of verses and connect the incidents of the story of the play; the dialogues of the dramatic personage are called *padams*: the former correspond to *viruttams* in Tamil and the latter to songs which consist of *pallavi*, *anupallavi* and *saranam*. The *padam* consists of from one to five feet. The *pallavi*, *anupallavi* and *pada* resemble the strophe, anti-strophe and epode of the metrical system of English choral poetry. In *kathakkalipattus*, the poet's slokas are interspersed with his own descriptions in

¹⁷ Her works are (1) *Srimati-swayamvaram*, (2) *Mitra-saba-moksham*, (3) *Parvati-swayambaram*, of which the last alone was published in 1893. Her son, Artist Padmanabhan Tampi, Trivandrum, has kindly placed the unpublished manuscripts of the first two works in my hands. The works deserve a better fate than the dusty drawers of the authoress' desk. With the permission of Mr. Tampi, I hope to be able to publish them.

Of the five *Attakkathas* by Kunjan Nampiyar viz., (1) *Sambaravadham*, (2) *Banayuddham*, (3) *Kailasayatra*, (4) *Govardhanayagam* and (5) *Palazhimaathanam* only the first has been accorded a place in Reddiyar's publication. Even of Mr. Kilimanur Cherunni (Vidwan) Koil Tampuran's works, *Kamsavadham* and *Ravanavijayam*, only the latter has been included in the collection. It would be rendering an invaluable service to the cause of Malayalam literature, if earnest and enthusiastic scholars like H. H. Rama Varma, XI Prince of Cochin, Mr. T. K. Menon, B.A., M.R.A.S., Mr. S. Parameswara Iyer, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S. and Mr. A. R. Raja Raja Varma, M.A., M.R.A.S., would set their hands to this work of resuscitation and bring out a complete and comprehensive collection of *Kathakalis*.

lengthy prose called *dandaka*, though such instances are rare. The subject matter is drawn mostly from the rich mine of Sanskrit literature. The plot in the *kathakalis* is simple. The *kathakali* is neither a poem in which the poet is the narrator of the entire plot, nor is it a play in which the characters are allowed to reveal the plot by their speeches and actions. It is a combination of both, peculiar to itself, and its prototype, the earlier Tamil *nātakam*. It is not a *natya-prabandha* or drama; it ought to be classed among *nritya-prabandhas*, in which the given word is expressed in gestures. It has not many of the characteristics of a *nātaka* or any other kind of *rūpaka* or *upa-rūpaka* described in the *Dasarūpaka*; it has even some features which ought not to be found in *nātakas*. In fact, writers of *kathakalis* do not observe the rules that are strictly enjoined on playwrights in Sanskrit. The former adopt a stereotyped method in all their works and tread even on forbidden ground. They often depict incidents that lack the weight and depth of serious significance. The *kathakali* has no division into acts or scenes. The hero's character is not the result of discrimination and choice. Murder is not allowed in *nātakas*; but it seems to be very common in *kathakalis*, as indicated by the names of classical works like *Kirmira-vadham*, *Kālakēya-vadham*, *Khara-vadam* and *Narakāsura-vadham*. War, which is disallowed in *nātakams*, finds a place in many *kathakali-pattus*. The jester is absent from the *kathakali*. Love, anger, revenge, pride, pathos, scorn and sublime sentiment predominate in these works. As works of art, they are poor. They have no complexity of conception nor subtlety of suggestion. The distinction of comedy and tragedy, obtaining in the Greek and English drama is inapplicable to *kathakalis*. The numerous *vadhams* under this class of works, are not tragical, for there is no real tragedy in mere physical or even in mental suffering. They refer to the murder of oppressive Asuras or demons, who do not enlist our sympathy in their troubles, but whose death gives us relief from tyranny.

At the time when *attakathas* were fashionable pastimes, they must have served to keep alive a spirit of godliness among the people, for the introduction of Rama and Krishna and other *Avatārs* of Vishnu in these plays cannot but have produced such an effect, but the moral influence they exerted on the theatre-goer must have been deplorable.* From the conversation between

* Godliness and immorality are utterly incompatible—Ed.

Dushyanta and Sakuntala in *Sakuntalam Attakkatha* (or, for that matter, from the dialogues in *Uttara-svayamvaram*, *Narakasura-vadham* and *Kichaga-vadham*) we should infer that the speeches of some of the women are inconsistent with woman's nature. The dramatist here panders to vice.

These plays fall under four heads : (1) those of poetic merit or literary finish ; (2) those of theatrical finish or fit for staging ; (3) those having poetic merit and fitness for staging ; and (4) those that are inferior in both ways. Most of them display learning and ornamentation, as well as interesting and exciting incidents ; but they are lacking in intricacy of plot and subtility of characterisation. The *kathakalis* written by the originator of this species of plays (enumerated in the foot-note on page 15) are not of the best kind, nor do they reach the high-water-mark of literary finish. Kottarakkara Raja could not depict the profoundest thought in the most artistic language, though, of course, he had a magnificent imagination of infinite fertility. There is not sufficient music in his songs to produce a harmonious combination.

Kottayam Raja, the reputed author of four famous *kathakalis*, already noted, was an erudite Sanskrit scholar, as is so amply borne out by his works. To him has been accorded a high rank in the realm of poetic rhythm, and style: his songs are best adapted to music. The variety of characters makes his works very attractive on the stage. They are never tame nor monotonous to the audience. But want of elevation and effectiveness render his poems less solid and genuine, and his songs do not satisfy the critical reader. They appeal more to the eye and the ear than to the head and the heart.

From a literary standpoint, Unnaiy Variar's *Nalacharitham Kathakali* ranks first. It is a learned work meant for the cultured. Unnaiy Variar has been called the Milton of Kerala. His diction, like that of Milton, is learned, rhetorical and ornate. The melody of his diction and the harmony of his rhythm are as imposing as they are natural. His work is popular with the young and the old, with the musician and the layman, whether on the stage or in the home. It is the most finished product of art in Malayalam ; it is a master-piece of which any language may be justly proud. In it are harmoniously blended, charming humour and light-hearted gaiety with strenuous seriousness and pathetic sentiment.

Ravi Varman Tampi's works and Aswati Tirunal's come next in order of merit. *Nalacharitam Kathakali* has almost all the traits of a good Sanskrit play. But its language is queer. The author mixes up Sanskrit and Malayalam after a peculiar fashion, to suit his own whim and fancy. Some passages have baffled all attempts at elucidation. Though in many *attakathas*, the *ślokas* are in Sanskrit and the *padams* in Malayalam, in this work, some *slokas* are in *Manipravalam* (a mixture of Sanskrit and Malayalam words) and others are in pure Malayalam. Linguistically, the *attakathas* afford instances of a peculiar kind of *manipravalam*. Not only are Sanskrit words with Sanskrit terminations used, but, at times, Sanskrit suffixes are added to pure Malayalam words. Ravi Varman Tampi's *Kichaka-vadham*, *Uttara-swayamvaram* and *Dakshayagam* are free from the linguistic peculiarities, characteristic of *attakathas*. He had a large fund of poetic imagination and has made appropriate use of the nine sentiments or emotions of the Hindu poets. Several passages could be cited from his *Uttara-swayamvaram*, illustrative of *paronomasia* and the *sringara rasa* (love). Though he introduced *prāsam* even in Sanskrit *slokas* and in *padams*, he did not commit himself to questionable usages of language, like Unnayi Varyar. One might go the length of saying that his inborn taste and command of language were even superior to those of Varyar. Aswati Tirunal was a profound Sanskritist. His works excel the other *Kathakali-pattus* in pregnancy of sense and in the use of beautiful figures of speech. His *slokas* and *padams* are mostly in Sanskrit. Many difficult and rare Sanskrit words and long compound words are freely used by him. *Parasurāma-vijayam* and other *kathakalis* by H. H. Kerala Varma Valia Koil Tampuran of Travancore, do not deserve to be ranked with *Uttara-swayamvaram* or *Ambarisha-charitam*, though they bear unquestionable testimony to the profound erudition and high attainments of their author. *Duryodhanavadhom*, *Urvasee-swayamvaram* and *Sakuntalam* are really classical.

The birth of dramatic literature in a language presupposes a high standard of civilization, and the appearance of the *Kathakali-pattus* in Malayalam indicates only a certain degree of advancement, and not highly refined tastes in the people. Whatever their other services to our language, they have diffused a taste for reading and have imported a large number of Sanskrit words into our language and thereby enriched its poor lexicon.

The *kathakali-pattus* form the transition to the fully developed play in Malayalam and serve to unfold one chapter of the past of our storied land and fill a serious gap in our literature. They are to our *natakas* what the 'Mysteries' or the 'Miracle plays' and the 'Moralities' are to the English drama.

Now we will turn to the representation of a *kathakali* on the stage. Poses and gestures form its fundamental portion, and words occupy only a secondary place in it. Critics have divided into two hostile camps: one section, with a warm admiration for it, holds that in the *kathakali* the language of finger-signs or the science of symbols has attained to a high state of perfection, and the other, ready to condemn it wholesale, maintains that, just as horoscopy has come from astronomy and *Pādhakam* from the *Chakkiyar-kutthu*, the *Ramanattam* is an unnatural birth from the Bharatha Sāstra. It must, however, be admitted that pantomimes have been an inevitable stage in the evolution of theatrical representation all the world over. In his¹⁸ 'History of the Literature of Europe', Hallam says, "all nations probably have, at all times, to a certain extent, amused themselves both with pantomime and oral representation of a feigned story; the sports of children are seldom without both, and the exclusive employment of the former, instead of being a first stage of the drama, as has been sometimes assumed, is rather a variety in the course of its progress."

The *attakathas* lack both stage and scenery. The stage is a temporary shed or pandal with four posts; it has no dais or platform. In palaces, an *atta-pandal* is permanently put up. Scenic decorations are out of the question. Palace and cottage, city and forest, even heaven and hell, present the same appearance and are not shown by any change of scenery. Imagination must supply the want. The curtain which is generally a large and thick piece of coloured cloth inscribed with the figures of animals or gods, is not hung up, but held on the stage at the two ends by two men standing on each side. Whenever a character appears on the stage, the curtain is drawn aside by one of the holders. It is amusing to see actors pulling down the curtain, when the holders carelessly hold it up so as to shut out the actors from the sight of the audience. The entire furniture consists of a couple of burning brass lamps, one or two stools, and a wooden mortar

¹⁸ Quoted by Mr. Kolachalam Sreenivasa Rau in his "Dramatic History of the World," p. 27.

turned upside down to be used as seats by the actors. The music on the stage is really alarming. The stentorian voice of the singer, in combination with the tympanum-breaking *chendai* (a kind of drum beaten with drumsticks), the booming *maḍḍalam* (another kind of drum) sounded with the fingers, the clanking cymbals and the jingling gong make a noise such as could perhaps be heard only in a pandemonium. We must add to this the shouting and roaring of wild and dreadful characters such as the Asurās.

The characters of the *kathakali* are of various types, such as *pachcha kaththi* (long and short), *tādi* (red, white and black) *kari*, *ninam*, etc. In *pachcha* or green painting, the face of the actor is painted over with *manavola* (a green mixture of sulphur and some other substance in cocoanut oil). The five Pandavas, Indra, Nala, Krishna, Rama and Lakshmana appear in *pachcha*. In *kaththi* a red painting of a peculiar twist and twine is made on the face of the actor. Ravana, Keechaka, and Krimmēra are of this type. In the red variety of *tādi*, a red beard and a red coat are worn by the character. Bāli, Sugreeva, Angada, and Kālakēya represent this type. A white beard and a white coat, with white hangings all over, with a knob on the forehead and on the nose, are worn by Hanuman and Nandikēśaran. Kāttalan, Kāli and Neelan appear with the face painted black and with a black coat and beard. In *kari*, the face is coloured with black paint and the cheeks have each a crescent-shaped drawing in red. The *ninam* is the most dreadful of the lot and is introduced in some plays, such as *Khara-vadham*; it is a ghastly sight. In *ninam*, the actor represents a victimised woman whose nose and breasts are chopped off; the actual chopping is represented on the stage.¹⁹ In *Khara-vadham*, Surpanaka, Ravana's sister, is subjected to this inhuman treatment by Lakshmana. The blood scene is enacted by cutting off a pair of artificial breasts made of the bark or film of the arēca-branch and attached to the actor's chest. It is filled with a red, boiled mixture of rice-flour, turmeric powder and chunam. The sight is blood-curdling. I am very credibly informed that a child taken to a *ninam* exhibition by its ignorant parents was so terror-stricken at the ghastly sight that it died of the shock.

In the *kathakali* performance both acting and dancing

¹⁹ C. F. Mr. Gopala Panikkar's short paper on the 'Malabar Drama', p. 15. The *Indian Review*, Vol. I, July 1900.

are combined. The performer, has, therefore, to undergo a regular course of training in physical attitudes or postures and in the language of signs. In addition to the usual sixty-four gestures to express our ideas, he has to learn their permutations and combinations to supply any deficiency. As to finger-signs, they are chiefly twenty-four.²⁰ The performance includes acting, dancing, singing, *i e.*, *vādyam*, *tālam* and *mēlam*. *Vādyam*, *tālam* and *mēlam* are mixed up with *natyam*, *nritham* and *gitam*, quite out of proportion and they completely absorb each other.

(To be continued.)

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

HUNDREDS of individual narratives of experiences at the front have enabled us to visualise the tragedy of the struggle and the pathetic instances of quiet and noble heroism which have marked its progress. Few surpass in pathos and interest the following letter from the Rev. W. W. Beveridge, Port Glasgow, Senior Chaplain, 27th Division, Expeditionary Force. It was written, says the Editor of "The Record of the United Free Church of Scotland" to which the letter was sent, by Mr. Beveridge, sitting on the ground in a bivouac formed of a blanket bent over a pole.

"I trudged along the trenches, visiting the kilted lads under my care. Some were busy scanning the German lines through periscopes. Others were taking an occasional shot at the foe. Not a few were reading, seated behind the parapet or lying at full length in their dug-outs. Many were busy with their pencils, writing letters that, in a day or two, would be eagerly read and re-read at many a Scottish fireside. All were ready for a chat with 'the padre' about the campaign and home and the highest things.

At the door of his dug-out sat a young officer, so deeply absorbed

²⁰ The finger-signs are—

- | | | |
|----------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Patakam | 2. Mudrakhyam | 3. Katakam |
| 4. Mushti | 5. Kartari-Mukham | 6. Sukauadam |
| 7. Kapitham | 8. Hamsa-paksham | 9. Sikham |
| 10. Hamsasyam | 11. Anjali | 12. Ardha-chandram |
| 13. Mukuram | 14. Bhramaram | 15. Suchikamukham |
| 16. Pallavam | 17. Tri-patakam | 18. Mrugasirsham |
| 19. Sarpasiras | 20. Vardhamanakam | 21. Aralam |
| 22. Urnabham | 23. Mukulam | 24. Kataka-mukham |

These are explained in detail by Mr. Katathanadudaya Varma Tampuran, in his booklet called 'Hastha-Lakshana-Deepika' containing the Sanskrit text with a commentary in Malayalam.

in a little book that he was unconscious of my presence until I inquired what the fascinating volume was. With a smile he placed it in my hand. It was the *Pilgrim's Progress*, his favourite book, he said; while his favourite character was she 'who smiled while the water stood in her eyes,' the personification of humour and pathos.

Waiting for me at a respectable distance stood a youth of some twenty summers: open-faced, curly-haired, and strong-limbed, he presented, in his kilt and tunic, a picture that would have made his mother's eye glisten with pride. He had a question to ask the Chaplain. Could I tell him where he would find in Scripture the verse that helped and comforted Robinson Crusoe? Smitten with fever, the lonely exile had turned to his long-neglected Bible. His eye fell on the words, 'Call upon me in the day of trouble; I will deliver thee.' They led him to pray for the first time in his life, and gave him, from that day forward, strong hope in God.

When I referred the inquiring young soldier to the 50th Psalm, he said the verse had comforted him in hours of danger and temptation, and spoke frankly of the trust he had in the great Friend who is behind all that happens.

A week or two passed by. His battalion had been resting in a battered town behind the firing line. Now the men were about to enter on another period of duty in the trenches. I went with them part of the way. Fine lads they were, full of the joy of life. Through the silent and deserted streets they passed in the evening gloom, whistling a cheery marching tune, for 'the sound of a sigh does not travel well, but the lilt of a laugh goes far.' Bright as the brave boys were, they well knew that some among them who went up to the trenches that night would probably never come down the road again.

Before another sunset a message was brought to me that the brown-eyed soldier-boy who loved Robinson Crusoe's text had passed to the other side. He had volunteered, with a few other gallant spirits, for a dangerous duty in front of the German lines. The little band came unexpectedly on a listening post, and the enemy's flashlight was turned on them. The fearless youth, who had got nearest to the foe, fell with a bullet through his breast. The survivors, creeping back through the darkness, brought with them the lifeless form of their beloved comrade.

The body of the young hero was tenderly borne in the early morning to the regimental aid post, a cavern half-way down the communication trench. There, when night had come, a burial party gathered to perform the last rites. To assemble in daylight, within gunshot of the foe, would be to invite more casualties; therefore the soldier's funeral generally takes place under cover of darkness.

All that could perish of the gallant youth who had made the supreme sacrifice, lay there upon a stretcher, booted and kilted, just as he had fallen, and covered with his overcoat. Had he passed away in a field ambulance or hospital where blankets are available, one would have been neatly sewed about him; but in the trenches this can scarcely be. So, for shroud and coffin, his military cloak was wrapped around the lifeless form, while over the face a comrade's hand had gently spread a silk khaki handkerchief.

I tenderly lifted the kindly covering to look for the last time on that open brow and winsome countenance. What a happy smile the white lips wore! He had died with the light of victory in his face, and the sure and certain hope in his heart.

The smile was on his face, and 'the water stood' in my eyes. Touching beyond expression was the sight, in his blood-stained uniform, of one of the

*Lads who will die in their glory
And never be old.*

And yet I could not altogether lament that that noble brow would never know wrinkles, that those curly locks would never grow grey, that so gallant a young spirit had gone 'to reinforce heaven.'

Before the two stretcher-bearers lifted their burden, all was covered by the ample folds of a Union Jack. Down the trench, in the thick darkness, the little burial party passed, a weird procession. Here and there the windings of the narrow trench made it necessary to hoist the stretcher above the parapet, and once or twice the bearers had to lay down their load as a German flare stabbed the darkness with its shaft of revealing light. The only sounds that broke the solemn silence were the whistle of a German bullet, the rattle of a machine gun, and the challenge of a sentry, 'Halt! Who goes there?'

We reached the little military cemetery situated behind the firing line, a short distance in the rear of a venerable church which the Huns have shelled into a heap of ruins.

Over France and Flanders there have sprung into being, within a few short months, these quiet resting-places, dotted with white crosses each marking the grave of a British soldier. Loving care has been expended on these little acres of God. The fences are trim, the paths neatly laid off, the graves carefully marked and recorded. In order that no difficulty may arise in identifying a grave at a future time, a Graves Commission has been appointed. Chaplains report weekly the burials at which they have officiated, giving all necessary particulars of the dead soldier, and as clear an indication as possible of the location of his grave. A neat wooden cross, generally made by his comrades, is erected, bearing his name, number, regiment, and date of death. Until

this is done, a bottle containing these particulars, is half-buried, neck downwards, at the head of the grave. In many instances comrades have lovingly planted the graves with shrubs or flowers and surrounded them with borders of granite setts or boxwood. Rarely is one met by that infinitely pathetic sight, a nameless grave, with its bare inscription indicating that *a soldier*, who was 'somebody's darling,' lies buried there.

The pioneers had preceded us and prepared the grave. There, like shadows, they stood, leaning on their spades, awaiting us. The stretcher, with its melancholy load, was gently laid down at the brink of the new-made grave. I began the burial service. It was the dead of night: not a star illumined the blackness; yet no light could be employed because of the foe. So the passages of Scripture were repeated from memory instead of being read. The explosion of a shell away on our left accompanied the words:—

'The Lord is my Shepherd. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil.'

And a sharpnel shrieked vainly overhead as we uttered the closing verse:—

'O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? Thanks be unto God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.'

In unbroken silence, but with breaking voice, we prayed, thanking the Eternal Father for the young hero's faith, self-sacrifice, and fidelity unto death; and interceding for those who would never have their beloved to welcome home again, that they might feel the better world to be nearer and dearer to them because of the loved one waiting for them there.

Then with the flag for which he had died above him, the remains of the brave soldier-boy were lowered into their last resting-place, the cords being puttees of one of the comrades whose hands helped to lay him in the grave. When the committal sentences had been spoken and the benediction pronounced, the burial party fixed bayonets and presented arms, in token of respect to the memory of a good soldier. In war-time burial no volley is fired; it would draw attention from the foe. Nor are the pathetic bugle notes sounded of 'The Last Post,' which call up affectingly to every soldier the picture of the camp when the shadows of night are falling, and, the day's duties done, the wearied warrior lays himself down to rest amid the darkness. Here, indeed, was the darkness, and a faithful soldier laid to rest; but the day would break and the shadows flee away.

As I took my way along the dark and lonely road that led to my billet, my mind was occupied with the letter I must write before laying my head upon the pillow; a letter that would banish the joy of hearts

to whom life would never be the same again. My own heart bled for the father and mother who would receive it and read their boy's name in the casualty list.

THE number of the magazine in which the above appears illustrates incidentally in its columns the widespread character of the conflict, and its effect on missions. Take for example Sheikh Othman, the well-known site of the Medical Mission, a few miles from Aden. The Rev. Dr. J. C. Young, describing the result of the looting of the Turkish troops and the mob writes as follows :—

"Our troops re-entered Sheikh Othman on Wednesday morning. I went out in the afternoon to see what damage had been done to mission property, and I am glad to be able to say that there has been little, if any, to the buildings.

Unfortunately, however, the house occupied by Dr. MacRae and myself is on the main road at its junction with the branch road to the Salt Works and the Distillery Road. As soon, therefore, as they arrived the Turks took possession of it and of all my Persian rugs, skins, curios, and mementoes gathered during twenty-three years in Aden. Needless to say they looked upon these things as lawful prizes and sent them to the rear as legitimate spoil. When they were forced to retire they smashed the furniture which they had to leave behind, tore up my books, broke the large vases, twisted the iron beds, and did not leave a single thing undamaged in the whole house. A beautiful organ which the late Mrs. P. Mackinnon gave to Dr. MacRae was split open, apparently with an axe, and all the notes torn out, while the scene in his room beggars description; though, strange to say, they left his pictures intact after breaking the glasses of them all.

Apparently the enemy was well aware of all our movements, and at 2 A.M. began to pour into our lines rifle fire from their outposts. Retiring before our column they held each line of trenches as long as they could, till they came to our house, which was most strongly held. Watching the battle from Steamer Point, I could see flash after flash come from the roof of my house and from the front verandah where the sharpshooter lay who killed the two young officers as they were leading on their men.

With the taking of our bungalow resistance practically ceased and both Turks and Arabs fled, escaping through sheer agility and lack of those encumbrances that British soldiers carry. Of course the Aden troops followed, and proved themselves worthy of the splendid name they have always borne; but what could eighty men do against the hordes opposed to them except hasten their retreat, and this they did, hanging on their flanks as long as they were able.

About five miles out, one of the British officers was rendered *hors de combat* with a bullet through his leg that splintered the bone, but still they clung to the foe till the Field Artillery came up and shelled the little clumps of men wherever they got them, till the sand made further progress impossible.

Yesterday I got a note from an Arab saying that in order to save the property left in the nurses' bungalow he had had it all removed into his own house, just across the road, as he felt sure it would be safe in his house although certain to be plundered if left where it was.

Thus once more it would seem as if woman's work had won its way into hearts that even the physician's skill had failed to reach."

WHEN we turn to Central Africa we have the same story of struggle and of danger:—

“The cataclysm that is shaking Europe is affecting the whole world even to such insignificant corners as Nyasaland. As the Protectorate borders on German East Africa trouble was inevitable. War among civilized peoples is very terrible, but when the combatants live among savage tribes the possibilities are appalling.

After war was declared in Europe the Nyasaland authorities disabled the *Weissman*, the German steamer on Lake Nyasa, by removing part of her machinery. She was in the slip at the time, rumour said, being fitted with heavy guns. All within reach of the Lake breathed more freely when she was dismantled, but had it been possible to remove her to a British harbour the relief would have been still greater.

In September the Germans began to terrorize North Nyasaland with Ruga Ruga levies. These Ruga Ruga are the old henchmen of the Arab slavers and the most depraved of the human race. The enemy sent a letter to Karonga warning all non-combatants to clear out, as they were going to make the place a bath of blood. When they attacked, our men gave such a good account of themselves that the Germans have been afraid to face them again. Many guns were captured, as well as ammunition and food. Dynamite for blowing up Karonga was found among the baggage left by the flying Germans, as well as a German flag for hoisting after the victory!

For some months after the Karonga fighting local insecurity was lost sight of, and the undivided attention of all, not actually living on the border, was focused on the struggle in Europe. Our attention was violently wrenched back to our environment by a native rising in the Shire Highlands. The estates of the A. L. Bruce Trust were attacked one night and three men killed and one wounded—the details are too gruesome to write—and the women and children captured. A lady visitor at Magomera was enabled to escape by the faithfulness of her black boy, who helped her through a back window while the murderers were busy in front, and so enabled her to get unobserved into the bush. She struggled in the darkness with torn feet and bruised body through the forest, never sure when she would be discovered and captured. In the early morning she reached another plantation and gave the alarm; the rebels were followed and the captives released. Most of the offenders were caught.

On the same night on which Magomera was attacked another party of the insurgents attacked Mandala store, twenty miles distant, killed a watchman, looted some firearms, but did no further damage.

A Commission is to sit to inquire into the causes of the unrest that led to this rising; till they have done their work we must be silent. The white community rather lost their sense of proportion after the trouble, but in circumstances of uncertainty and anxiety this was not altogether surprising. It is to be hoped that the work of the Commission will help towards the re-establishment of the cordial relations that have always existed between black and white in this Protectorate.

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

Elementary Studies in Plant Life. By Fritsch and Salisbury. (G. Bell & Sons. Price Rs. 2.)

IN this book the elementary aspects of plant life are treated far more fully than is usual in such a work. Chapters are devoted to the simple anatomy and physiology of the plant, while the questions of soils and different types of vegetation are also considered.

For use in the schools of Great Britain the book is intended primarily, and for that reason it is of little use to Indian pupils because the plants selected for examination are not found in this country. At the same time the teacher will welcome the book because of its freshness of view and of treatment of the subject, and will use Indian plants to bring out the various points desired.

The orders of Dicotyledons discussed in the book are Ranunculaceæ, Cruciferae, Caryophyllaceæ, Rosaceæ, Primulaceæ (none of which are found in the plains of S. India), Umbelliferae (with one genus in S. India), Boraginaceæ (with three genera in the plains), Scrophulariaceæ with three genera in the plains), Leguminosæ, Labiatae and Compositæ, all of which give plenty of species but not one of which is the same as found in Great Britain.

For use in S. India the natural orders selected as giving plenty of types easily obtainable for school purposes would be the following: Malvaceæ, Rhamnaceæ, Myrtaceæ, Rubiaceæ, Convolvulaceæ, Acanthaceæ, Euphorbiaceæ, Amarantaceæ, and also Leguminosæ, Labiatae and Compositæ.

Notwithstanding the defect of the book in treating of plants which we cannot obtain in S. India, the book is the best introduction to plant life, which we have seen, and wherever the plants treated of are available it is sure to be adopted and widely used.

The illustrations, deserve special mention as they are all original and the printers are to be congratulated on the excellence of the paper, type and binding employed. The authors from their previous and larger work "*An Introduction to the Study of Plants*" led us to expect something good in this little publication and we have not been disappointed.

The Indian Heroes. By C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O., I.C.S. (Oxford University Press. Price One Rupee).

READERS of Mr. Kincaid's *Deccan Nursery Tales* have learned to admire the skill with which he has re-told some of the folk-tales of the

Deccan for English children. They will not be disappointed in these tales of ancient India's heroes told after the manner of Charles Kingsley. The book is admirably suited for the higher forms of schools or the junior classes in colleges, but we do not doubt that many Europeans who are interested in Indian life will enjoy Mr. Kincaid's summary of the tales from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

A First Book of Arithmetic. By S. Lister, B. Sc. (Macmillan & Co. Price 1s. 6d.)

THE book covers the first four rules, decimals, fractions, areas, tables of capacity, practice, proportion and income-tax. The treatment is very elementary and contains a good deal of practical work so framed as to make pupils discover new facts and methods for themselves. Letters are used whenever their use makes the solution easier and thus the book serves as an introduction to algebra. The introduction of practical exercises gives the subject a reality which is lacking in other books on the subject. Graphical illustration is also given whenever necessary. The book is written on the most modern lines and will be useful to beginners.

Annotated English Classics. (G. Bell & Sons. Price 1s. 6d.)

A USEFUL series, well got up, and not over-burdened with notes. An attempt has been made to break new ground by the publication of an annotated edition of Book V of *The Faerie Queene*, and Burke's *Speeches on America* are not too accessible in school text form. *The Faerie Queene* Book I, has been done before, but there was room for a further issue, though a more critical introduction would not have been amiss. A real critical edition of *The Faerie Queene* is badly needed. *The Selections from Tennyson* are good, but no book of selections can ever hope to please everyone, and there are grievous omissions.

Numerical Examples in Physics. By H. Sydney Jones, M.A. (G. Bell & Sons. Price 3s. 6d.)

THIS book gives an extensive selection of examples in heat, light, magnetism and electricity. Interspersed throughout the volume are many worked examples, and paragraphs explaining the theory, which will render it very useful to Indian students studying for the B.A. degree examinations of Madras University.

Experimental Electricity and Magnetism. By M. Finn, M. Sc. (G. Bell & Sons. Price 4s. 6d.)

MR. FINN has written a treatise on electricity and magnetism from the experimental point of view. A feature of the book is that the current

in the voltaic sections and for obtaining charges in the electrostatics experiments is taken almost exclusively from the electric mains, suitably wired campboards being employed. Examination questions with answers are also given.

A Manual of Mechanics and Heat. By Prof. R. A. Gregory and H. E. Hadley, B. Sc. (Macmillan and Co. Price 3s.)

THIS book will be found to contain all that is essential in the subjects of mechanics and heat for the Intermediate Examination of Madras University. It gives many examples and is illustrated throughout by diagrams and woodcuts. It also contains a large number of physical tables of useful quantities.

LITERARY NOTES.

PROF. SAINTSBURY'S retirement from the chair of English Literature at Edinburgh was made the occasion for a presentation from his past and present students. Prof. Saintsbury, in acknowledging the gift, said that between three and four thousand students had passed through the class during his twenty years' incumbency.

CONSTITUTIONAL historians do not need to be informed of the importance of Bracton. They should notice the publication of what promises to be the authoritative edition of his great work, *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ*. It is edited by Prof. G. E. Woodbine, and published by the Yale University Press and Humphrey Milford at £1-1s. nett.

ORIENTALISTS should note the publication of a new edition (revised by Mr. J. H. Weir, Lecturer in Arabic at Glasgow University) of Sir William Muir's history of *The Caliphate: its Rise, Decline, and Fall*. It is especially appropriate in view of the questions raised in the Mohammedan world by the recent policy of Turkey. The book is published by John Grant, at Edinburgh (10s. 6d. nett).

THE Norrisian Prize Essay for 1913, *Conduct and the Supernatural*, is a notable book. The author, Mr. L. S. Thornton, besides handling the whole question of the relation of Christian Ethics to Christian faith, gives a valuable criticism of many of the tendencies of modern literature. Incidentally, he brings out with telling force Nietzsche's unconscious testimony to the truth of the Christian position. The quest of the "Superman" is in effect an admission that man, as he is, is a failure—as Christianity always assumes. Mr. Thornton also exposes the

shallowness of the renegade, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, who did so much to imbue all Germany with the poison of Nietzsche's teaching.

Indian Memories, by Sir Robert Baden-Powell, is a sheaf of reminiscences, grave and gay, which is sure to find readers—if only for the many good stories told in it. It comes from that enterprising publisher, Herbert Jenkins, at 12s. 6d. nett.

Germany's Violations of the Laws of War, 1914-15, is a compilation, under the auspices of the French Foreign Ministry, of evidence such as Army Orders, diaries of German soldiers, etc., as to such things as the killing of prisoners, firing on the Red Cross, and outrages on civilians. It is translated by J. O. P. Bland, and published by Heinemann (5s. nett). Many of the incriminating documents are reproduced in facsimile.

AMONG the many verses produced in the course of the War, few are so apt as those of Mr. Kersley Holmes, whose *Ballads of Field and Billet* enshrine, with humour and felicity, many of the experiences, grave and gay, of our new armies.

REVIEWS.

The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Dubash to Joseph François Dupleix, Knight of the Order of St. Michael and Governor of Pondicherry. A Record of matters Political, Historical, Social, and Personal from 1736 to 1761, translated from the Tamil, by order of the Government of Madras and edited by Sir J. Frederick Price, K.C.S.I., late of the Indian Civil Service, assisted by Rao Sahib K. Ranga Achari, B.A., Superintendent of Madras Record Office. Volume III. Madras, Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, 1914.

This third instalment of Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary is as interesting as its two predecessors. It covers the period from the 19th October, 1746 to the 14th March, 1747. Students of Indian history will remember that the surrender of Madras to the French on the 25th September, 1746, was followed by a quarrel between La Bourdonnais, the French admiral, and Dupleix. Dupleix considered that La Bourdonnais had given the English too easy terms and refused to recognise the conditions on which the surrender was made. While the quarrel was still going on La Bourdonnais was placed at a disadvantage by the inopportune punctual appearance of the north-east monsoon. His

fleet was badly damaged by a great storm on the 15th October, and it is with the account of the damage done to the French fleet that this new volume of the Diary opens.

The most important historical incident recorded in this volume is, as Sir Frederick Price mentions in his preface, the defeat at Mylapore of the army of the Nawab of the Carnatic under his son Mahfus Khan by the French led by Paradis, in November, 1746. Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of the Carnatic, had, according to Dupleix, authorized the French to capture Madras and to hoist the French flag there. Mahfus Khan, however, now ordered the French to restore Fort St. George to the English and proclaimed war against them. While engaged in attacking Madras he heard that Paradis with 230 Europeans and 700 Sepoys was marching from Pondicherry to relieve Madras. He at once led out a large force of about 10,000 men to oppose them, and posted his troops, which included artillery, on the north bank of the Adyar river a little south of San Thomé. The mouth of the Adyar appears to have been at that time about 600 yards north of its present position. The battle seems to have been fought close to the mouth of the river. The small French force charged across, and without the loss of a man drove their opponents before them. The Nawab's army fled in panic, and the French troops after plundering Mylapore entered Fort St. George in triumph. The importance of this battle consists in the fact as Malleson has pointed out that it was the first occasion "on which the European trader assumed the position of a combatant, and, as such, administered to an Indian chieftain, of the class whose every word had hitherto been to him a law, a decided defeat." It further showed that a handful of troops trained in European military methods was more than a match for an undisciplined horde such as followed Mahfus Khan to the field.

The volume closes with the account of the failure of the French to capture Fort St. David when the prize seemed to be within their grasp. The final assault was about to be ordered when a French sentry posted on the roof of a house saw seven ships carrying the English flag making for the anchorage. The French at once retreated to Pondicherry and Fort St. David remained in the possession of the British—another testimony to the importance of sea power.

Ranga Pillai himself is as entertaining as ever, and his accounts of his interviews with Dupleix reveal as before both the weak and the strong points of that great man. The frankness with which the Dubash records the extraordinary doses of flattery he administered to the Governor is equalled only by the frankness with which he records the estimation in which he believed himself to be held throughout India. No less than sixteen pages are devoted to an imaginary

account of what he imagined the Nizam and other important people were saying about him. He feels convinced that his reputation will spread not only through India but throughout France and all Europe, and then he modestly concludes with the words : " I do not write more, because it is not proper that I should do so about myself." It need hardly be added that apart from its historical interest the diary throws a flood of light upon the manners and customs of Southern India in the middle of the eighteenth century.

E. M. M.

Paradise Lost Books I. and II. edited by J. C. Scrimgeour (Messrs. Macmillan & Co. 2/6). A useful little book, carefully annotated, which should be of great help to Indian students. The most attractive feature of the volume is that the notes appear at the foot of the page instead of the end of the book. The sooner this system is adopted for all annotated texts, the better it will be.

The Winter's Tale edited by H. B. Charlton (Messrs. Heath & Co., Boston). This volume forms one of the plays in the *Heath's Shakespeare Series*. The object of the series is to present the plays of Shakespeare as poems, laying greater stress upon the aesthetic side than upon considerations of scholarship and text. This is no bad thing in itself, but it limits the usefulness of the edition as a student's edition. As a supplement to other editions dealing more minutely with textual matters, we can heartily recommend it. Any series, under the general editorship of Professor Herford, is certain to fulfil its special purpose admirably.

The *All Time Tales Series* (Messrs. Harrap & Co.) is an admirable selection of old legends meant for young readers. The tales are excellently told and well illustrated. All who care for the stories of old Romance should welcome a series of this kind. The selection is a wide one, embracing already most of the countries of Northern and Western Europe. We are glad to notice that the legends of Scandinavia and the great cycles of the Romances figure prominently in the series. It may well be possible to use these little books as an introduction to the study of this literature.

The Poetry and Life Series. (Messrs. Harrap & Co.) A very excellent and useful attempt is made in this series to use to the full the biographical method in the study of literature. We are not prepared to accept without qualification the contention of the general preface to the series that this is the only way in which a young student can be profitably introduced to the study of literature, but it is in itself a good way, and when carried out with the care and thoroughness of this series,

an excellent one. Most poets are interesting mainly because of their poetry, and it is therefore a happy idea to weave into the account of their lives, as much of their poetry as possible. In the present series the volumes on Marlowe, Spenser, Gray, and Keats are good. We have also seen a volume of Elizabethan Lyricists which suffers from the inevitable omission of much which ought to have been included under that title, but for which no room could be found in such a book. Even in this case we cannot blame the volume for anything which is in it, but for what is not. We think, from the specimens we have seen, that these volumes will form an excellent aid to the study of a poet.

A Practical Training in English, by H. A. Kellow, M.A. (Messrs. Harrap & Co.). If the execution of Mr. Kellow's plan had been in every thing as excellent as is the conception of it, we should have found at last the perfect text book of English. Perhaps he has failed to produce such a work because it is impossible. For ourselves, we are not convinced that the division of Poetry into Reflective poetry, Descriptive poetry, and Narrative poetry, serves any useful purpose, nor does it seem to be an exhaustive analysis. What is to happen in the numerous cases where a passage is both Descriptive and Reflective? Again such a division is more useful for classifying parts of a poem, supposing that to be a useful occupation, than the whole of it. Gray's *Elegy* is certainly reflective, but is it not also descriptive?

The Prosody of the book, also, leaves very much to be desired. What sort of meaning has the term "iambic pentameter" as applied to the English heroic line? A "metre" is not a foot, nor does the iambic "metre", in this sense, represent one foot, but two. A Latin pentameter was not an iambic verse at all. This objection is not pedantry, because the misuse of the term "metre", involves a misunderstanding of its real meaning on the part of a student.

Still we end, as we began, by saying that the plan of the book is excellent. It contains much good poetry, by way of selection, its aim is to concentrate attention on the gradual development of the language, and it strives to develop the powers of individual judgment in the student.

THE CASE METHOD IN AMERICAN LAW SCHOOLS.—

*PUBLISHED BY THE CARNEGIE FOUNDATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF TEACHING.*

A REVIEW.

BY PAUL APPASWAMI, M.A., M.L.

THIS bulletin purports to be an examination of the Langdell Method of Teaching Law, and is accordingly an invaluable contribution to legal pedagogics. Prior to 1850, aspirants to the legal profession had, both in England and America, to enter into articles with a practising lawyer or judge and read in his chambers: they were then initiated into the mysteries of conveyancing and special pleading, and gradually became familiar with the intricate mechanism of the law as it existed in those days. Law was studied as an art, not as a science. About the middle of last century, it came to be recognised as a scientific body of principles; law schools and colleges were established, mainly in connexion with the leading universities; and instruction in the theory of law was conveyed by means of lectures delivered by professors who were frequently not practitioners, and of text-books which grew out of the courses delivered. In the last quarter of last century Christopher Columbus Langdell, Professor of Law at Harvard, claimed to have discovered a new method of study, which has since been adopted by many of the leading law schools in America and which is said to have revolutionized legal instruction there. After a trial of the new system for a period extending over thirty years, Dr. Redlich of Vienna was invited by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching to examine the institutions in which it is in vogue and give his verdict upon the value or otherwise of the system as a method of legal instruction. No one better qualified for the task in view could have been selected. As a Professor of Law at Vienna, and a member of the Austrian Parliament, he was familiar with the ways of law on the Continent. He is known on both sides of the Atlantic as the author of two books—in English—on English Local Government and on the Procedure of the House of Commons and is apparently intimate with the principles of the Common Law which is in vogue both in England and America. He visited, at the expense of the Foundation, the leading law schools in the United States, read all the literature in existence on the subject and had the opportunity of discussing it with many leading people interested or concerned in it, and has now prepared, with German thoroughness, a bulletin, which looks at the method from all possible

points of view. He endorses in the main the claims made on behalf of the Langdell method that it is at once more scientific and more practical than the system it replaces. If law is a science the phenomena which it studies and classifies are to be found in the numerous decisions passed by the judges in reported cases. (Statute Law though voluminous and forbidding enough to the observer from the outside, covers only a small portion of the subject.) The old method was for the teacher to browse at large among the cases, deduce from them the leading principles of law which underlay the decisions, and present the results of his labours in the shape of clearly arranged lectures, with perhaps a case here and there by way of illustration. This method was easy for the student who had merely to accept the results of the research made for him by his professor and impress them on his memory. But as in science at the present day the student is taken direct to nature or to the laboratory and then, with the aid of the scalpel and the microscope, induced to get a first hand acquaintance with the phenomena dealt with by any particular branch of science, the law student is to be presented with a number of reported decisions, from which he is to disentangle for himself the facts of each case, and then the points of law decided in the case, and thus build up as the result of his own research and effort a theory of the law, the professor merely guiding him in the choice of appropriate cases, and in the proper manner of reasoning his way through them. This, known as the Langdell Method, is merely the application of induction to the study of law: and though its advantages appear obvious enough at the present day, it had apparently to maintain a strenuous struggle with previously existing methods of instruction till now it is firmly established on the other side of the Atlantic and has proved its value by the production of great legal writers like Thayer and Ames, Bigelow and Wigmore.

Dr. Redlich is also prepared to admit its practical value, as the student who is instructed under the system is gradually and carefully trained to handle just the sort of material he would have to deal with as a practitioner and to develop a legal way of thinking, and has to lose no time in forgetting his theory and picking up practice. Professor Redlich also points out that the system is peculiarly suited to the genius of the Common Law, which, as distinguished from the continental systems, is entirely built up out of decisions which profoundly modify if they do not swallow up the majority of ill-drafted modern statutes. At the end of the bulletin, he purports to make some suggestions for the improvement of the Langdell Method—which really amount to criticism of the leading defects of the system. Students who have to build up their knowledge of law by the study of individual cases

may lose their way in the wilderness of single instances, and may waste much valuable time in getting acquainted with the terminology and fundamental principles of law. The professor suggests with a view to avoiding this inconvenience a propaedeutik or preliminary course which in a simple but scientific manner shall set forth the concepts and leading elements of the Common Law. In order that the student may not be confused by a multitude of contradictory or apparently contradictory decisions, or by the apparent want of relationship between different portions of the subject, he would supplement the study of cases by a final course which would amount to a general summing up and survey of the law. The Langdell method in its doctrinaire adherence to the case or inductive system is apt to neglect these obvious labour-saving appliances. He also recommends that with a view to obtaining the full benefit of this new method, the classes ought to be small as in German and Austrian seminars, so as to permit of full discussion between the teacher and the individual student; and the teacher ought to specialise a good deal more than he does at present in America where apparently the same university professor may have to lecture on three or four entirely unconnected and independent branches of law.

We would strongly recommend the bulletin to the attention of those engaged or interested in the teaching of law and draw their special attention to the additional aids like moots and law clubs, specialised law libraries, and law reviews edited by the students themselves, which in a place like Harvard supplement the formal work of the university and render the Langdell Method such a valuable means of instruction.

SCIENCE NOTES.

MR. EDWARD HERON-ALLEN who has done so much work on the Foraminifera recently gave a discourse at the Royal Institution on "Beauty, Design and Purpose in the Foraminifera," a very good account of which is reported in the pages of *Nature* of 5th August. So far as is known the first reference to this group of the Protozoa is by the learned Clusius, who about 1550 A. D. tells the story of the origin of the Nummulites.

IN the early days of European history the Tartars once fled before the victorious advance of Ladislaus, King of Transylvania. Trusting to the apparently already established instincts of the Teutons, the Tartars scattered money as they retired, hoping thereby to delay the advance

of their pursuers, but King Ladislaus prayed that the coins might be turned into stone. Hence the Nummulites. Strabo says, however, that they are petrified beans left by the builders of the Pyramids, though the ancient Egyptians, so far as we know, never cultivated or ate beans. These Nummulites form the highest and most complex order of the Foraminifera. Nummulitic limestone traverses Europe, North Africa, and Asia *via* the Himalayas to China, the broad band being several thousands of feet thick at several places. This deposit is Eocene. At the present day there is only a single living species in the tropics.

FOR many years this group (Foraminifera) has been the object of deep study by zoologists all over the world. Beyond the marvellous beauty of many of the forms, the group is very interesting because economically it is of the utmost importance, being the chief food-supply of a large number of our food fishes. Again we have within the group the biggest known unicellular animals and several authorities hold that if ever the structure and nature of protoplasm is to be determined the solution lies here.

THE author of the paper finds from his studies that "every living organism living an independent existence of its own is endowed with the measure of intelligence requisite to its individual needs." That the Protozoa, our simplest forms of animal life, can act thus, will not be believed by many scientists, for we can find no sign of any system nervous or otherwise in them. Fabre definitely stated that the digger wasps show no sign of any intelligence whatsoever. And digger wasps are far above the Protozoa in the scale of animal life. On the other hand P. H. Gosse, one of the keenest observers of marine life, said that the more he studied the lower animals, the more firmly was he persuaded of the existence in them of psychical faculties, such as consciousness, intelligence and choice, and that even in those forms in which as yet no nervous centres have been detected.

WITH nothing but news of munitions on every hand, it is interesting to note that a century ago Nelson's *Victory* had a broadside of 52 guns, which, when all fired together, would have thrown about 60 per cent. of the weight of the metal contained in one shot from the 15-inch gun of the modern *Queen Elizabeth*. The 15-inch guns are not, as is frequently supposed, the largest and heaviest guns yet used. About 1887 the British navy had afloat 110-ton guns with a bore of 16'25 inch. These huge weapons were found to give a very low muzzle velocity because the 960 lbs. of powder used burnt slowly. With the advent of smokeless powder and explosives of far greater power than common

gunpowder, the guns were modified repeatedly until to-day the biggest gun we have is the 15-inch with a charge of only 400 lbs. of M. D. cordite against the 16.25 inch with its 960 lbs. of prism powder. The muzzle velocity has at the same time increased by 50 per cent.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE first place in the October number of the *Contemporary Review* is given to an article on "The General Situation in Russia" by Colonel F. N. Maude. The article was written before the allies began their offensive movement on the west front in the last week of September, and lacks therefore the special interest which attaches to more recent pronouncements on the military situation. It will be read with keen interest, however, by those who seek to follow the general progress of the war and to understand the principles underlying the main movements of the belligerents.

In the ultimate analysis, says Colonel Maude, all success in war, from the struggle of the greatest masses of armies down to the trial duel to the death between desperate men in the trenches, turns at last upon the relative will-power of the adversaries, which itself is dominated and controlled by the physical conditions of the body and the brain, the brain playing the larger part in the decision. Uncertainty of purpose in the conscious thinking of the directing organ is therefore the surest indication of coming defeat. Applying this test Colonel Maude says it is growing increasingly clear that ever since the fighting at Mons the German Staff has been steadily deteriorating in the direction and control of the forces committed to its charge. The events now (September) maturing in Russia furnish the final proof of this contention.

Long before the war began the German Staff knew that the French would stake their military success and their very existence on the military methods which they had deduced from the practice of Napoleon, but they did not believe that there were in Europe any short-service conscript armies trained and led by peace-time Generals and Staff who could endure locally the punishment which the Napoleonic system entailed on those fractions of the whole detailed to purchase by their resistance or attack the time necessary to execute the manoeuvres that would win a decisive battle. They claimed that their own system, based on the theory of Clausewitz and the practice of Moltke, was better suited for the material at their

own disposal or available to their enemies. The events of August of last year, says Colonel Maude, show how very nearly the two systems were balanced. The situation was saved by the tactical superiority of the French artillery and the extraordinary tenacity and discipline displayed by the British Expeditionary Force at Mons. These gave General Joffre the time necessary to carry out the concentration of the 6th Army round Paris, and since then the tenacity required for the achievement of special tasks has never been lacking in the troops of the Allies. The same tenacity has also been displayed by the Russian troops, whose leaders have also worked on the Napoleonic method. The German leaders, on the other hand, have been consistently disappointed by results. Though their men have fought far better than they were expected to fight, they have always just fallen short of the decisive achievement. By the end of December last, says Colonel Maude, every intelligent Staff Officer in Europe knew that the German method had failed and that the Allies would have at their disposal the time necessary to mature their resources.

On the west the only thing possible for the Allies was to meet the pressure of the Germans by passive endurance until such time as an ample supply of heavy artillery and munitions should be available. On the east topographical and climatic conditions gave greater scope for action, and aided by the attack on Gallipoli, the Russians obtained such successes in Galicia and the Carpathians that Vienna and Buda Pesth became greatly alarmed and Germany had to come hurriedly to the assistance of Austria-Hungary. As their infantry had been proved to be unequal to the task of carrying entrenchments without more support than their field artillery could supply they had to furnish their new armies with a crushing superiority of siege guns of the heaviest type. This very much reduced their mobility, and the Grand Duke took the necessary steps to meet the new methods of attack. He determined on the great series of retreats, which while they involved enormous sacrifices enabled him to keep his time intact. At one time the Germans must have trembled for the safety of Mackensen's armies, but the destruction of the Ochta Arsenal prevented the Grand Duke from risking a decisive battle. In this connexion Colonel Maude remarks that even if the Grand Duke had not been hampered for want of ammunition the wiser policy would have been not to risk a decisive engagement but to draw the enemy further away from his railways.

In view of the tremendous amount of destruction of railways, roads, and bridges which the Russians were able to effect in the course of retreat and of the success of the Russians against Austria at the south end of the line, Colonel Maude at the time of writing

was of opinion that Russia for two months at least would have little to fear except cavalry raids, with which she would be quite able to deal, and that Germany would not be able to detach any considerable number of men from the east for service on the west. On the French front he said, the Allies held and had for some time held the military key to the whole situation, and if they had not used it, it was only because, politically, it was not expedient that the Germans should be beaten by military operations only. By this he meant that if a peace were forced on Germany by a purely military victory she would at once prepare for revenge by every means that falsehood and a low standard of the ethical sense could suggest, but if by both economic and military pressure what remains of German manhood could be awakened to the appalling deceptions of which it has been the victim, Germany would begin to reform herself and that very drastically, though without such a social upheaval as that which accompanied the French revolution.

In the concluding paragraphs of his article Colonel Maude forecasts the probable future of Germany on the supposition that the reform referred to is effected, but we need not enter into details on this point.

Mr. Theodore C. Taylor deals with the very important question of the restriction of output which has been so much before the public since the need for munitions of war arose. Of late, he says, public writers and speakers have laid great stress on the need for restricting the consumption of commodities. There is another need, which politicians in particular have said too little about or handled too gingerly. This is the need for increased production. Remarking that the various kinds of restriction of production can be grouped under two heads, *viz.*, those not of set purpose and those of set purpose, Mr. Taylor gives illustrations of various forms of restriction of production which are not of set purpose and then proceeds to deal with artificial forms of restriction of production and with the pernicious theory that the workers are helped by restricting production. He points out how from an economic point of view the interest of the whole community is that there should be more and not less of every useful thing, that abundance, not scarcity, cheapness, not dearness, is the interest of all, and of the poorest most of all. The best trade unionists, he says, know this, but among producers the idea seems to be very widely prevalent that by producing less wealth themselves they get more of what other people produce. It is maintained by some that private ownership of capital is responsible for this and advocates of collectivist ownership often assume that State ownership would banish antagonism between employer and employee. Mr. Taylor points out the fallaciousness of this view. Collectivism by itself, he says, does not uproot selfishness.

There are only two ways of ending industrial discord. These are the growth and spread of the altruistic spirit and the unification of the interests of employer and employed. Fortunately there are business methods combining both these principles. Methods based on the principles of profit-sharing and labour co-partnership have been at work for some considerable time and with good results. Both these methods tend to greater production and toward the general welfare. Mr. Taylor is surprised that in the difficulties which have beset the Government in the production of things necessary for the national welfare no one should have proposed that workers in businesses under Government control should have some share in the profits.

Mr. B. S. Rowntree contributes an article entitled 'Home Problems after the War'. It is imperative, he says, that the nation should consider in advance some of the social and industrial problems which will confront it as soon as peace is signed. One of the most striking of the many lessons which the war has taught us is the tremendous material advantage which Germany has gained not only from the extraordinary thoroughness with which she prepared for war but also from the ability which she has shown for many years past in developing the full industrial resources of the State. With regard to British industry after the war, Mr. Rowntree predicts that it will pass through three stages. First there will be a period of very serious dislocation of trade, lasting for several months and causing much unemployment. This will be followed by a period, lasting for a year or more, of feverish trade activity, and this again by a long period of severe trade depression! Mr. Rowntree gives briefly the grounds on which he bases this forecast, and then proceeds to deal with the problems which will be caused by the dislocation of trade in the first of the three periods and by the depression of trade in the third. The first essential, he says, is that the Government should at once form an exceedingly strong committee with instructions to prepare a comprehensive scheme for dealing with these problems as they arise. Among the questions that such a body might consider he mentions the provision of working class houses, the afforestation and reclamation of waste land, the making of new roads, the clearance of slums, and the preparation, by local bodies, of plans and specifications of work that needs to be done but is being kept back on account of the war. In the past, when a crisis has come, causing a large amount of unemployment the plea for omission to take preventive measures has been that the crisis could not be foreseen. This plea will not avail now. The crisis can be foreseen and its magnitude gauged. The depression of the third of the periods mentioned above must come because the world will be poorer not only to the extent of the wealth it has flung away but to the extent of the wealth it has failed to produce.

The task to be undertaken after the war will be the creation in the least possible time of the largest amount of fresh capital and wealth. Among the various ways of doing this Mr. Rowntree mentions increased production from the land, the more efficient organisation of industry, and a remodelling of the system of elementary education. More labour must be found, he says, for agriculture and more money for education.

Besides devoting itself to the creation of wealth in conclusion, the nation must curtail its expenditure in various directions. It must reduce its drink bill, take drastic measures against gambling, and reconcile itself to a lessened indulgence in various luxuries which it has hitherto enjoyed to the full. And it must make a strenuous endeavour to come to some arrangement with other nations whereby a progressive reduction of armaments may be effected.

Indian readers will turn with special interest to an article by Mr. Yusuf Ali on 'India's Services in the War'. In this they will find a straightforward review of the more important facts relating to the part which this country has played in the defence of the Empire.

Professor Holland Rose contributes an article on 'The Imitation of Napoleon I. by the Germans.' He shows how in its essential features the conflict between the British people and Napoleon was similar to that which they are now waging with the Central Powers and Turkey, and how much the German staff is indebted to Napoleon in their conduct of the war. In one respect, he says, viz., in the preparation for a prolonged defence of positions won, they have improved upon Napoleon, but in some other respects, notably in their treatment of prisoners and conquered peoples they compare badly with him.

Professor Parker gives an account of 'Riga and its Surroundings'; Principal Forsyth writes on 'History and Judgment'; Mr. J. H. Harley on 'The Resurrection of Poland'; and Mr. R. C. Hawkin on 'Germany and South Africa'. The other articles are 'Neutrals and Belgian Neutrality'; by M. Ch. de Nisscher; 'Women Doctors'; by Dr. M. Lipinuka and Lady Moir Mackenzie; 'The Writings of William de Morgan'; by Mrs. Strange Gretton; and 'Witches of Endor'; by Mr. J. E. G. de Montmorency. There are the usual reviews of books.

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

In the *Nineteenth Century* Sir Francis Piggott discusses the anomalous state of English law as to nationality and naturalisation. The French law on the other hand, is perfectly plain. By the common law, Englishmen were those and those only who were born in England. This gave rise to difficulties even by Edward III's time when a law allowed the children born abroad of English parents to inherit. Under

George II such were given British nationality; and under George III this was granted to their children. A law passed last year now gives British nationality to all born of a British father.

But the difficulty continues of double nationality. France, for instance, makes those French who are born of French parents, *i. e.*, the *jus sanguinis*: while those are also French born in France of parents who are unknown or whose nationality is unknown, an application of the *jus soli*. But in England the *jus soli* is followed with some modifications from the *jus sanguinis*. A person by accident a British subject can cast off his allegiance by a declaration of alienage on attaining his majority. On the other hand, a German subject may lose his nationality by residence in England without acquiring the rights of a British subject.

Sir Francis argues that in general change of nationality should require the consent of the country whose allegiance is cast off; and that it is important that the Secretary of State should have power to cancel certificates of naturalisation. The new act gives power to do this in the case of new certificates; whether he can cancel certificates under the act of 1870 is very doubtful.

Mr. Jennings writes on the Budget. It was necessary to curtail imports, in order to make the exchanges more satisfactory. Our exports have been checked by the diversion of the factories and the shipping to military purposes; and, according to Sir A. Mond, by unnecessary and foolish restrictions by Government departments, and delay in supplying licences.

The budget raised the income-tax 40 per cent.; the taxes on tea, sugar, cocoa and tobacco are increased and the duties on motor-spirit and patent medicines. On motor-cars, motor-cycles, cinema films, clocks and watches, musical instruments, plate glass, and hats 33½ per cent. import duty is levied. Various postal charges have been raised. It will be seen that all classes are affected. The limit of exemption has been lowered from £160 to £130, and the abatement is £120 to start with instead of £160.

As farmers can scarcely be expected to keep detailed books their income has hitherto been taken at one-third of the rent they pay. This was below the mark in any case, but as they are flourishing now it seems fair to take the whole rent as their income. But as a matter of policy every encouragement should be given to the farmers to produce more, and in particular to grow more wheat.

Then a business whose profits since the war began have increased more than £100 has to pay half the gross excess. This is expected to yield £30,000,000; and this after various allowances are made to make the tax fairer.

Professor J. H. Morgan continues his sketches of the War. They are not so far behind "The First Hundred Thousand" as one might expect considering the position of their authors. He explains, for instance, that the soldier is much more liable to get bored in billets than in the trenches. The remedy for staleness is "a good stiff route march. It has never been known to fail." A French soldier, asked whether he could sleep in the trenches amid the din of the guns, said he could, but his neighbour's snoring was most annoying. The account of this billet at General Head Quarters is interesting. One chapter gives a clue to his skill. He had as a student investigated the doings of robber chiefs in the same country. "To compare the *variae lectiones* of two manuscripts concerning a fourteenth-century skirmish is good, it has all the excitement of the chase; but to be collating the field-notebook of a living Hun with the *dossier* of a contemporary Justice de Paix, this is better."

He closes with an account of the mined and abandoned town of Senlis. A caretaker was the only inhabitant they found. On the evening of September 2, during the advance, the German soldiers, their work of destruction done, were very merry and sang lustily; the concierge mournfully hummed the tune, a tune he had never heard before, but which he would remember all his life. It was Luther's hymn; "A safe stronghold our God is still."

Miss Sellers tells how some of the normally industrious Belgians have been spoiled by months of loafing, and are now most unwilling to work. Even allowing a little for the exaggeration of accent one expects in Miss Seller's work, it is manifest that in some districts at least our hospitality has been cruel.

Two articles deal with the Vatican and the War; one defending the Pope, the other mainly defending the loose federation of the Eastern Church as superior to the autocracy or rather centralisation of the Papacy. The first is somewhat ineffective. "The Pope stands in an extra-national position" is the tone of the article, and while that may be accepted as a statement of present-day fact, it is scarcely consonant with the ancient claims of Rome.

Mr. J. A. R. Marriot in 'The Concert of Europe—a Plain Moral for To-day' describes international affairs after Waterloo. Shortly after the Hundred Days were over, Tsar Alexander announced the formation of the Holy Alliance. He was soft and impressionable, disposed to mysticism and an idealist, and had lately come under the influence of strong evangelical teaching. With Frederick William III of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria he declared that they took for their sole guide the precepts of that holy religion,—the precepts of Justice, Christian Charity and Peace,—which, far from being appli-

cable only to private concerns must have an immediate influence upon the counsels of Princes and guide all their steps. "Conformably to the words of the Holy Scriptures the three monarchs will remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity."

Contemporary statesmen smiled, and historians have condemned for Metternich captured the mind of Alexander, and the Alliance served mainly to put down popular movements over half Europe.

The idea was not new; it was embodied in the conception of the Holy Roman Empire, especially as depicted in Dante's *De Monarchia*. In the middle ages there were few great international wars; there was continual feud between noble and noble, between town and town, between district and district. It is a curious golden age for the pacifist (Mr. Lowes Dickinson) to select.

Henry IV. of France's Great Design of a common council to arbitrate in international disputes brought the problem forward once more; the Abbé de St. Pierre under Louis XIV introduced it into political literature. He proposed to establish a Confederation of Europe, based on a perpetual and irrevocable alliance. Each sovereign was to send representatives to a Congress which was to legislate for the States; the Powers were to contract to take common action against an offending State. Kant in 1795 published an essay on Perpetual Peace. Peace, he said, is not natural but has to be established; two articles are necessary. The constitution of each state must be 'republican', i.e. representative. The law of nations must be founded on a federation of free States. Kant did not believe in universal empire but in the balance of power.

Alexander had already in 1804 sent an envoy to England whose written instructions contained the proposal of a league "of which the stipulations would form a new code of the law of nations, which would become the immutable rule of the cabinets, while those who infringe it would risk bringing upon themselves the forces of the new union."

The concert of Europe lasted from 1815 to 1822. An attempt was made to control international relations by periodical congresses, of which the first was held in 1818 at Aix-la-Chapelle. England, represented by Castlereagh and Wellington predominated, and secured the entry of France. Castlereagh saw that Metternich wished to employ the concert for repression, and would not agree except in the case of France. In 1820 a congress met at Troppau; the Tsar was now completely in the power of Metternich and the determined opponent of progressive movements. Castlereagh was present but refused to take any formal part. The Conference adjourned to Laibach, where it re-established in Naples the oppressive rule of Ferdinand. In 1822 Cann-

ing succeeded Castlereagh, and at Verona Wellington as England's representative broke up the alliance by a refusal to interfere in Spain.

The moral which Mr. Marriott draws, for the benefit of the Union of Democratic Control is this; Cardinal Fleury remarked of the Abbé's de St. Piere's proposal, "Admirable; save for one omission; I find no provision for sending missionaries to convert the heart of princess": "No project however ingenious has any chance of success which does not provide for missionaries who will secure a change of heart among the sovereign peoples with whom the issue now rests."

"FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW."

IT is a relief to turn from articles that bear upon the more serious aspects of the war to find humour, pathos and wonderfully true if crude criticism in the letters from the soldier in the trenches. Mr. James Milne has apparently made it his business to acquaint himself with the mind of the common soldier and he shows him in a good light when he speaks of "The Soldier in His Letters." He is thinking of the old times as distinct from Kitchener's Army. Of course much allowance must be made for exaggeration and the desire to create a dramatic effect.

He is particularly sensitive about his appearance. "We try desperately hard to keep clean. A few minutes halt near any water finds all the troops with towels and soap scrambling for a wash. What a scurry when the order is given to fall in!" "I have not," says another, "had a chance of a wash for a week. The last wash I had was after twenty-four chaps had washed in the same bucket."

Food too is important. A hussar laments "We had two chickens ready for the stew-pot when the Germans opened fire with their big guns. You should have seen us scatter, and we had to leave our dinner which was very sad." Jam is essential to the British soldier and he is very annoyed if in the rough and tumble the pot gets smashed and the whole kit gets "muckered up." To get your uniform "muckered up" would be the last word in misfortunes. One of the Grenadier Guards whose attention to personal appearance was somewhat abnormal was noticed one day to be in a fluster. "Are you hit!" he was asked: "no," he said. "What is it then?" "This infernal tie is not straight," he replied and he proceeded to adjust it, still under fire. But this was nothing to the annoyance of the Tommy who had a flesh wound that destroyed a tattooed butterfly of which he had been very proud.

He is a humanitarian. Speaking of his horse one says "Dolly goes very well. She does not always get corn so she is a bit thin. I

pinch the smallest thing for her, if it be only a muddy crust." Another groans "They have shot my greatest friend from under me, my horse Minnie, the most faithful animal in the world. God forgives them for I never will."

Humour of course is a common element in the character of the soldier. A reservist sergeant who had been a ticket collector was in charge of a platoon which made some German prisoners; the method of calling them to surrender that leaped from his lips was "Tickets please." Examples might be multiplied.

He meets death like a hero. "John Ruskin's heart would have stirred for the Lancashire Fusilier who, with the ghastly wounds in his breast was calmly reading "The Crown of Wild Olive." A man of adventurous spirit had had several "near shaves" and at last was shot clean through the body. His comrades ran to him, raised him and wanted him to go back, but he answered "No, let me be; the beggars have done me in this time. Get these chaps away, because they will be good for something again," he added about two other wounded men; "as for me, hoist me, quick give me my rifle, and I'll give them Bosches another round." So he did, and so he died and a more heroic death it would be hard to find "Be brave and die like a man," said one fellow to another; "our time has come." They shook hands and they died like men. And a better test than he applies both to himself and others could not be found.

Are they good sportsmen, meaning do they always play the game? His tenderness of heart is always evident. His chivalry to women and his love for children add refinement to his rugged bearing towards other things.

William Greswell writing about "Our Colonies and the War" certainly does not disguise his feelings towards Germany. In language almost lurid he heaps invective upon them not simply because of the present European happenings but because of their behaviour in the colonies. The thought of it all—of a cabinet minister recalling his great indebtedness to German learning and the continued applause and adulation heaped upon her teachers and universities—makes him long for the practical colonial way of handling things. He deprecates the mother country's gentle dealing in the question of Free Trade and Preference and considers that after the war a much more enlightened reading of the claims of the colonies for Protection will be necessary.

Mr. John B. C. Kershaw deals with the "Scientific and Engineering Aspects of the War" and reviews some of the recent developments under the following heads:—

1. The development of the petrol-motor and its application to land-transport and aviation work.

2. The discovery and use of smokeless powders and of high explosives.
3. The application of inflammable liquids and poisonous gases to trench-warfare and the possible means of defence against these latest German methods of attack.
4. The legal and moral aspects of some of the more recent developments of land-warfare.

Unfortunately the spirit of invention as described here has but added cruelty to the already cruel sport of war, but the writer we are glad to note promises a future article showing how invention has been turned to the amelioration of the ghastly results of war.

The appearance of Mr. Clement Shorter's *George Borrow and His Circle*, with several other books on the same subject, has suggested Mr. Augusti Ralli's very interesting article on George Borrow. Borrow is, all well agree, one of the most fascinating characters in the English Literature of the Nineteenth Century. Born at East Dereham in Norfolk two years before Trafalgar, his boyhood saw the last phase of the Napoleonic struggle. Borrow himself was intimately concerned with the great war, for his father Thomas Borrow was a captain in the Militia, and his duties were those of a recruiting officer, which obliged him to travel up and down England and Scotland. These itineraries doubtless gave young Borrow that taste for wandering which made him what he was.

Early in his career, Borrow's family removed to Edinburgh where he received the elements of education at the High School. Later on, we find him at Norwich Grammar School. But Borrow's indiscriminate mass of information was not the result of a 'sound Public School education,' but rather the outcome of Bohemian excursions into the high-ways and by-ways of knowledge. On leaving school, he was articled to a solicitor, but law failed to attract him, and the time which ought to have been devoted to Blackstone and other legal luminaries was spent on the study of languages and on an even more seductive branch of knowledge, "the noble art of self-defence." In both he seems to have made good progress; at all events his friend William Taylor of Norwich credits him with a knowledge of twelve languages—English, Welsh, Erse, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, Danish, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian and French—while his books testify to his knowledge, and interest in sparring.

The specialist may perhaps be pardoned for suggesting that Borrow's knowledge of philology has been sadly exaggerated. His knowledge of Romany has been shown to have been very deficient, and his philology in general shows that he had little or no knowledge of the principles governing the scientific study of comparative linguistics.

For this he can scarcely be blamed, his methods were those of his own day ; and men who had a much better chance than Borrow, of learning the correct method showed themselves equally at a loss in the question of etymologising. This point need hardly have been laboured, were it not that tiros still tend to regard George Borrow as a philologist. His claim to recognition, however, rests on a quite different basis.

In 1824, Borrow went to London in the hope of being able to support himself by literature. He applied to Sir Richard Philips, who scarcely gave him that encouragement which the youthful Borrow felt he had a right to expect. In revenge Borrow pilloried Philips in *Lavengro*. Philips really seems to have treated Borrow quite well, but Borrow though scarcely to be reckoned in the company of the bards had more than a fair share of that irritability of temperament classically associated with the immortals.

Borrow's literary adventure in London proved a failure, and finally he saw himself compelled to take to the road on a fine May afternoon, not altogether destitute, for a wind-fall had put twenty pounds into his pocket. With this to increase his faith and diminish his wants, he sallied forth on the broad highway, where he was destined to meet all sorts of interesting people who live for us in his books, from a strolling tinker blackguard like Jack Slingsby—'the Flaming Tinman'—to the incomparable Isopel Berners. Borrow's experiences in these wanderings form the subject of *Lavengro* and *Romany Rye*.

In 1833, a new period in Borrow's life begins ; in this year he was appointed agent to the British and Foreign Bible Society, in which capacity he visited Russia, Spain, Portugal, and Morocco. In 1840, instead of Isopel Berners, he married the well-dowered widow of a naval officer, whose jointure enabled him to settle down in Norfolk as a country squire, and turn his attention to literary work. Here he produced the series of books which was to make him famous—*The Gipsies in Spain* (1841), *The Bible in Spain* (1843), *Lavengro* (1851), *Romany Rye* (1857) and *Wild Wales* (1862). In 1881 he died in his seventy-ninth year.

We have only been able to give a brief sketch of Borrow's life but the rest of the acts of George Henry Borrow and all that he did—are they not written in Dr. Knapp's *Life of Borrow* and Mr. Clement Shorter's *George Borrow and His Circle*, to which we direct our readers.

Mr. Ralli has something to say on the description of Borrow as 'a cross between Carlyle and Sir Richard Burton, with a touch of the Brontës.' It is not, he says, easy to trace any resemblance to the last, save that he had something of the Celtic melancholy. Nor has the simplicity of Borrow's style much in common with Carlyle's, though it must be confessed that he shares with Carlyle the possession of a

splenetic temperament. On the other hand, the lives of Burton and Borrow have much in common. "In both, a desultory education fostered a love of wandering for which enormous physical strength and indomitable courage fitted them. Burton loved to disguise himself, Borrow to affect mystery and to assume that he knew all and was known of none."

Borrow's mind was poetical; in him the intellectual was subordinated to the emotional. "To think, with Borrow, was an infallible sign of disease; his metaphysical questionings display a mind moving in a circle."

Defoe and Borrow have been described by Watts-Dunton as masters of "the psychological kind of autobiographical fiction," and Borrow recognised Defoe as his master. But there are differences; Borrow has not the knack of 'humanising the adventures of his heroes; or of making it appear that they worked a great life lesson for the man who experienced them.'

Mr. Ralli has many suggestive remarks on the alleged sympathy of Borrow for "blackguard specimens of humanity," on Borrow's affinity in some respects with Herodotus, on his fusion of fact and imagination, on his application of the principle that 'circumstances are destiny,' on the unnatural calm that broods over Borrow's writings and lastly on the rhythm and flexibility of his style.

COLLEGE NOTES.

THE affiliation of the Women's Christian College, which was recommended at the last meeting of the Senate of the Madras University, will naturally create a desire in former students to know more about an institution whose ultimate aims and aspirations on behalf of the people of Southern India are not different from those of this College. Miss MacDougall, the Principal of the new College, gives the following account in the *Madras Diocesan Magazine* :—

The Women's Christian College, Madras, which began work in July, 1915, is the outcome of several years of discussion and preparation by members of nearly all the missionary societies of South India. The largely increasing throng of women students anxious to read for the degrees of the Madras University consists chiefly of pupils of Mission High Schools, and it seemed to those who had brought them so far forward in their studies both that university education should be brought within their reach, and that it should be given under Christian influence. More than one men's college had generously opened its classes to matriculated women, but it was strongly felt by those who knew the women students best that mere silent and

unparticipating attendance in a large class of men constituted by no means a satisfactory university training for them. Nearly all that we in England consider valuable in university life was impossible to them under such conditions.

The necessity of Christian influence and teaching was even more apparent than the desirability of a separate college for women. The years of university studies normally fall in the critical period of the personal religious development, when the young man or woman is facing the social and spiritual problems of life, and when, as a rule, he adopts the point of view which will be his for many years, if not for all his life. If at this period of eager intellectual interest and manifold activity, religion is avowedly ignored as forming no part of his necessary training, and as a matter of no interest to his instructors, it is very natural that it should seem to be one of the 'childish things' put away when maturity is reached. It is most important both that those who have faith should at this time lay a firm grasp on the intellectual principles which underlie the doctrines which they have perhaps blindly adopted, and that those who have not yet attained to a personal religious life should be shown, as John Bunyan says, 'the want and worth of Christ.' In the case of women there is still more urgent need. As the intellectual strain is greater to them than to men and as their time is more fully occupied, religion is in still greater danger of sinking below the horizon. Help lies not alone in definite Bible teaching, valuable as this is, but also in the general attitude towards religion of each teacher, and in her power to show in her lectures the vital connexion between 'godliness and sound learning.'

Moreover, it was hoped that by means of this College a class of women might be trained able to move alongside with men in all the many efforts which are now being made for the moral and social betterment of India. There is much social service that cannot be done at all except by women, and for which, in especial, women are needed who possess the balanced judgment, the wide sympathies, the power of perseverance and the alertness of intellect which it is the work of university studies to produce. Few greater misfortunes could befall a country than a deep gulf between the intellectual level of women and of men, and to this India with its hundreds of thousands of highly educated men and its handful of struggling discouraged women students seemed doomed.

The missionary societies of South India therefore decided to unite for the purpose of founding a thoroughly equipped Women's College where the teachers should be university women from Great Britain and America, living in close contact with their students and regarding their work from a distinctly religious standpoint. No individual society could furnish funds for such a college; for even in England, where college fees are very high, no institution of university rank is wholly self-supporting, and in India the amount paid by the students in fees is almost negligible compared with the cost of maintaining a fully equipped college. But in addition to this practical consideration, there was a strong desire among the societies to combine for many common ends and by closer intercourse to arrive at a clearer understanding of each other's principles and ideals. About three years

were spent in fruitful discussion, and in 1914 the College began to take shape. At that time ten societies pledged themselves to regular financial support and two others have joined since.

The College opened at the beginning of the present academic year and can now look back to three months of work. We are established in a house let to us for three years, 'Hyde Park' in the Poonamallee High Road, a large bungalow surrounded by a most beautiful compound which claims to possess the finest banyan tree in Madras. Twenty-five of the forty students and the five full-time professors live together in this building which also contains the lecture rooms and library. Such an arrangement is possible only by the strictest economy of space; and we all look forward to building some day a real college of our own which shall make many things practicable which now are impossible for lack of room.

The students are gathered from all parts of South India and represent many branches of the Christian Church, besides including six Hindus. They have all matriculated in the University of Madras and are working towards the B.A. degree. One student intends to take that examination next year and ten others in 1917, so that it will not be very long, we hope, before the College begins to send into the world 'persons duly qualified to serve God in Church and State,' and so to repay, in some degree, the efforts and sacrifices made by the missionary societies on its behalf.

The subjects studied are those prescribed by the University: English, several vernaculars and other languages, History, Ancient and Modern, Logic, Mathematics and Botany. In time we hope to make adequate provision for the teaching of some other branches of science, but that is impossible for the present, and the three students who have chosen those subjects attend classes in Physics and Chemistry at Wesley College. In addition to the subjects required by the University, Scripture teaching is given to all students three times a week, twice to the whole college together, and once to smaller groups divided according to church affinities. The Hindu students are taught apart and show a great interest in their weekly lesson. Also the whole college meets for morning prayers and all the students in residence for evening prayers. Once a week a service of intercession is held on behalf of our soldiers and sailors and this is attended by nearly all the students.

The students have taken kindly to community life, unfamiliar as the idea has been to Indian women of the past, and they take very great interest in the various clubs and societies which they have organized. As three vernaculars are current in the College, English is necessarily the medium of all public intercourse; but neither this difficulty nor very considerable differences in wealth and background, has hindered the growth of a true collegiate spirit of mutual friendliness and loyalty. The students work only too hard and it is difficult to convince them that a limited number of hours of concentrated study produce a better result than many hours of languid poring over a book and that exercise is as necessary as industry. But there is much merriment and cheerfulness in the College and the experiment of allowing a very high degree of freedom has so far answered very well.

Of course, the testing time of the College is far hence, but we trust that we are not mistaken in looking back with encouragement on our first term and in looking with hope on to the future.

How very alive our students are to controversies exciting the minds of their elders is testified to by the subjects which they choose for debate in their college societies. The rules laid down by themselves for the conduct of these societies prohibit the discussion of questions of a directly political or religious character, but the members are not prevented from discussing principles which underlie present day controversies from the vantage-ground of students who do not feel called upon immediately to take up a definite attitude towards them. Echoes of the movement for a separate province and a separate University for the Andhras or the Telugu-speaking people of the Northern Circars have reached the ears of our students: accordingly at the joint debate of the Associated Societies of the College held on the 27th October, they discussed the question whether language was a sound principle of division for administrative purposes. The leader of the debate contended that it was, and based his arguments upon the necessity for a clear mark of division between province and province and the opportunity which would be given for the development of the vernaculars and mentioned the political divisions of Europe as a case in point. He also referred to recent experiments in constituting Indian provinces and districts on the principle of linguistic unity,—a policy which harmonised with the ideal of a federated India. His opponents emphasised the need of a common language as a bond of nationality and uttered a warning against stereotyping and multiplying differences, and pointed out that owing to the intermixture of peoples speaking different languages it was not possible to constitute language areas which even in cases where they existed did not coincide with geographical divisions.

Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddi who presided complimented the young speakers on the skill and force with which they presented their arguments, and said that he was not sure that a reconstitution of provinces on the linguistic basis would stand in the way of the realization of national unity. It might foster a kind of local patriotism which need not be antagonistic but might be contributory to a larger patriotism. It might lead to an intensive development along national lines, in the broadest sense of the word.

THE presence in Madras of Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddi (who by the bye has become a hero among our students) was also utilised by the College Brotherhood for stimulating interest in the social problems which it is the aim of the Brotherhood to induce the students to tackle. At a meeting held in the Anderson Hall in the 30th ultimo under the

presidency of Mr. Ramalinga Reddi, Mr. P. Chenchiah, B.A., M.L., Advocate of the High Court, made a leading speech in which he observed that since he had left College, a welcome change had come over the attitude of students towards the hard facts of life. They no longer led a monastic life but desired to understand and to improve social conditions. What was wanted was that this desire should be encouraged and directed into fruitful channels. The conditions of pauperism and the evils of intemperance might well be investigated both personally and statistically. Knowledge was best disseminated through the vernaculars. The short story, the novel and the stage were suitable means of creating a public opinion which would purge public life of cant and hypocrisy. In the course of the discussion which followed, it was suggested that students who wished to study the beggar problem should each watch and care for a single beggar instead of indulging in sporadic attempts at charity. It was however pleaded that the work of preparation for university examinations crushed out all generous ambitions and though the spirit was willing the flesh was weak. In spite of this, leisure moments should be devoted to inspiring studies such as Mill, Burke and Mazzini. The sacrifice of one's leisure for social work found its reward in the purity and elevation of one's life. The removal of social helotry and the elevation of the depressed classes could not be achieved except through kindness untainted by superciliousness. Vacations were most profitably spent by undertaking small schemes of propagandist work. Wherever a number of students lived close to one another, there a Night School should be started. The educative value of hospital visitation was also great. All this should be done without sacrificing one's chances of achieving academic distinction.

Mr. Chenchiah in replying expressed agreeable surprise at the combination which he witnessed of enthusiasm with practical spirit.

Mr. Ramalinga Reddi said that he was glad to observe that instead of indulging in vague futile generalities our students were trying to handle concrete social problems. He sympathised with them in their complaints as to the demands made upon their energies by educationists who were not able to understand their difficulties. He thought that no professor could be expected to do permanent good who did not sympathise with his students both in their individual and in their national aspirations. He would give students liberty to act according to their convictions especially in matters of social reform. Social Service demanded organisation, and organization implied implicit obedience on the part of volunteers. Mr. Ramalinga Reddi also suggested that the Secretary of the Night School should be free to call upon any student whom he thought fit to serve in the Night School, and that his call should be backed up by public opinion among the students.

WE have before this referred in these notes to a Night School conducted by one of our Intermediate students in Georgetown. It has now completed the third year of its existence. The daily attendance during the year was only twenty, but the smallness of the number was compensated by, and indeed was brought about by stringency in enforcing, regularity of attendance. A Night School can never be said to yield good results if there is a constant change in the personnel of the taught. A school with a few boys attending regularly from year's end to year's end is a more successful institution than one in which large numbers come and go without receiving any permanent impression. The strength of the school was also affected by the removal from the roll of boys attending day-schools for private tuition. For such boys a separate class has since been started. That the teachers took personal interest in their pupils is evident from visits to parents whose sons stopped away from school even for a day or two, from excursions to places of interest in Madras in which the pupils were accompanied by their teachers and from such fillips to regularity of attendance as magic lantern exhibitions or the distribution of sweets. Though the school is intended for poor boys irrespective of creed or caste, the orthodoxy of the proprietor of the Hindu Arya Mission Institution, in whose premises the Night School was conducted, and the inability of the conductors to pay higher rent for another building has prevented the admission of Panchama boys who more than all other classes require the help which the Night School is calculated to give. Want of funds has prevented the school from carrying out its objects more fully and developing it as the manager would very much like to do.

The following note from Mr. Templeton speaks for itself. It is to be hoped that during the current year the school will meet with more liberal support from the thoughtful public. I have had the pleasure and surprise of visiting this little Night School and have the utmost confidence in the work which it is doing as well as in the men who carry it on. If people knew the difficulties under which it is done, the self-sacrificing labour of the teachers, and the zeal and earnestness of the pupils they would not hesitate to make possible the extension of its influence.

The Convocation of the University comes off on Thursday the 25th instant, and the usual reception of the new graduates of the College by the Professors and the College Day Committee will be held in the College Hall on the following Friday at 5 P. M. Attempts will be made to distribute the invitation so as to reach every Christian College graduate of the year, but if any one is not so reached will he please regard himself as hereby invited.

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*ABRAHAM'S VISION OF GOD.**

BY FERRAND E. CORLEY, M. A.

Genesis xviii. 25. Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right ?

It is not my purpose to-night to enter into a discussion of the ethical problem or problems propounded in the passage before us, though their interest is by no means trifling; nor shall I touch, except incidentally, on Abraham's daring (as many would consider it) in bringing the actions of the Almighty to the touchstone of his own canons of right, though this again is worthy of investigation, as one of the noblest reaches of human faith in the Divine which the Old Testament records for us. Rather I propose to review the episode with you as an example of religious experience, striking and typical, in the appreciation of which we shall need to consider what we are to understand by such terms as "inspiration" and "revelation" of the Divine.

In the first place, what are we to make of the setting of the conversation? On the face of it, the narrative indicates that "three men" came to Abraham's tent (Gen. xviii. 2) and accepted his hospitality (xviii. 8); that two of the three were angels, who were commissioned to destroy Sodom and to save Lot and his household (xviii. 16, 22; xix. 1 ff.); while the third is no less than God Himself, Who remains to tell Abraham of His purpose of judgment and destruction, and sustains His part in the remarkable colloquy from which our text is taken (xviii. 17, 22, 23-33). In other words, God is represented as appearing to

* A sermon preached in College Church,

Abraham's sight and conversing with him as really, as objectively, as you and I appear to each other and may interchange spoken words to-night.

Now it is possible to take the narrative at its face value, and to say that God did thus appear in bodily form to the "Father of the Faithful"—a mode of revelation which it is only too evident He does not practise now. Whether we attempt to conjecture the reasons that govern it, or content ourselves with affirming that they are inscrutable, the difference between such a plenitude of manifestation in the past and the ways of God's working in later ages is so great (constituting indeed an inverted "progress" of revelation), it involves so many difficulties, that probably few will care to accept, without qualification, this literal reading of the story. Indeed, the "mythical" element, as we may call it, has been regarded by some—erroneously, but intelligibly—as a reason for discarding the story altogether.

On the other hand, it may be argued that the setting of the story is symbolic, dramatic, and in no way to be treated as historic; that what really happened was transacted entirely within Abraham's spiritual consciousness, but that the author of Genesis was impelled to present his account of it in this graphic and objective dress for reasons similar to those which led Jesus, when relating to His disciples the course of His own temptation in the wilderness, to speak as though Satan had stood beside Him in physical form and addressed Him in an audible voice.* If such an interpretation be accepted, we are clearly free, in the one case as in the other, to dismiss the circumstantial setting, and concentrate our attention on the spiritual processes and results therein presented.

Perhaps some may incline to an intermediate view, holding that while we have no right to expect that God will thus appear visibly and audibly before us, while indeed it is evident that He does not thus appear to-day, nevertheless in the childhood of the world He may have so manifested Himself to such as Abraham as to give them the impression that they had seen Him and heard His voice, in a way which is not so much impossible as unnecessary for us, whose ideas of God are less crude, more completely

* Matth^{ew} iv. 1—11; Luke iv. 1—13.

spiritual (perhaps, more logically spiritual) than those of our fathers. Even so, in addressing a tender infant a father will use an idiom and a vocabulary which both would scorn to adopt when the child has grown up to a full command of the mother-tongue. But here again, though less drastically, the setting is treated as secondary, as unessential; we are invited, as before, to cut away the circumstantial details, and to find the permanent meaning and value of the story in Abraham's spiritual experience.

It is from this point of view, then, that I wish you to ponder the episode, which I have ventured to describe as not merely striking but typical, opening before us no *terra incognita* of the soul, but a good land and a large which we also, if we have Abraham's faith, are privileged to enter in and possess. In consonance with this aim, let us first rehearse the story once more, divested of its anthropomorphic phraseology, in the more abstract terms that would suit the religious experience of our own day. We see in Abraham a man who fears God, and recognises that the whole natural order is controlled and directed by God—by a God of righteousness, a God Whose Providence watches also over man and has guided Abraham's own life, and Whose very holiness precludes Him from regarding with indifference the iniquity of man, though His longsuffering may at times encourage the belief that He winks at wrong-doing. This man is well aware of the moral condition of Sodom—a city in which, not for the first time in history nor the last, material prosperity, the energetic life of the town, had flourished apace, without any corresponding development of religion and morals. Civilisation, in fact, had outrun religion. The old, simple ideas of right and wrong, the sanctities of home-life and traditional piety, had been overborne or forgotten in the rush of money-getting, the desire of pleasure, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life. Arts and crafts, the quickening of knowledge, the broadening influence of a superior culture, did not conceal from Abraham's discriminating eye the moral rottenness of this fair-seeming fruit of the Dead Sea. Lust and greed, the temper that fears not God neither regardeth man, the secrecy which town-life encourages, had loosened the anchorage of men's souls, and given them over to sensual indulgence and debauchery. His forebodings for the city were the more poignant because his nephew Lot, once

the partner of his own spiritual aspirations, willing to renounce with him the snares of their old Chaldean home that they might serve God more truly in the freedom of pastoral life, had of late been unable to resist the advantages offered by Sodom, and Abraham had reason—only too good reason, as the sequel showed—to fear that its contamination might have infected the once righteous Lot and his family. Could God allow such wickedness to go unpunished? Could He, if He really regarded righteousness, allow such a sink of iniquity indefinitely to pollute the country? As he ponders the question, it is borne in upon Abraham's mind that judgment must surely fall and consume the city. The means matters not—plague, earthquake, conflagration: by some such physical devastation the righteous Ruler of the universe will assuredly blot out Sodom from the cities of the earth.

But a further question rises in Abraham's mind. Conscious as he is that Sodom is corrupt, he is not so pessimistic as to believe that every individual in the city is penetrated with the corruption. Unhappily, the righteous are but too apt to be censorious. It is the mark of Abraham's greatness of soul that he is fain to believe that even in wicked Sodom there may be a few who have kept their garments undefiled. And what of them? must the innocent suffer with the guilty? Abraham is not blind to the facts of life. Every one of us must, in some measure, suffer for the sins of others, even as we gain by their goodness. We have our corporate, as well as our individual responsibility. But the principle must not be pushed to extremes. Better, surely, that half-a-dozen miscreants should escape from justice than that one innocent man should be condemned and punished in error. And if a human judge, wielding power in his little orb, may reason thus, shall we think that the Judge of all can be less regardful of the innocent? Surely not. Abraham's conscience leaps up in eager disavowal of such a thought. Certainly Sodom's unnameable abominations call for condign vengeance; yet, God, being God—holy and righteous, and therefore mindful of the pure in heart—will assuredly spare even that sink of corruption if there be found in it—in it, not of it—true hearts enough to turn aside His otherwise righteous vengeance. Ah, but how many must be found? Will fifty suffice? will forty? Yes, surely; for the sake of forty God will spare the

doomed abode of sin. Suppose there are only thirty—or only twenty. Sodom is certainly a bad place; even Abraham is not sanguine of finding a score of true men in its midst. How if the muster produce no more than ten? Granted that the promiscuous and indiscriminate destruction of evil and good together is immoral, that the very righteousness of God compels me (so Abraham reasons) to believe that He will avert the threatened catastrophe for the sake even of half a score who “know not the deep things of Satan,” yet this principle also must have a limit. You cannot continue indefinitely to respite the wrongdoers in their thousands for any little handful of upright men. Should the upright in Sodom be less than ten—and Abraham buries his face in his hands, as he recognises, with a shudder of acquiescence, that such a handful is too small to rescue Sodom from its fate.

This, I take it, or something like it, is what passed through Abraham's mind as he contemplated the problem of Sodom in the light of God's government of the world. We trace in Abraham the lineaments of God's image in man. His faith takes its complexion from the God he has learnt to know—righteous, and doing righteousness, and by no means prone to spare the guilty, yet withal compassionate and gracious, willing rather to leave the sinner untouched than lightly to blot out the innocent. In our ignorance, our at best imperfect knowledge, we must await the event to see what God's judgment will be. But one thing we know beforehand: He will do what is right. There are some things which nothing could make right: we know He will not do them.*

Applying the same general principles let us proceed to reinterpret another episode in the life of Abraham in a way to bring it into a form less remote from our own experience. Let

* In passing, let a protest be entered against the mischievous, not to say ludicrous fashion, in which our text is often wrested from its context. When you are asked to believe that God will in fact do something or other that you cannot by any known canon describe or recognise as right, this text will be quoted against you—“Shall not the Judge of the whole earth do right?” as though God, by doing it, could make a thing right which is not right in itself, and the action of God must not be subjected to any moral test. This is the precise antithesis of Abraham's faith and of the story here before us. To quote the words in such a sense is to travesty Scripture, and to dishonour God by the implication that His acts are not amenable to the high demands of morality.

us try to enter into Abraham's experience as he is moved to offer Isaac on the altar.* There is an instinct in man—a true instinct, surely—that God would have us give Him our very best. But it is often perverted into that vilest of heresies that God grudges us the good things life has to offer, and wantonly demands their surrender as soon as He sees we love them. (The classic story of the ring of Polycrates, as Herodotus tells it,† like many another legend, and the widespread belief in the “Evil Eye,” testify to the prevalence of this human error.) In keeping with this monstrous belief, the practice of sacrificial infanticide has blackened many lands, and not least the lands and peoples which the Old Testament brings before us. As the little babes, born of our love, and twining themselves more surely about our hearts every day they grow, are dearer to us than the apple of our eye, dearer than life itself, it must needs be—if God really means to despoil us of our best—that He requires us to give Him these precious lives, though our heart's blood go with them. Moloch and Chemosh, therefore, and Mother Ganga, yes, and it must be confessed Yahweh of Israel, were again and again honoured by their devotees with such inhuman sacrifices. *Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.* Is it any wonder that Abraham, brought up amid such conceptions of God, and covenanted to serve Him always, to know no home but the wanderer's till God should give him a home, was moved to offer Isaac? The only son, all the more precious for the long, childless years that had gone before his birth, all the more tenderly associated with his father by contrast with the wayward Ishmael whom faithless Sarah's misspent art had raised up to trouble them, Isaac was unspeakably dear. Surely, then, religion must demand that Isaac be sacrificed. So far, the common perversion of humanity's instinct for God has carried him. But it is not for nothing that Abraham, all these years, has walked and talked with God. Do you think, as he traversed the weary miles to Mount Moriah, as at last he left the little company behind and toiled up the hill alone with the son of his love, Abraham did not turn the thing over every way in his mind, not simply seeking a way of escape from an ordeal so terrible, but asking himself whether it was even thinkable that

* Genesis xxii. 1—12.† Herodotus iii. 40—43: cf. Bury, *History of Greece*, c. vi., p. 234.

Jehovah of the covenant could find pleasure in a rite from which mere humanity revolted? would not such pleasure stamp Him a devil rather than God? The battle between the old, pagan belief and the inner light of the knowledge of God is long and stern; but at the last, decisive moment truth wins. Do you ask me how I envisage that scene by the altar on the height? I see no angel in the sky; I hear no voice vibrating through the heavens. There is no vision but the vision of Heavenly Love, no voice but a good man's conscience guided by God. As the old man binds his son upon the altar, and raises the knife to slay, I see a splendour of devotion to the Highest we well might emulate. But I see a yet more splendid faith as the uplifted hand falls to his side, as he turns overwhelmed from the altar, and tramples under foot for ever that ancient, pagan blasphemy against the God of love.*

Somewhat summarily it may be said that our current interpretations of revelation are too apt to assume and to suggest that in it man is entirely passive, merely receiving the manifestation which God in His inscrutable wisdom is pleased to grant, in much the same way as he sees the rainbow or the lightning, or hears the thunder or the roaring of the seas. If that were all, if revelation depended entirely on the incalculable activity of God, you and I could do nothing but wait, in humble patience or in apathy, till such time as He might be pleased to grant the vision to our eyes. There would be no room for any seeking after God, nor indeed (for most of us, it would seem) any ground for hoping that any such vision will ever be vouchsafed. On the other hand, much modern interpretation, especially where the subject is approached from the standpoint or in the light of comparative religion, seems to suggest that the only activity is on the part of man—that God does nothing, gives nothing, beyond allowing the seeker of greater insight to discover what is hidden from his fellows. But such a view, besides leaving us

* Something may be said here with reference to modern criticism. I have assumed throughout that Abraham is a historic character. Such I believe he is; but some doubt it. But my present argument would not lose, it would rather gain, in force if we assumed him to be the dramatic product of the inspired mind of the "Moses" who wrote the book of Genesis. Unless you deny the inspiration of the book *in toto*, the assumption sets us completely free to go behind the dramatic setting of the story and to transmute into the terms of our own experience the results of the author's endeavour to interpret the nature of God.

very much at the mercy of false prophets, who mistook for real discoveries of God the play of their own fancy, would breed a deadly scepticism, the question whether the God thus held to be entirely passive was not in fact entirely non-existent, the whole process of boasted discovery being in fact no more than the exercise of man's imagination, the supposed revelations no more than the creations of the subtler minds among us. It is surely truer to the history of mankind, especially as we trace the progress of revelation through the annals of Israel and of the Christian Church, to recognise that there is a twofold activity involved, God Himself actively directing the thought of minds which are actively seeking to know Him and to understand His purposes. In this way we can explain the mingling of truth and error in the revelations of the past, in so far as the minds that groped after God, if haply they might find Him, were able only in part to rise above what they had received from their own day and generation and to enter into some fresh knowledge of the Unseen.

On this view it would appear that there is something for us also to do if we would know God, beyond cultivating a passive receptivity in case He may be pleased to reveal some truth to us. The consideration of the religious experience of the saints of old suggests that we may hope, each in his own life, to learn something of God. Jeremiah teaches us to look for a personal apprehension of the divine, the revelation of His will in our inmost spirits. Joel, in a striking prophecy which S. Peter, viewing it in the light of the immediate experience of the Church, ratifies and hands on to us, tells of a revelation of God no longer confined to a select, prophetic few but shed broadcast upon all the people, old and young, men and women alike: * and the long history of the Church has amplified the truth of the prophet's anticipation. And does not our Lord Himself teach the same lesson? He speaks of the true worshippers who worship God "neither in this mountain nor in Jerusalem" but in spirit and in truth. Nor can we believe that the promise is limited to the Twelve when He speaks of the Holy Spirit Whose beneficent work shall be to "guide you into all truth."

* Joel ii. 28, 29; Acts ii. 14-36.

Are we then to expect that every-day men and women like ourselves may have the vision of God? So it would appear, if we seek the guidance of His Spirit. Not in any external manifestation, not in any mystic trance, not in any mechanical fashion like those who open their Bibles at random for a word of guidance in some perplexity, but in the quiet of our own hearts, as we meditate upon His love and holiness, on what we have already learnt of His nature and His ways, we may believe that He will so guide our own thoughts as to lead us into all truth. This might seem to leave us dangerously at the mercy of our own errant fancies; but it is not really so. We cannot believe that all who in any sense knew God were exempt from error in the past, nor can we expect ourselves to be exempt. But S. John reminds us that we have a touchstone to discern the true from the false. "Every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God: and every spirit which confesseth not Jesus is not of God." * If you apply this test, not as a dry formula, but as a suggestive method of discrimination, you need not go wrong. Your own thoughts and convictions, the fruit of your own study of God's truth and your own meditation—do they square with all that God has made known to the souls of men through the ages? The man who believes that God will reveal Himself personally to him should be the last to disregard the testimony of others, the witness of the Church. Does not the very assurance that seals my faith belong equally to theirs? "In Him is no variableness nor shadow that is cast by turning." God is not to be thought of as presenting Himself in different colours to different beholders, like the chameleon in the fable. While we earnestly look for an immediate revelation to ourselves, we cannot afford to ignore what He has already made known to His servants. If we honestly test the spirits that ply us with suggestions, we need not fear but that we shall hear among them the Spirit of the living God.

In these days of darkness and perplexity, in an age when the advance of democracy places such dire responsibilities, for good or evil, in the hands of commonplace men and women, do we not need above all things that inspiration of all mankind, that revelation of God to the humble, which will co-ordinate into one great

* 1 John iv. 1-6.

purpose of good the multifarious strivings of men? Such a general revelation, such a universal understanding of His divine purpose in relation to our individual lives, the Scriptures teach us to expect. But it can only become a reality as every man for himself seeks to know Him and Jesus Christ Whom He has sent. While we pray for the general outpouring of the Spirit in which our old men shall see visions and our young men shall dream dreams, it is our part, each one for himself, to seek to enjoy that personal vision of God which shall make us one with all the saints and prepare us for our own part in the fulfilment of His universal purpose.*

PERSONALITIES AS MAKERS OF HISTORY

By P. S. RAMAKRISHNA IYER, M.A., L.T.

I

It is beyond doubt that the circumstance that invests history with an interest, a charm, an ethical value of its own and at the same time with a mystery which few can fathom, will be found in the fascination exercised by great personalities and in the large part played by them on the historic stage. It has been truly said that the life of a great man is the "dowry of a nation." The inspiration that a great personality leaves behind him, the influence that he exercises by word and deed, is something that

* Considerations of space forbid a detailed treatment, but the following episodes may be suggested as suitable for such an analysis as is above applied to the experience of Abraham.

(1) The prophet Nathan rebukes David's sin—not because he receives a "vision," but because his conscience will not allow him to keep silence on a scandal that has become notorious. (2 Samuel xi. and xii. 1—15. Compare John the Baptist and Herod.)

(2) Jonah and his gourd. Compunction for his own petulant outburst reminds Jonah that his compassion is but the faint, far-off reflexion of the infinite compassion of God. (Jonah iv.)

(3) Hosea finds in his inextinguishable love for an unfaithful wife a type of God's unchanging love for faithless Israel. (Hosea i—iii.)

(4) Elijah, fleeing in panic from Jezebel, hears in the depths of reaction the inner voice, reminding him of all that God can do, and quickening him to new endeavours to secure Jehovah's triumph in Israel. (1 Kings xix. 1—18: and the sequel.)

it is difficult for an individual or a nation to resist. He has an insight into the present, a vision into the future, a moral force, an intellectual acumen, a power of inspiration that enables him to exercise on his contemporaries and on posterity an influence that is at once deep and abiding. Dwelling on the character of a great man this is what Emerson says:¹ "I count him a great man who inhabits a higher sphere of thought into which other men rise with labour and difficulty; he has but to open his eyes to see things in a true light and in large relations; whilst they must make painful corrections and keep a vigilant eye on many sources of error." It is a fact that history is chiefly concerned with the actions of men united in bodies as well as with the influence of personalities—sublime or sinister—on the conduct of those bodies of men that makes it somewhat perplexing in its character and so difficult to be regarded as a science. Whereas science deals with organic or inorganic objects that may be expected to behave similarly under similar conditions, history has for its subject-matter, nothing less than 'Man', who is endowed with freewill and with subtle qualities of head and heart and about whose conduct under any circumstances it is consequently difficult to predict with anything like certainty or accuracy.

Many are the great personalities that have played an important part in history and influenced the conduct and progress of their fellow-beings. Hence the importance of the personal and biographical element in history. "Instead of saying that the history of mankind is the history of the masses", says Kingsley,² "it would be much more true to say that the history of mankind is the history of its great men." The same idea is expressed by Carlyle in the following impressive passage.³—"For as I take it, Universal History, the history of what man has accomplished in this world is at bottom the history of the great men who have worked here. They were the leaders of men, these great ones; the modellers, patterns and in a wide sense creators of whatsoever the general mass of men contrived to do or to attain; all things that we see standing accomplished in this world are

¹ *Representative Men*—'Uses of great men.'

² Kingsley's *Lectures* p. 329.

³ *Heroes and Hero-worship*, Lecture i.

properly the outer material result, the practical realisation and embodiment of thoughts that dwelt in the great men sent into the world; the soul of the whole world's history, it may justly be considered, was the history of these." While admitting the contribution of great personalities to the making of history in more ways than one, it is also necessary for us to realise that the influence of these personalities is itself subject to various limitations and depends for its success and permanence on conditions of various kinds—that the course of history is influenced by manifold causes—subtle and indefinable as well as manifest and measurable—and that, great men, by themselves, cannot make history to any appreciable extent.

II

Before proceeding to examine the limitations and conditions referred to above, it may not be out of place to consider for a moment what are the kinds of personalities influencing history. In the first place, there is the thinker or philosopher who, by means of his pregnant ideas, influences his age. First of all, there is a class of philosophers—such as Socrates, Seneca, Epictetus, Bacon, Voltaire, Goethe, Carlyle, Ruskin, not to speak of some of the world's great poets, who instead of being mainly concerned with politics, allow their great minds to roam freely over all the wide and varied expanses of life. Having regard to the influence that, by their ideas and ideals, these philosophers exercise on the character, civilisation and moral development of a people, it may not be wrong to say that, at any rate indirectly, the course of history is not a little influenced by them. "How possible it is", says Lord Morley,¹ "nay how inevitable for tremendous political consequences to flow from books and speculations that seem to have nothing to do with politics;" and then he refers to Darwin as a great factor in effecting a change of public temper from the 19th century to the 20th. Secondly, there is a class of philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, Erasmus, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Burke, Bentham, Maine, and Mill, who are directly concerned with politics and by whose ideas the conduct of men is directly influenced.

¹ *Notes on Politics and History.*

To whatever class a thinker may belong, it must be noted that, in the realm of politics and history, the influence of ideas cannot be ignored. The man of ideas is, in the words of Carlyle, "a flowing light fountain." "Ideas" says Lord Acton¹ "give life and motion and traverse seas and frontiers, making it futile to pursue the consecutive order of events in the seclusion of a separate nationality." In one of his *Essays* this is what Froude maintains: "the idea generated in a single mind penetrates the circle of mankind and shapes them afresh after its likeness."

Leaving alone the thinker or philosopher, we have in the second place to consider another class of personalities—the doers, the practical statesmen—who often play such a large part in history either in slowly preparing nations for great movements and crises or when the time is come, in organising and directing such movements. Amongst them may be mentioned such personalities as Pericles, Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Muhammad, Buddha, Hildebrand, Charlemagne, Luther, Henry VIII, William the Silent, Napoleon and Bismarck. The period of each of these personalities will be found to constitute a thrilling or resplendent epoch in the world's history.

III

I will now proceed to examine some of the circumstances by which the influence of personalities is limited and conditioned in history.

In the first place, it must be noted that, if personalities are in any sense the makers of history they are also, in a sense, the products of history. A man is, to a great extent, the product of the age in which he flourishes—of the beliefs and traditions of the ideas and idiosyncracies that characterise it. Even colossal geniuses towering far and away above their contemporaries and leaving an abiding impress of their individuality on the sands of time will on examination be found to be possessed to some extent of the traits peculiar to their age. In the case of Aristotle we find, that in spite of all the depth and shrewdness of his political philosophy, the horizon of his speculations was to some extent bounded by the ideas of the time. To the ancient Greeks a state meant a city-state and Aristotle himself, nursed

¹ *The Study of History*, p. 14

as he had been in the atmosphere of his times, could not rise to a loftier conception. Then again, is not Shakespeare a true child of the Elizabethan age? Are not his plays a reflection of the boundless curiosity, the sanguine self-confidence, the robust national pride, the jubilant patriotism so characteristic of the age? It may thus be seen that if history is made by personalities, personalities are made by history.

In the second place, it may be pointed out that the extent of the influence of a political thinker or of a statesman will depend on the degree of appreciation and recognition that he receives at the hands of the public. For seeds to fructify the soil must be suitable and the atmospheric conditions congenial. In the same way, for the ideas of a philosopher to influence his age or for the measures of a statesman to take root and abide, they must be in general accord with the spirit and tendencies of his age and sufficiently adapted to the degree of development of the people. Just as flowers can only waste their sweetness if born in the desert air, even so, ideas, however fruitful and ennobling, may prove of no effect whatsoever if preached before an unsympathetic or unappreciative audience. If for example a thinker is very much in advance of his times, it will certainly be difficult for him to succeed for the time being, although his ideas, by reason of their inherent force and vitality, may eventually prevail. This is the reason why Christ, Muhammad and a host of other reformers, in spite of the sublimity of their ideas and the strength of their convictions found it so hard to establish their influence and to root their ideas in the hearts of the countrymen during their own lives. The failure of John Huss in Bohemia and of Wycliffe in England can be accounted for in the same way. While Huss failed, Luther however wonderfully succeeded. This was because the age of the latter, throbbing as it was with the breath of a new life, was more enlightened, intellectual and progressive and well prepared to receive the new and inspiring gospel of the reformer. Or again, take Rousseau. What a rare fascination was exercised by his ideas over the French nation of his time! In this connection it may be well for us to note the following passage from Lord Morley¹, "What we have to realise is the effulgence with which hopeful words glittering ideas, fervid

¹ *Notes on Politics and History.*

exhortations and reforming instruments burst upon communities, oppressed by wrong, sunk and sodden in care fired by passions of religion, race, liberty and property—those eternal fields of mortal struggle." For a nation sunk and sodden in care, ground down with despotism, wistfully looking about for a saviour, Rousseau with his gospel of liberty, equality, fraternity could be no other than a messenger of hope and joy and deliverance. To understand Rousseau's influence we have to take into consideration not merely his ideas but also the condition and aspirations of the French nation during his age.

The above observations apply with equal force to the success and influence of practical statesmen also. If the measures and achievements of a statesman are to endure, they must be in harmony with the tendencies and characteristics of the age and in keeping with the character and development of the people. A few illustrations may be given. We all know that an attempt was made by Sulla, the senatorial champion of Rome, to bolster up the senate. The senate had however degenerated from the assembly of kings it once had been, into a cabal of selfish aristocrats and was unmistakably on a downward career. While therefore Sulla created the machine, he utterly failed to create the force and momentum which alone could work it. No wonder then that the fabric of senatorial ascendancy laboriously built up by him crumbled into dust on his death. Referring to Sulla's work, this is what Greenidge says—¹ "to restore the state of things existing before the time of the Gracchi was in fact to ignore the history of the last fifty years. It was a short-sighted attempt to turn back the tide of tendencies, to defeat the irresistible." As a statesman Cicero too figures in Roman History as the champion of a lost cause. In an age when the atrophied Roman Republic was fast going to ruin, when the flood-tide of democracy was sweeping on to military monarchy attempts were made by him—heroic, indomitable no doubt, but unpractical and short-sighted—to save the doomed Republic. The orator himself was however destined to witness the overthrow of the cause that he had championed. A parallel to Cicero, as much in oratory as in the narrowness and distortion of political vision, may be found in the famous Athenian orator Demosthenes of whom

¹ *The Roman Republic*, Vol. ii.

Professor Bury says, "his ideal was the Athens of Pericles but he lived in the Athens of Euboulos." Or again consider for a moment the policy and achievements of Oliver Cromwell. We find that the system of government established by him was foreign to the traditions and genius of the nation as well as that some of the reforms inaugurated by him, such as religious toleration, parliamentary union between England Scotland and Ireland, reform of parliament, were very much in advance of the times. It is no wonder then that they all failed to strike roots in the soil and vanished on his death. To view the question from another standpoint, it may be found that the extraordinary success of such personalities as Pericles, Julius Cæsar, Henry VIII, William the Silent was due not merely to their parts and powers but also to the fact that the times were with them. There is certainly a tide in the affairs of nations which, taken at the flood, leads on statesmen to success and renown.

IV

I will now proceed to consider a few historic movements of importance and examine what part personalities have played in their making. A vital truth to be realised in connection with some of the great movements of history is that they have been the slow and silent growths of centuries. A great movement cannot be produced all at once as if by a trick of legerdemain. On the contrary, if examined, it will be found to have been long prepared and to be the outcome of manifold causes—political, social, religious, economic and geographical. Even revolutions are only to be regarded as a necessary stage in a process of evolution. "The dispensation under which we live", says Lord Acton,¹ "consists first in the recoil from the negative spirit that rejected the law of growth and partly in the endeavour to classify and adjust the Revolution and to account for it by the natural working of economic causes." The Revolution itself is a process of the Divine Providence" says Coleridge.² Before a great national movement can take place, a nation must intellectually and morally be prepared for it; it must be imbued with a new spirit stirred by a new impulse and endowed with a new vision. All this cannot

¹ Lecture on *The Study of History*.

² *Biographia Literaria* ii. 240.

be brought about in a short period or by the genius of a single personality.

There cannot be a greater truth for us all to realise than that many are the forces—slow, subtle and silent—operating on the life of a nation and that the march of human progress and civilisation is influenced by a myriad of causes working in combination. Above all, there is a divinity shaping a nation's ends, rough-hew them as we may. If, for example, we are to account for the vast and many-sided progress that the British nation has achieved in the past, would it be right to set it down entirely to the influence of personalities? I admit that personalities have often played a very important part in promoting that progress. But is it not also necessary for us to take into account the influence of geographical causes, of geological conditions, of racial characteristics, of social organisation, of religious institutions and other similar factors?

Among the most subtle temptations which are likely to beset the superficial student is the desire to ascribe some of the great movements of history entirely to typical personalities. What can be more natural than to associate the foundation of the Athenian Empire with Pericles, the fall of the Roman Republic with Julius Caesar, the Reformation in England with Henry VIII, the foundation of the Modern German Empire with Bismarck? If however we take care to penetrate a little beneath the surface of things it will be found that these movements were really due to deeper and more complex causes long in operation and that movements long in progress were only brought to culmination by particular personalities at particular times, and not altogether created by them.

We will consider, for a moment, the rise of Athens to an imperial position. Having regard to the special advantages possessed by her in the matter of position, climate and harbours, having regard to the situation of a large cluster of islands in her vicinity, having regard to her naval resources and the enterprising and the progressive character of her people, having regard to the noble and heroic part she had played in the great conflict between Greece and Persia and the confidence she had consequently inspired in the minds of other states, having regard to the strong necessity for an organisation at the time to secure the safety and

protection of the Greeks, lastly, having regard to the reluctance nay the incompetence of her great competitor, Sparta, to assume the imperial role was it not in the nature of things that Athens should develop into an Empire? In saying all this, I do not for a moment deny the force and impetus given to the movement by such personalities as Themistocles, Cimon and Pericles.

Secondly, we will, consider the Reformation, in England during the reign of Henry VIII. Although this sovereign, with his lion-like will and splendid force of purpose has figured in history as the author of the English Reformation, it must be remembered that this movement had been for a long time in the making in England. Do we not, in the reigns of the mediaeval English sovereigns and, in the agitation of Wycliffe—the Morning-star of the Reformation—already observe the low mutterings of the storm that was to burst with such fury in the reign of Henry VIII? This is what Pollard says—¹ “The divorce of Catherine was merely the occasion of a reformation which would certainly have come without it. It is not possible to believe that England would have remained permanently within the Roman Catholic communion when every other community in which Teutonic strains were dominant broke away . . . Henry VIII was not omnipotent; no ruler can accomplish anything except with the help of collaborating forces; and he would never have been able to repudiate the Roman jurisdiction, had it not been for the popular dislike of clerical privileges and papal control.”

To take one more illustration—we will consider the foundation of the German Empire under the headship of Prussia in 1870. Although this event is associated with the name of the famous statesman Bismarck, it must be remembered that it was only the successful issue of an agitation that had long been carried on for a united and national Germany. As early as 1849, a movement, characterised by extraordinary enthusiasm, had been started with that object in view and the imperial crown had actually been offered to the King of Prussia. The movement was however unsuccessful because it was premature. On that occasion Bismarck himself was strongly opposed to the aspirations of the national party and in one of his speeches, spoke as follows—“The crown of Frankfort may be very bright but the gold which

¹ *Factors in Modern History.* Lecture iii.

gives truth to its brilliance has first to be won by melting down the Prussian crown." Thanks to the growing prestige and ascendancy of Prussia, the close relations, fiscal and otherwise, that existed between her and other states, her acknowledged claims to leadership by reason of past services and present achievements, the weakness and instability of her rival Austria, the superb genius of Prussian generals and statesmen and lastly, the outburst of a pan-German enthusiasm in consequence of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, what had appeared impossible of accomplishment in 1849, had become quite possible, nay, inevitable, in 1870.

V

From what has been said in the preceding sections, it may be seen that, after all, personalities however gifted or brilliant are not omnipotent in history, but that their influence is subject to various conditions and limitations. Making sufficient allowance for these it is still true that personalities are a great force in history. It may not be out of place in this concluding section to examine briefly what is the part played by personalities in the making of history.

In the first place, we will take into account the thinker or man of ideas. The part played of him generally consists in preparing the way for great movements by the slow, subtle but irresistible force of his ideas. Gifted as he is with the power of penetrating insight, he is able to see things in their proper bearing, in their true relations, with ease and vividness while the ordinary man flounders and stumbles and does not know how to proceed. Clear-sighted, even heaven-inspired, the man of genius has the power, to an extraordinary degree, of reading the signs of the times, of probing the maladies of his age, of judging the temper of his nation, as well as of moving and kindling it by his ideas. A nation is in a vague state of unrest and ferment, but it is at a loss to discover the exact nature of this unrest, its causes and means of remedy. As it were groping in the dark, it begins to look about for one who would be able to light its path, to direct its steps, to arm it with courage and to fix its gaze on the goal. It is at a moment like this, that the sun appears on the stage and exercises his magnetic influence. Lo and behold! as if touched by the Promethean spark, the

nation feels inspired and inspirited, throbbing with a new life and actuated by new hopes, desires and enthusiasms. In the case of most great historic movements, we find that they were preceded and foreshadowed by great literary or intellectual movements, the influence of which was to quicken a feeling of inquiry and investigation in men's minds, to clarify their vision, to focus their discontent, to fire their enthusiasm—in fact to prepare them, in every way, for a new order of things. If Luther hatched the eggs of the Reformation, it was Erasmus that laid them. It was again Voltaire and Rousseau that laid the train for that tremendous cataclysm, the French Revolution. Placed amidst favourable surroundings, the man of ideas is a power indeed.

In the next place we will consider the man of action and the part played by him in the making of history. Whereas it is the work of the thinker to prepare the way for great movements, it is given to the man of action to organise and direct such movements when the time is ripe. The masses are restless and uneasy, seriously dissatisfied with the existing order of things and ripe for revolution. Left to themselves, however, they are unfit and unable to bring it about. But if a true champion comes forward, they are only too ready to rally to his standard and follow his lead. It is now that the intrepid hero appears on the stage. He finds around him

All the means of action,

The shapeless masses—the materials.

The means of action are skilfully employed by him, the shapeless masses and material efficiently organised and directed by him and a great historic movement is the result. Had it not been for the great and gifted leader, the movement would probably have been long delayed or would only have ended as a chaotic eruption, fearfully destructive in its character and leaving no fruitful result behind. Thanks, however, to the guidance of the leader—firm, adroit, clear-sighted, resourceful, quick to plan and bold to strike—the pent-up forces are properly organised and the movement is carried through to a triumphant issue. This will become quite apparent to us if only, we consider the part played by such personalities as Julius Caesar, Luther, Henry VIII, Cromwell, William of Orange, Napoleon, and Bismarck in the movements connected with their names.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE DRAMA IN MALAYALAM:
PART III.

BY T. RAMALINGAM PILLAI, M.A.

THERE have been three different styles or methods of *Kathakali* performance in Malabar: (1) The *Kotta* style, obtaining in South Kerala, from Arukkutti southwards, (2) The *Kalladikkôd* style in North Malabar, from Vettatnad northwards and (3) the *Kaplingaud* from Arukkutti northwards, as far as Vettatnad. In Middle Malabar, a mixture of the last two prevails. The second and the third have been named after their founders, the Namburis of Kalladikkôd and Kaplingaud respectively. The author of the "History of Malayalam Literature" treats these two as contemporaries;²¹ but from the features of their styles, we should infer that the *Kaplingaud* style is decidedly an improvement on the *Kalladikkôd*. During the days of the Kottarakkar Raja, the founder of *Kathakalis*, the characters were very coarse and unrefined. They put on their faces grotesquely painted masques made of the film of the areca-branch; their dress was of the ordinary wear of *mundûs*, or cotton cloths of four cubits. The actors themselves sang their songs; this practice was given up later on, in favour of the chorus. Of the musical instruments now in vogue at a *Kathakali*, the *chenta* was not originally used. This is due, perhaps, to its absence from the *Krishnanattam* also. Very light *kaldsams* (peculiar dances, while concluding the play) were performed. The *mudrâs* (signs) were the same as they are to-day. Vettattu Raja, who liberally patronised the *Kathakali*, dispensed with the areca film masque. In the case of the *Uttamapâtams*, (the best or amicable characters) their faces were painted over with *manayola*. Rakshasas and asuras were presented with frightful faces of painted wood. Kalladikkôd Namburi added blue to *manayola* and used *pachcha* and *chutti* (knob). For certain Rakshasas, he introduced *netunkathi*. The rest continued to wear wooden masques. The actors began to put on coats and wear the *kiritam* or crown. Kaplingaud Namburi gave up the wooden masque of the rakshasa and introduced the *chumunnatadi* (red beard), *karum katti* as well as the *chutti*

²¹ Vide para. 404, Vol. I.

(knob) and fangs. It was he who introduced *ninam* and since his days rakshasas have begun to wear a knob at the tip of the nose and in the middle of the forehead.

A troupe of performers generally consists of thirty men, of whom twelve are actors, four singers, four drummers and the rest menials. Itinerant troupes travel about from place to place and arrange for their performances at the house of private individuals. The *Kēlikottu* (announcement of the play) begins towards sunset. This consists of the beat of drums, cymbals and gongs. The painting of the actors' faces begins soon after. At about 8-30 or 9 P.M. *tōdayam* commences, followed by the *vandana-sloka*m in praise of some deity. The first consists of songs with the sounding of drums, inside the curtain. Every performance has *tōdayam* and *vandana-sloka*m. The *purappad* or the first appearance of the first character comes next with a flourish of drum beats. *manjūtara* comes next, and this consists of one song sung to the accompaniment of music; no actors appear on the stage. The interval between the appearance of any two characters is filled up by singing and drumming. A play lasts from nine to ten hours, almost till day-break. The least violation of, or the slightest deviation from, the accepted code of signs, gestures and facial distortions is liable to provoke an outburst of extreme indignation from the fastidious critic who has been initiated into the mysteries of this mimic art. Music experts would assure us that the *kathakali* contains the most exquisite songs, and that, if they are not adequately appreciated, it is not the fault of the art. In his introduction (page 4) to Mr. S. T. Reddiyar's collected edition of *attakathas*, Mr. K. C. Kesava Pillai, at once an actor, singer, poet and playwright, says that the *kathakali* songs are as sweet as Tyagaraja's and Deekshitar's songs. "They give us at once good poetry and music. They would gladden the heart of any one, if sung by a trained singer." (Translated.) "The Dravidian music known by the name *sōpāna*, is simple, sweet, perhaps more languid, yet more pathetic and tender than the Aryan and more sung in the country parts than in cities. It is chiefly resorted to in performances like *kathakali*. . . . There can be no doubt that Dravidian music or *sōpānam* is the most ancient of the systems of music in vogue in Travancore."²²

²² Vide page 218, *Travancore Music, Musicians and Composers* by Mr. T. Lakshmana Pillai, B.A. The Malabar Quarterly Review, Vol. VI., No. 3. December 1907.

The *rāgams* or notes used in the *padams* of the asuras and rakshasas are *ahari*, *kedaragaulam*, *pantuvārālī* and *bhairavi*. Kings, devas, and the other mild characters use *Mukhari*, *sankarā-bharanam*, *vasanta-bhairavi*, *ananda-bhairavi* and *kal-yani*. All *kathakali-ppattus* begin with *nattayam* and end in *puraniru*.

Among the *kathakali* actors, two names stand foremost: Mr. Kumaran Easwaran Pillai of Trivandrum (Lord Chamberlain to H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore (1846—1860) and Mr. Kesava Kurup of Tiruvanchikulam, the recipient of patronage from the Rajas of Cochin.

To turn from *attakathās* to *tullals* is to pass from a dashing waterfall to a placid and pellucid lake. Both species of writings are more or less indigenous to Malabar, but their features are widely different from each other. The one is pedantic and appeals only to the learned few, and the other is simple and popular with all, including the unlettered. The one indulges in rugged Sanskrit, and the other employs the simpler style of *manipravalam*. *Tullalpattu* means 'dance-song'; it is a narrative poem sung with appropriate gestures, to the accompaniment of music and dancing. It corresponds to the ballad in English poetry and has three varieties, according to its style: viz., *ottam-tullal*, *parayan-tullal* and *seetankan-tullal*, which are vigorous, pathetic and narrative, respectively. The last two are of a primitive type, while the first is more advanced; in it the reciter assumes the role of a dramatic actor.

The founder of this singular variety of poetic composition was Kalakkattu Kunjan Nambiyar (1724—1798 A. D.) whose works make an epoch in Malayalam.²³ With the exception of Tunchattu Ramanujan Ezhuttachchan, the father of Malayalam literature, Kunjan Nambiyar is the greatest man-of-letters who has yet arisen in Malabar. He has always been the 'people's poet', *par excellence*. As his observations are replete with sparkling wit, his works are full of pleasantry and humour. He was a gifted poet whose eyes glanced 'from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven' and whose facile pen gave to airy nothings 'a local

²³ The *History of Malayalam Literature* fixes 910 M. E. or 1734 A. D. as the date of the poet's birth. But it is called in question by vernacular scholars. Mr. Kottaratil Sankunni corrects it into 900 M. E. or 1724 A. D. (The *Basha Poshini*, Vol. XII, Nos. 1 & 2, p. 9 Chingom and Kanni 1083 M. E.). But both dates appear to have been based upon the doctrine of probabilities.

habitation and a name'. His range of vision was not confined to the Puranic lore. He embodied in his works the ideas that were in the air. He always touched the spirit of the age in which he lived, which no writer, however great and original, can escape. Varied as his works were, including *kilipattus* and *attakathas*, he is best reputed for his *tullals* which will stand out in bold relief for all time and continue to exert their influence on us, as long as our language exists.

The circumstance that led to his boldly striking out a fresh path for himself was an open insult offered to him in public by a Chakkiyar. A Nambiyar, whose duty it was to sound the drum (*mizha*) at a *Chakkiyar kuthu* in the Sri Krishna temple, Ambalapuzha, was absent unexpectedly. Since the *koothu* could not be postponed, the Chakkiyar prevailed on Kunjan Nambiyar to help him out of the crisis. Confessing his ignorance of the art of drumming, yet unwilling to refuse the Chakkiyar's request, he ventured to try his hand at the *mizha*. Finding that his companion was faltering at the drum, the Chakkiyar scolded him outright for his ignorance of the occupation of the Nambiyars. Kunjan could not brook the insult. The very next day he got up a new kind of action-song and began to enact it himself with significant and suitable gestures. The whole audience gathered round him, and the poor Chakkiyar was left to address the empty *mandap*. On the latter's representation, the *tullal* was ruled out of the Krishna temple by the Ambalapuzha Raja. *Kalyanasowgandhikam-Seetankantullal* was his first work in this direction. The actor's appearance in *seetankan* is very simple. A few folds of narrow pieces of cloths are worn round the loins reaching down to the knee and a few white tender leaves of the cocoanut tree are cut short and tied round the wrists of the arms and round the biceps. The head is also covered with a crown of the same stuff. There are peculiar movements of the hands and legs. For this singing performance, only a drummer and a cymbalist are required in addition.

It is interesting to enquire how far the poet was indebted to his predecessors in creating the *tullal*. Whence came its diction, metre, rhyme and rhythm? To what does it owe its popularity? The *Chakkiyar koothu* and the *attakatha* must have contributed towards its birth. The subject matter of the songs is derived mostly from the *Mahabharata* and the *Bhagavata*, as well as from the *prabandhams* used by the Chakkiyars.

The action and gestures are from the *attakahas*. The *tullal* metre is new, as the *kilippattu* metre. The characters of the *sitankan*, *ottan* and *parayan* are no fresh creation by Nambiyar. During the *Patayani* festival at the Sâsta temple at Takazhi, to the east of Ambalapuzha, certain games, called *purappadus*, were being performed long before the days of Kunjan.²⁴ In them, *seetankan*, *parayan*, *chovan* and *paradesi* appear on the scene, and *maddalam*, *tappu*, *kuzhitalam* and other musical instruments are used. A painted mask and a head dress made of the film of the areca branch were used in *seetankan*. The Parayan *purappadu* also was more or less of the same kind. It may be surmised that the style of the *tullals* is more or less after that of the *purappadus*.

Though, like his brother poets, Nambiyar shares in the oriental brilliancy of colouring, some of his descriptions seem to be based upon his personal experience. Much as he indulges in hyperbole, to him reality is superior to realism and emotion to intellect. His songs are sweet and charming, on account of their easy diction. He at once eschews the over-ornate and colloquialism and strikes a golden mean. Of poetic licence he takes a monopoly. While adhering to the main points of the original stories, he freely infuses into them the thoughts, beliefs and ideas of his own time. If some of these are incongruous or out of place, they are not out of taste. All his readers enjoy his poems to their heart's content. The sights and scenes, the men and things he depicts are those of his environment. He achieves that pleasurable synthesis of apparently diverse subjects which attracts the mind and gives unity to the creations of the poet. All the countries he describes are after Travancore or Ambalapuzha (then, an independent territory). In *Karthaveeryarjuna-vijayam*, Ravana's wife is a copy of a consort of a Maha Raja of Travancore; she takes oil-baths and uses *tâli* powder and *incha* fibre for soap; the damsels of the Devaloka are her maid-servants. The inhabitants of Mâhishmati and Azhakâpuri make a free use of tobacco; pepper grows in Mâhishmati. The *swayamvarams* of *Damayanti* and *Rugmini* are akin to the *pallikkettu* or marriage of the ranis of Travancore. In all the lands he describes, there are Namburis, Pottis, Tamil Brahmins, Chetties, Nayars, etc. No one acquainted with it, can resist the attraction of his poetry. Though

²⁴ C.F. P. 393, Vol. XXI, No. 9 of the *Vidyavinodini* (Mithunam 1073).

he has introduced all the *rasās* or sentiments in his songs, he is at his best in the *Hāsyarasa* or the comic sentiment. As a satirist and scathing critic of men and manners, he stands unique in Malayalam. He makes no distinction between prince and peasant; he is a leveller, and no one is too great for his censure. His descriptions appeal direct to the heart of the reader; great as is my temptation to cite his delineation of the *Kālanillak-kalam*, (the time when death is absent from the earth), I refrain from it for want of space. His poetry may be compared to an inland rippling stream, flowing joyously along, sometimes hastening a little and sometimes loitering smoothly. To follow its meandering course through its numerous turnings and windings is very smooth pleasant sailing. There is no fear of wreck; for strong as the current is at times, it is free from eddies and does not flow over submerged pieces of rock. Open his book and it is impossible to lay it aside, until you have read it from cover to cover.

More than seventy *tullals* have been composed by him and the destruction of fourteen of them by fire is a serious loss to our language. Thanks to the enterprise of Mr. S. T. Reddiyar of Quilon, a bulky volume of seventy-two *tullal-kathas* has been published. Most of these are by Kunjan Nambiyar. *Krishnarajuna-vijayam* and *Nivatakavacha-kalakeyavadham* were composed by Ampayattu Panikkar and Pootottattu Namburi of Killikurissimangalam respectively. Nambiyar's best works are (1) *Kartaveeriyarjunavijayam*, (2) *Nalacharitam*, (3) *Ramacharitam*, (4) *Kalyanasowgandhikam*, (5) *Dhruvacharitam*, (6) *Sabhapravēsam*, (7) *Dakshayagam*, and (8) *Tripuradahanam*. Though the Ambalapuzha Raja ostracised *tullals* from the Sri Krishna temple, it was under his encouragement that Nambiyar's poetic genius expanded; it was at the instance of this Raja that he wrote the majority of his *tullals*. The poet always flourished under the patronage of the Maharaja of Travancore and of the Raja of Ambalapuzha. Driven out of the Krishna temple, his performances found a theatre in the Sasta temple at Takazhi. A certain Panikkar of this place, a servant of the Ambalapuzha Raja, was a famous disciple of Nambiyar. Mathur Panikkar, a minister of the Raja, induced the poet to compose *tullals* for him. Eventually, two rival companies of players, viz., Takazhi and Mathur, rose for each of whom Nambiyar wrote about thirty-two *tullals*. Over and above the

poet's works that have seen the light, there are still a few in the possession of Mathur Panikkar's family.

Other writers also have written *tullals*. Mr. Kochunni Tampuran's pen-pictures in his *Sundara-kandam-tullal* are brilliant. Vidwan Koil Tampuran's *Santhanagopalam* has secured for itself a permanent place in our literature. Kutti-kunju Tankachchi's *Gangasnanam Tullal*, and Valia Ikkavu Amma (*alias* Subhadra Anama) Tampuran's *Amritakaranam-Parayan-Tullal* and *Bhikshu-gita-Seetankan* have taken a fancy of the people. Tottakhattu Ikkave Amma's *Sanmargopadesam-ottentullal* takes a high rank.

In course of time, the *kathakalis* lost their charm and were superseded by the *tullals* which were inaugurated and popularised by Kunjan Nambiyar, and which again could not answer all the purposes of the fully developed *rupakas* or dramas. Though the study of Sanskrit had long since become a fashionable pursuit with the priesthood and the aristocracy of Malabar, neither of them took the trouble of introducing Sanskrit Natakas into our vernacular. Tunchattu Ramanujam Ezhuttachchan's *Kerala-natakam* is not a *nataka* or drama in the real sense of the term. It is a rare work, still in manuscript, and from a copy maintained as a valuable heir-loom in the Palace Library of H. H. the Raja of Cochin, I gather that it is more or less a *koota-ppadhakam*.

Keraliya Bhasha-Sakuntalam, by His Highness Kerala Varma Valia Koil Tampuran, C. S. I., was a welcome departure from the *attakathas* and was at once appreciated by men of letters and imitated by a host of playwrights. It marked a turning point in Malayalam literature and opened a new region of poetry. It is just a third of century since the first play appeared, and since then the number of plays in Malayalam has come to be legion. The modern Malayala-Natakas are of three distinct styles (1) the Arya or Sanskrit style, (2) the English style, and (3) the Dravidian style. Under each of these classes, there are translations and original works. The original plays are based on (1) the Hindu Puranas, (2) the Christian Scriptures, and (3) scenes from life as invented by the playwright. This last class alone deserves the name 'original' in the strict sense of the term.

Let us take up the translations first. Our translated plays are mostly from Sanskrit. The first work under this head is *Keraliya-Bhasha-Sakuntalam*, in which the author excels in

prose and poetry, and of which H. H. the late lamented Maharaja of Travancore, Sir Rama Varma, said that it would ever remain a standard work in Malayalam. A most faithful rendering, as it is, of the Sanskrit original, the work cannot be pronounced to be an unqualified success. It is too Sanskritic and several passages in it are even harder to understand than the original. All the same, be it said that in many places the translation surpasses the original in beauty and finish. This was followed by Mr. Chattukutti Mannadiyar's translation of *Janaki-pariniya* by Ramabhadra Deekshitar. Almost all the important plays in Sanskrit have been rendered into Malayalam. If the true test of a translation consists in its naturalness and easy intelligibility, and the absence of any suspicion of the existence of an original, Mr. Chattukutti Mannadiyar's *Uttara-Rama-Charita* (The Latter Fortunes of Rama) is the best of our translated plays, and unlike *Kerala-Bhasha-Sakuntalam*, is free from a preponderance of Sanskrit. It is written in a most charming and chaste style. Among our other able translators of Sanskrit plays are (1) the late Mr. Kunjukuttan Tampuram,²⁵ (2) Mr. Kottarathil Sankuni, (3) Mr. Natuvattu Mahan Namburi, (4) Mr. K. Narayana Menon, B.A., and (5) Mr. A. R. Raja Raja Varma, M.A., who has issued his *Malayala Sakuntalam*. H. H. Kerala Varma has simultaneously published a revised edition of his work called *Manipravala Sakuntalam*. Mr. A. Govinda Pillai, B.A., B.L.'s forthcoming translation of *Sakuntala*, as found in Bengalee, will be a valuable acquisition to our language. There are two translations of *Uttara-Rama-Charita* (1) by Mr. Chattukutti Mannadiyar, and (2) by Mr. C. Achyuta Menon; but the latter's work has been completely put in the shade by that of the former. Mr. Kuntur Narayana Menon's version of Kalidasa's *Māla-vikāgni-mitram* is a work of real merit and is worthy of the author. *Vikramorvaseeyam*, another work of Kalidasa's, also has been done into our language by Mr. Kottarathil Sankunni whose prolific pen still continues to be busy. Another translation of the same by the late Mr. Kunjukuttan Tampuran appeared a few years later, but Mr. Sankunni's is by

²⁵ The late lamented Mr. Kunjukuttan Tampuran was the most prolific Malayalam playwright and instantaneous poet who won laurels in poetic contests. He is surnamed *Sarasadruta-Kavi-Kiridamani*, (the crown jewel of the sweet and instantaneous bards). In all, he has written ten plays, comprising original plays and translations. He was an indefatigable worker in the field of Malayalam literature, and all true lovers of Malayalam literature bemoan his irreparable loss.

far better than this. Mr. Kunjikuttan Tampuran's *Ascharya Chudamani* is the best of his translations, many of the *ślokas* therein excelling the original in point of poetic beauty and vigour. Mr. Sankunni's translation of Bhava Bhuti's *Malatee-Madhava*, despite its minor slips and oversights, is excellent in many ways and is a worthy addition to our stock. Natuvathu Mahan Namburi's translation of *Mudra-Rakshasam* is a work of a high order. Kaviyur Raman Nambiyar's version of *Subhadra Dhananjayam* is admirable. The translation of *Chanda-Kausika* by Mr. M. Krishna Menon has the vigour of the original and affords pleasant reading. *Mazhamangalam Bhānam* has been well translated by Kaviyur Raman Nambiyar.

Next to Sanskrit plays, the dramas of Shakespeare have been pressed into service. *Kalahini-damanakam* is an adaptation in prose of Shakespeare's, *The Taming of the Shrew*, by the late Mr. K. Varghese Mapila, the energetic secretary of the 'Bhasha-Phoshini-Sabha' and the first editor of the *Malayala Manorama*. The play looks original; the names of persons and places are Malayalamised, so as to render them readable. Mr. A. Govinda Pillai, B.A., B.L., has made a novel attempt at introducing blank-verse into Malayalam in his translations of Shakespeare.²⁶ With due deference to his linguistic acquirements, I must say that his translations are hardly comprehensible to any students of Malayalam, who have not read the original. *The Tempest* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* have been translated by Mr. C. Govindan Eledam and Mr. Nanu Pillai, B.A., respectively. Sunandā-Sarasa-Veeram, the Malayalam version of *The Tempest*, appeared serially in the supplement to the now defunct *Vidya-Vinodini*, and was highly appreciated by its readers, though it has not yet come out in book-form. *Hamlet* has been done into Malayalam by Mr. Kunjukuttan Tampuran, assisted by Mr. A. Ramachchan Nedungadi, B.A., B.L. Its *ślokas* are excellent; but its prose is deplorable.

The only translation from Tamil, worth mentioning, is Mr. Kottarathil Sankunni's *Ravi-Varma* from the original by Mr. T. Lakshmana Pillai, B.A., Mr. Sankunni is a trained hand at playwriting and his works are enjoyable. This play has a historic basis, the hero, Ravi-Varma, being a Travancore prince

²⁶ Mr. A. Govinda Pillai has translated (1) *King Lear*, (2) *The Merchant of Venice*, (3) *Macbeth*, (4) *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, and (5) *Othello, the Moor of Venice*.

who flourished in the 14th century A. D. This is the first historic play in Malayalam. There are several other excellent plays in Tamil which deserve to be translated.

Though the out-put of our translated plays is by no means heavy, none can deny for a moment that Malayalam has had some playwrights of genius and originality; but they are few and far between. The first original play in our vernacular is *Kalyani-Natakam* by Mr. Kochchunni Tampuran, a gifted and extempore poet. It is a faithful portrait of Malabar social life, and its verses are excellent, being in simple and sweet *Manipravalam*; but the same cannot be said of its prose. It revels in the *Hasya* (comic) and *Sringara* (love) *rasās*. The photo is too much shaded to be quite distinct. It is not, after all, a first rate work. His other plays are *Pāñchālee-Swayamvaram* (in five Acts, with 150 slokas) which he wrote in seven hours and a half, and *Ajnāta-vāsam* (ten Acts, with 320 slokas) written in ten hours and a half. His *Madhura-mangalam* is a coinage of his own imagination and his *Phalguna-veerya* is developed out of a story from an episode of the *Mahabharata*. His younger brother, Kunjukkuttan Tampuran, endowed with like talents, produced his *Syamantakam Natakam* (with 150 slokas) and *Nalacharitam* (with 300 slokas) in nine and twelve hours respectively. If the senior is distinguished for his clearness, sweetness and beauty of poetic diction, the junior is well known for his highly dignified style and construction of plot. Some of the other original plays are noted below.²⁷

Mr. Kottarathil Sankunni's *Kuchēla-gōpalam* and *Daiva Vilasam* are highly popular and frequently put on the boards. *Kāmalavati* by Mr. P. G. Rama Iyer is a modern drama of some merit. The only *Prekshanakam* in Malayalam is the translation of *Unmaththa-Raghavom* by Mr. Vallathol Narayana Menon.

Another class of original plays has Biblical stories for their plots. The first work of the kind is *Ebrayakkutti* by the late Mr. Varghese Mappilla. Its plot is based on the story depicted

²⁷ (A) Kochchunni Tampuran's (1) *Umāvivāham* and (2) *Phalguna Veeryam*. (B) Kanjakkuttan Tampuran's (1) *Chandrika*, (2) *Lashmanāsaṅgam*, (3) *Gangāvataram*, (4) *Santānagōpalam* and (5) *Manavikarvijayam* (C) Kottarathil Sankunni's (1) *Daiva Vilasam* and (2) *Kuchēla-Gōpalam* and (D) Changanacheri Ravi-Varma Koil Tampuran's *Kavisabharanjanam* (E) Venmani Mahan Namburi's *Atimōhana Natakam* (F) K. C. Kesava Pillai's *Raghava-Madhavam* and (2) *Lakshmeekalyanam*. Several other writers also have written original plays.

in the First Book of Moses, in the *Old Testament* (Chapters 37-45). It is mainly in prose, with a sprinkling of *slokas*. It is altogether a new model and has a few imitators.²⁸ The average reader has no partiality for works of this kind.

Among the works of our women playwrights are (1) Kuttikunju Thankachchi's *Ajñatavāsam*, (2) Kōnnattu Kuttipparū Amma's translation of *Prōbodha-chandrōdayam* and (3) Tottakkad Ikkavu Amma's *Sūbhadrarjunam* and *Nalacharitam* (incomplete) of which the former is one of the best original dramas in our language. The first is in imitation of modern Tamil natakams and is redolent of the *rasās* and feelings.

Sangita Natakam is a new variety. The first work in this line was *Sangita-Sakuntalam* by Mr. Chattukkutti Mannadiyar. Mr. Chakrapani Varyar and Mr. K. C. Kesava Pillai have produced plays with the same name. The other *sangita-natakas* are *Sangita-Harischandra-Charitam* by the former and *Sadarama-Sangita-Nataka* and *Vickramorvasayam-Sangita-Natakam* by the latter. All these works are after the Dravidian model, the plot of *Sadarama* being borrowed from a Tamil play of the same name and slightly modified. These kinds of plays are now much in vogue.

The drama-mania took possession of the land for some time and *natakas* on all imaginable subjects have seen the light of day. Every versifier dreams that he realises the ideal of his life, only when he has written a play. Plays have been manufactured by the scores. Instead of chewing the cud over and over again, by translating *Sakuntala*, our translators would do well to render into Malayalam the great world-drama, viz., *Faust* by Goethe, the most profound intellect of Germany.

Almost all Malayalam plays begin with a prologue which opens with a prayer (*nāṇḍi*). The essence of the plot, generally epitomised in the *Nāṇḍi*, destroys the reader's or spectator's curiosity. This is followed by a panegyric on the author's birth, life and achievements in a dialogue between the stage manager and an actress. In brilliancy of colouring, our playwrights vie with one another. Faithfulness to nature is unknown to the majority of them. They revel in conceits and obscene descriptions of women.

²⁸ (A) Kattakkayattil Cheriyan's (1) *Yāda Jeevaswara* and (2) *Villār Vattam* (B) Chaliḷ Verghese's *Tamar Rupakam* (C) Joseph Mapilla's *Yudakula Jeevika* and (D) Natakkaḷ Varkī's *Mayamaya Mahatmyam* are all liturgical dramas after the model of Ebbayakkutti.

They draw freely on the Kalpaka-tree and the Kamadhenu and the Moon for comparisons. They have no idea of plot constructions. They make all characters recite *ślōkas* in season and out of season, and their dramas do not reflect the manners and feelings of the people. Nor is poetic justice found in them. For instance, "the tragic story of Harischandra which has been put into dramatic shape, is not a real tragedy, for the king is not the direct or indirect cause of his own suffering, and is in fact Viswamitra's plaything"; and the device of a *deus ex machina*, when the king raises his sword to kill Chandramati, divests the play of all poetic justice. Instead of always drawing on the Puranas, our playwrights must tap our unwritten traditions and old stories, domestic incidents and public life in Malabar. *Nātakas* after the English and Sanskrit models, without the *nāndi* (prayer), the *rituvarnana* (description of the season), and *bharatavakyam* (benedictory verse at the close) ought to be an interesting variety. Slokas should be neither too many nor too few in dramas.

In the absence of dramaturgical works in our language after the model of *Kāvya-prakāśam*, *Sarasvatī-Kandhābharanam* and *Sāhitya-Darpanam* in Sanskrit or *Nātakaviyal* in Tamil, by Mr. V. A. Suryanarayana Sastri, B.A., our playwrights are a law unto themselves, and their vagaries know no bounds. The Malayalam drama being still in its formation, requires a guiding hand and no nipping in the bud. The tirades of Mr. Antappai and Mr. Ramakuruppu against the extant plays are out of place at present.²⁹ Let literary associations like the *Malayala-Sahitya-Sabha* formed at Palghat, the *Bhasha Poshini Sabha* of Travancore and the *Sahitya Samaj* of Cochin undertake it, improve its tone and belie the observation of Mr. F. W. Ellis, 'there is but little of interest or of importance in Malayalam literature'.³⁰ In tracing the history of the drama in Malabar, we have seen how, evolving from songs and dances, it has passed through the stages of *chakkiyarkoothu*, the *kathakali* and the *tullal*, and come its full round in the *Sangita Natakams* remarkable for their songs and dances.

Whatever the perfection of the play in plot construction, in the interplay of characters, and in dialogue and diction, an actor can easily make or mar it on the stage. The essential demand of

²⁹ Vide Mr. Antappai's Novel, 'Naluperiloruthan' and Mr. Rama Kuruppu's play, 'Chakki-Chankaram.'

³⁰ Quoted by Mr. W. Logan, p. 105, Vol. I, *Malabar Manual*,

the theatre being action, the eyes of the audience as well as of the proprietor of the theatre are ever on the actors whose least remissness is followed by volleys of hisses and pshawes. A successful actor is he who has a double consciousness—consciousness of his action and of his method, i.e., he who can convey his ideas by his gestures and facial expression in the most faultless manner. Besides the good actors, who act their part and feelings well, the merry andrews or Vidūshakans very often add to the liveliness of the audience by relieving their strain or tension, and are the favourites of the groundlings whose only pleasure lies in seeing and hearing things grotesque, done, said or sung. In our land, the actors have no training in their art, the jesters are unpolished clowns; the theatres, devoid of scientific spectacular equipment, attract no culture, while Tom Dick and Harry or Ram, Govind and Krishna ravel out slokas in endless profusion on the devoted heads of the pleasure-seeking theatre-goers. If our educated young men, with histrionic predilections, join hands and learn and practice the art with due care and attention, the present degraded or unenviable condition of the Malayalam theatre will ere long be a thing of the past, the dramatic profession will be ennobled and enriched, the dramatic geniuses will have stimulus, appreciation and reward, the performances of *kūthūs*, *kathakalis*, *tullals* and *sangita-Natakams* which are peculiar to our land will attain an excellence unexampled in history, the historic and mythological heritage of this primitive land will receive a new colour, a fresh bloom and an attractive grace, and the moral tone of the Malabar society, just emerging from the depths of superstition and barbarism, will be so elevated and its civilization so much improved that it will unquestionably take rank with the most enlightened countries of the world. Such a consummation, so devoutly to be wished, must be strenuously laboured for, and who can undertake the noble but onerous task of making a name for their country but the patriotic sons of Malabar who are second to none in their gifts and talents?

“All the world’s a stage

And all the men and women merely players.”

(Concluded)

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

It is interesting and not unpleasing to note how in addressing youth many of our leading public men consciously or unconsciously assume the mantle of the preacher. The late Governor of Madras, Sir Arthur Lawley, would, we used to think, have found, like his brother, his natural vocation in the Church. We were led to this reflection in listening to Sir Harold Stuart at the recent convocation. The ideals underlying the address, the spirit animating it, were the ideals and spirit of the preacher. We do not refer here in particular to Sir Harold's bold attempt to see in the Police service of India a field similar to that of the English clergyman, though the very fact that the comparison suggested itself to his mind is a proof of our contention. We allude rather to the appeals for purity and for a high standard of life and conduct that formed the essential spirit of the address. With that spirit it is unnecessary to say we wholly sympathise. Before any profitable comparison can be made between the Indian police and the ministers of the Church in England the police must travel a long way. Nevertheless it is an excellent thing to hold up thus prominently the ideal of the village constable as a guide philosopher and friend to the people. Trust is the atmosphere in which virtues grow, and the more we trust the police the more will they respond to our trust.

SIR HAROLD STUART, as we understand it, played with the idea of a vernacular university. Let it be said at once that the conception is a dream. If we can imagine such a university established we venture to predict that not many years would pass before there would be an urgent appeal for a return to the old type. To make English the second language would be to give it the place that French has in English schools, and we should in a few years see the Government Offices sending frantic appeals for men able to write reasonably correct English and they would not be forthcoming. The whole administration of the country must be altered before vernacular universities can succeed. Under present conditions these must be a common language, and that language must be known and used with a fair amount of accuracy. Under a system of vernacular universities there would no doubt be a common language but it would be of a type practically useless in the administration of Government. The English of our graduates is imperfect enough even now, though it is easy to exaggerate this defect, but taught as a second language it would degenerate into a type entirely unsuitable for practical administration.

FEW speeches have ever been waited for with more anxiety than was Mr. Asquith's in Parliament a little over a month ago. There was a feeling of restlessness in the country, in part created by a set of newspapers, but in part also the offspring of genuine concern at the lack of conclusive results. Mr. Asquith refused to admit either that the Government had failed in its duty, or that the outlook need cause any disquietude. He spoke of the strength of our army, Sir John French having nearly a million of men on the Western front. Canada had sent 96,000 men, Australia 92,000, New Zealand 25,000, and smaller contingents from other colonies. The specific number of men from India was not given, but that it is a very large force we know. Mr. Asquith did not hide the fact that the struggle for Gallipoli had so far been a disappointment. Had it succeeded it would have altered the position of affairs in the Eastern theatre. As it is it is at least holding up 200,000 Turks. With regard to the vexed question of conscription the Government evidently regards it entirely from the view of practical expediency. Mr. Asquith declared that he was determined to stick at nothing to win the war, and "sooner than not win I shall have no hesitation in coming down to the House with other proposals involving some form of legal obligation." There is doubtless strong opposition to conscription in England, yet we are convinced that if the Government decides that it is necessary the country will acquiesce as gladly as it did to the new taxation. There is no division of view in Britain regarding the necessity for carrying the war to a finish. There has been a miserable carping on the part of a special newspaper clique against the conduct of the war by the war authorities. The *Globe* was a conspicuous instance, and it met its fate. No great undertaking, and this is an appallingly great undertaking, was ever conducted without mistakes, which are seen only after the result, but had our destinies rested in the hands of the newspaper critics would these mistakes have been less disastrous? We have put the wisest men we know into the position of power, we are aware that they are as eager to win as we are, that their sons are giving their lives on the battle-fields, then let us trust them and back them up with whole-hearted loyalty and co-operation.

NOTHING has been more conspicuous in this war than the complete acceptance of the necessity of the war by all branches of the Christian Church, and their consequent readiness to throw themselves into it with the utmost self-consecration. From the fourth of August last year until now the pulpit has uttered no uncertain sound. It has fostered the spirit of patriotism, but above all it has striven to inspire a passionate loyalty to the ideals of righteousness, freedom and truth.

Patriotism divorced from these would awaken no response in the Christian Churches of Britain. That which has kept the Church steadfast throughout the struggle is the belief, that the cause of a righteous freedom hangs upon the issue. We may fitly illustrate the attitude of Christian men to-day from the words of the Rev. Dr. Kelman in the *Record* of the United Free Church of Scotland.

"THREE ancient and eternal things require our loyalty in such an hour as this. They have blessed our fathers and hallowed our own childhood in many days of happiness and peace. It was easy to be loyal to them then, and such loyalty was but the obvious truth of character and conduct. But the test of loyalty is never the serene and easy days, but the days when life is difficult.

Loyalty to Faith is the first task of the hour. The agony of the war is simplifying men's conceptions of vital faith. The questions which it forces upon our minds are not those of elaborate detail in doctrine. But it is driven home upon the mind and conscience of every thinking man or woman that we must be true to what we do believe, must live up to the height of it and under its power. Truth is much, but to be true is far more—to be true to the highest we know and the best we have seen of man and God.

Loyalty to Hope is equally demanded. Foolish and misinformed optimism is indeed an impertinence in view of so grave a situation. Yet we have to-day full reason to hope for ultimate victory, and for the establishing of freedom and righteousness upon the ruins of a colossal tyranny. The situation is undeniably fraught with danger, but the spirit of the allied forces is unbroken, and their resources are far greater than they were a year ago, while the original calculations of the enemy have failed. Now, if ever in all our long story, it is the day for courageous confidence and stern hopes.

Loyalty to Love—this is the most difficult demand of all. There is upon every spirit a general sense of enemies, an undertone of hostility, to which we were unaccustomed. There is danger of our losing, for the time, the habit and even the faculty of looking round us with loving eyes. Towards our enemies, our spirit and temper need special guardianship. Some of their actions and utterances have exhibited an extraordinary spectacle of hysterical rage, brute fury, and childish spitefulness. Let us beware of retaliating with such poor and futile weapons. The ghastly necessities of conscience and of honour compel us to fight this war through to a victorious end. But let us accept these necessities without debauching them, and remember that Love is still the ultimate master of the world.

The general sense of hostility is apt to exasperate the nerves of

men, and to lead to many misunderstandings, wrong constructions, and ungenerous criticisms among ourselves. The east wind is out, and hearts grow cold and numb in its icy blast. But the great business of life is still what it has always been, to love one another. Now is the time for binding ourselves together in closer friendships, more generous affections, more open-hearted sympathies.

Much that was present in our life has gone from it, and much that was dear to our hearts. But still there abide these three—*Faith*, *Hope*, and *Love*. Let us be watchful and strengthen the things that remain."

Has any thing finer come out of the trenches than the following poem which appeared in the *Spectator* over the initials L. W.?

Christ In Flanders

"We had forgotten You, or very nearly—
 You did not seem to touch us very nearly—
 Of course we thought about You now and then,
 Especially in any time of trouble—
 We knew that You were good in time of trouble—
 But we are very ordinary men.

And there were always other things to think of—
 There's lots of things a man has got to think of—
 His work, his home, his pleasure and his wife;
 And so we only thought of You on Sunday—
 Sometimes, perhaps, not even on a Sunday,
 Because there's always lots to fill one's life.

And, all the while, in street or lane or by-way—
 In country lane, or city street, or by-way—
 You walked among us, and we did not see.
 Your feet were bleeding as you walked our pavements—
 How *did* we miss Your Footprints on our pavements?—
 Can there be other folk as blind as we?

Now we remember; over here in Flanders—
 (It isn't strange to think of You in Flanders)
 This hideous warfare seems to make things clear.
 We never thought about You much in England—
 But now that we are far away from England—
 We have no doubts, we *know* that you are here.

You helped us pass the jest along the trenches—
Where, in cold blood, we waited in the trenches—
You touched its ribaldry and made it fine.
You stood beside us in our pain and weakness—
We're glad to think you understood our weakness—
Somehow it seems to help us not to whine.

We think about You kneeling in the garden—
Ah! God! the agony of that dread garden—
We know You prayed for us upon the Cross.
If anything could make us glad to bear it—
'T would be the knowledge that you willed to bear it—
Pain—death—the uttermost of human loss.

Though we forgot You—You will not forget us—
We feel so sure that You will not forget us—
But stay with us until this dream is past.
And so we ask for courage, strength, and pardon—
Especially, I think, we ask for pardon—
And that You'll stand beside us to the last."

Only a few months ago the Missionary World of South India was deprived of the guiding hand of the Rev. Dr. Wyckoff, and now we have to lament the loss of another whom we could ill-afford to spare. The Rev. James Cooling, the Chairman of the Madras District of the Wesleyan Synod, died suddenly on 2nd December after a long and honourable service of thirty-nine years. Mr. Cooling had been a member of the Madras Christian College Council since its commencement in 1877, and was the only member now in this country who had assisted in its deliberations from the beginning. His knowledge of educational problems, and his deep interest in missionary education gave special value to his counsel. The Missionary Educational Council of South India found ever in him a valued supporter, and every association for united and co-operative effort was strengthened by Mr. Cooling's presence. We desire to express our sympathy with the Wesleyan Mission, and with Mrs. Cooling and her family in their bereavement.

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

Muthumeenakshi. The autobiography of a Brahmin Girl. By A. Madhaviah, Madras, 1915.

MR. MADHAVIAH is unquestionably one of the most prolific and effective of all our South Indian writers. Let it not be said of him that "a prophet is not without honour save in his own country." Let all due honour be paid to him now while he lives to enjoy it, and in South India where he dwells. He has written much and he has written well. He has written too with a keen sense of the social miseries caused in his community by unrighteous customs and with a trenchant criticism that would be resented if offered by a foreigner. The present work is comparatively small, but it is especially interesting inasmuch as it is a translation into English by the author's daughter. If the translation is entirely her own she is a credit to her father. The little book may profitably be read either in Tamil or in its English dress by every Tamil household in Southern India. Copies may be procured from K. Raghaviah, Cheyur, Chingleput District.

A Tagore Calendar.

WE have received from Messrs. Harrap's representatives (P. T. I. Book Depot, Bangalore City) a handsome illuminated calendar for 1916, with an impressive quotation from *Gitanjali* as its theme. A similar calendar is published with a text from *The Gardener*. The calendar itself is suspended from the illuminated text, so that it can be renewed from year to year. Priced at Re. 1, the calendars can be obtained for As. 12 up to December 25th. We could wish there had been quotations from the gifted poet's works, if not for every day, at least for each month of the year. But many may find value in the daily reminder of the same moving thought.

LITERARY NOTES.

MR. MURRAY'S new books include a life of *Eleftherios Venizelos*, the Cretan statesman and ex-premier of Greece, whose name and policy are now known throughout the world. It is the work of an intimate friend and erstwhile colleague, Dr. Kerofilas, and (at 3s. 6d. nett) should find a wide circulation.

The Life of the Duke of Marlborough, by Edward Thomas (Chapman and Hall; 10s. 6d. nett) is a vivid presentation of one of the

greatest, if not the most admirable, of England's generals and diplomatists. "Every schoolboy knows" the names and dates of Marlborough's victories; few but the earnest student of his age are aware how many other triumphs he had to win to make those victories possible. Mr. Thomas brings them all before us, and helps us to realise the greatness of the man's personality.

FEW countries in the world have more suggestiveness for the thoughtful student of history than Babylonia—which is likely to meet with a revival in popular interest now that the British Expeditionary Force is pushing its way to Baghdad. We welcome, therefore, *A History of Babylon*, by Dr. King, of the British Museum, published by Chatto and Windus (18s. nett).

THE latest batch of "Everymans" includes several books that deserve a generous reception. John Richard Green's *Short History of the English People* should find many purchasers; as a work at once scholarly and popular, it is just what many of our readers must desire. Newman's lectures on *University Education* are also notable. Last, but not least in value, we would commend the two volumes of Mrs. Ewing's delightful stories, now added to the section "For Young People."

THE *Quarterly* for October includes several articles of topical interest, but of more than passing value. "Italy and the Adriatic" sketches the historic importance of the great inland sea, and is the more valuable in that it is largely based on recent Italian books. The article on "French Idealism and the War" may open the eyes of many to the significance of the new France we rejoice to find among our Allies. Lord Cromer contributes an article on "Modern Austria."

AMONG modern composers, the name of Samuel Coleridge-Taylor stands out with unique interest. As his name alone would almost suggest, he was half negro by birth, and his best known music bears unmistakably the stamp of his race. The early close of his career was one of the many tragedies of musical history. The story of his life is told by Mr. Berwick Sayers (Cassell; 7s. 6d. nett).

ONE of the most interesting of the literary by-products of the War is the striking series of *Broadsheets for Soldiers and Sailors* issued by *The Times*. The "man behind the gun" can hardly be expected to carry a library with him; yet it is hard if he is to be cut off from all literature more solid than our ordinary periodicals. The *Broadsheets*

offer him choice selections from a wide range of classics, in a form that he can easily keep as long as he pleases, pass on to a comrade, or throw away when it has served its turn. They range from the Bible and ancient sages like Plato to modern English poets or the humours of Mr. Jorrocks and the "Irish R. M." or the Eatanswill Election. A set of six may be had for a penny, or a single sheet at 1s. 4d. per hundred. Twenty-four sets have already been issued. Bound together, they would make up a very remarkable anthology.

SCIENCE NOTES.

IN his recent book entitled *Diversions of a Naturalist*, Sir Ray Lankester writes most interestingly and informingly on many subjects biological, physiological, geological and otherwise. At a time like the present when almost every publication deals more or less with the great war, it is at once a pleasure and a relief to meet with a volume which is frankly intended to lead one away to the eternal source of happiness which is found in the study of Nature.

FOR several years past it has gradually become more certain that the character and quality of the food we eat are far more important than was formerly supposed. It used to be considered that so long as there was a supply of carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen, and oxygen with a little phosphate, sulphate and chloride of potassium, sodium, calcium and iron in the food taken, then that was all that was necessary. These elements had to be combined in certain forms, proteid, fatty and carbohydrate. We now know however that the case is not so simple as this. We must have not only the elements there and these present as proteids, fats, starches and sugars and in correct proportion and bulk but we must also have certain other qualities and substances in order to maintain health.

RECENT experiments on the feeding of rats have clearly shown that the animals may get a diet which is chemically correct and in the proper proportions. Though fed with as much of this artificial food as they could take, the rats did not increase in weight and most of them died within twenty days. Other rats fed on a natural diet of cheese, bread, eggs, meat, and vegetables actually doubled their weight in the same time. If, however, a single teaspoonful of milk was added to the artificial food, then the rats lived and thrived as well on the chemical diet as the other rats on the ordinary food. The milk contained some highly elaborate proteid which was essential, not because of its quantity

but because of its quality. Young rats living under ordinary conditions get this substance from their usual food which is very varied in character. Here the experiments show clearly that the proper quantities in the food of flesh-forming and heat-giving substances is not enough.

IN the East among all people who live chiefly upon rice, the very troublesome disease known as "berri-berri" is prevalent and as it renders its victims unfit for work, great inconvenience is often caused to employers of coolie labour. It is now known that the illness is caused by feeding the coolies on polished rice, rice which is inferior and which has had its outer coat removed in the sifting process. This outer coat contains a minute quantity of a proteid which, when present, totally prevents the appearance of "berri-berri." This substance has been isolated by the chemist and is known as a-vitamine. The feeding of both man and animals requires now to be properly studied anew, in the light of these important results. As for man he cannot do better than take the advice of Duclaux, the pupil and successor of Pasteur: "Do not eat much but eat many things; there is safety in variety, danger in uniformity."

EVERY now and then we find in the newspapers accounts of the finding of a toad living enclosed in stone. The discoverers of the animal invariably feel assured that the creature has been imprisoned in the rock for untold thousands of years, and generally consider that they have got a living representative of a race which long ago ceased to exist. When their views are not upheld they triumphantly claim that it is well known that reptiles and even amphibians have been got fossilised in the "coal measures" so why may not a living one come to the light occasionally. So far as the common toad is concerned, that animal is comparatively a recent one in making its appearance on this earth and further, the modern animal is quite easily distinguished from all other known toads, living and extinct. It is equally certain that no toads existed when the "coal measures" were laid down.

THIS tale of the living toad found embedded in rock has been occasionally improved upon by the pressmen across the Atlantic. There the variant takes the form, that some workmen while engaged in blasting a rock in a quarry were astonished to see escape from the cavity in the solid stone, a large flying lizard or pterodactyl, which immediately spread its wings and vanished from sight,

THE real truth about the toad seems to be that quarrymen do at times liberate a toad from stone but the rock has had a fissure, often many feet deep, into which the young toad has found its way and in which it has obtained sufficient insects to keep it alive probably for many months. Such a fissure is usually wet and has its sides moss covered so that the toad is in favourable surroundings with plenty of air and moisture and a suitable temperature, while food though probably not very plentiful is certainly enough to keep the animal healthy.

IN Mammals the middle ear is crossed by a chain of three ossicles, the malleus, incus and stapes. The homologies of these little bones have long been disputed by comparative anatomists and it is interesting to find that in the last number of the *Quarterly Journal of Microscopical Science* Mr. E. S. Goodrich in an article on the middle ear in reptiles, birds and mammals gives us the last word on the subject. Hertwig considered that the malleus=articular; incus=palatoquadrate; stapes=upper part of the hyoid + columella. Huxley held that the stapes=columella; incus=columella (suprastapedial part); malleus=quadrate. Gadow found that the malleus=articular; incus=quadrate, while stapes=columella. Sedgwick in his well-known text-book accepts the view that the three ossicles all arose from the columella, which itself is simply the upper part of the hyoid arch, while the quadrate has been absorbed into the squamosal.

FROM the above statements it can be readily seen that the student has in the past had considerable difficulty in knowing which view he should himself take. Most accepted Sedgwick's as the newest and also as the most reliable. This however can no longer be adopted and on looking over the results of Hertwig, Huxley, Gadow and Sedgwick, eminent though all these men were in their day, we can safely accept the decision of Goodrich, who in conclusion finds that he can give his entire support to the much debated view that both the stapes and columella are derived from the hyoid arch, incus=quadrate and malleus=articular. He thus upholds the previous explanation of Gadow and of Hertwig as also that of Beddard, as expressed in his volume on the Mammalia in the *Cambridge Natural History*.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE November number of the *Contemporary Review* opens with an article entitled 'Italy and England,' by Signor Romolo Murri. The participation of Italy in the European War may be characterised as the action of a country which all at once finds in the sudden and violent overthrow of her foreign policy, of her international friendships and enmities, the turning point and the re-adjustment of her whole home life. Italy entered upon the War after passing through an internal revolution by which England took the place of Germany in her foreign politics, and the power passed from a Parliamentary majority and its head to a government supported by the unanimous confidence of the King and the people. In the present article he seeks to show the importance of England's succeeding to Germany and the deep significance which it has for the national life of Italy. The alliance of Italy with the Central Empires, he says, had no root in popular sympathy or in the popular interests of the country. After 1870 the urgent need of Italy was to achieve moral unity. She had to overcome the ever-recurring machinations of the Papacy, to make the monarchy popular, to consolidate democratic institutions, to create a system of national education, and to lay the basis of a truly national policy. The alliance with the Central Empires seemed to have been made on purpose to prevent the realisation of these objects. For one thing it detached Italy insensibly from France and England, which in past times had helped her in her struggles after national unity, and opened wide a breach for German penetration, and for another it bound her to the nations which were the best political friends of the Vatican and its temporal claims.

Signor Murri gives an interesting account of the bloodless revolution by which Italy freed herself from the bondage of the Triple Alliance and ranged herself on the side of England and the Triple Entente. The war which she is now waging, he says, is not a little war of her own within the great war. Italy is fighting against Austria, against Turkey, but above all, against German Imperialism. She is making the aims of England her own. And she knows that she is not simply conquering the enemy opposed to her but giving England time to win. Her victory could not be secure or complete without England's victory.

Mr. Aneurin Williams deals with the massacres of Armenians, which have horrified the whole civilised world. Whether Germany has instigated or connived at these massacres, Mr. Williams does not

venture to say, but at any rate she has stood by and refrained from using her undoubted power to stay the hands of the Turks. In the efficiency of their organisation the massacres give evidence of another hand than that of the Turk. With reference to the statements that these massacres mean a complete wiping out of the Armenian race he points out that there is a large Armenian population outside Turkey. But while this ensures the continuation of the race, the remnant of the Turkish Armenians call for and deserve all the help that can be given to them. The Armenians have been and still are remarkable for their intelligence and education amid the barbarism of their surroundings. They have clung passionately to their religion, and their women have been brought up in purity and refinement. In ancient times their country lay across one of the main tracks by which the hordes of Asia reached the West, and in our own day they are intermediaries between Western civilisation and the people of the East. Living in the East, but with minds more akin to the West, and open to all its ideas of education and settled industry, of freedom, and of self-government, they may be destined to play a great part still in the education of Eastern peoples. To save them from destruction, therefore, is not only important but is a duty which all the Great Powers have, in varying degrees, taken upon them to discharge.

Dr. Dillon, whose articles we have missed from the last three numbers of the *Contemporary Review*, has a contribution this month. Before he proceeds to deal with the main subject of his article, which is the policy of the Balkan states, more particularly of Bulgaria and Greece, he explains the intermission of his contributions. In July, he had written an article dealing with the desirability of modifying our attitude towards the neutral States, more particularly those of the Balkan Peninsula; the necessity for compulsory military service; and the pressing need for the readjustment of our commercial policy to actual requirements. This article was, however, suppressed by the Censor, who apparently thought that some of Dr. Dillon's facts had better not be published. In the present article, Dr. Dillon says he touches only the fringe of the Balkan question. With regard to the part played by Greece a considerable share of the responsibility for the present Balkan muddle falls on the shoulders of all her official statesmen, including even M. Venizelos himself. In the King of Greece and his followers he sees potential enemies of the Allies, who are animated by an overwhelming desire to help on the Germans whenever they think they can do so without exposing their persons to punishment or their plans to frustration. Of Ferdinand of Bulgaria, he says that his policy was to keep in with the victors and to discern on which victory would lie. As regards the Bulgarians Ferdinand and they

are well suited to each other. The Bulgarians are the Prussians of the Balkans. They have the social sense highly developed, the vaulting ambition, the self-containment, and the capacity for organisation which have won for Prussia the place she now occupies in the world. Dr. Dillon affirms that the Entente Powers had formed most erroneous ideas of the mentality of the Balkan peoples and therefore wasted their reasoning and suaveness on them.

Dr. R. W. Seton-Watson contributes an article on 'Serbia's Need and Britain's Danger.' The fate of Serbia, is inseparably bound up with the whole future of the Entente as a living political force and of the British Empire as an instrument of progress and civilisation. He is of the same opinion as Dr. Dillon in regard to the failure of the representatives of the Entente Powers at the Balkan capitals. During the first three critical months of the war the British Embassy at Constantinople was fooled and misled at every turn; and generally the Entente Powers showed a terrible lack of foresight, in connexion with the progress of events in the Balkans. Mr. Sydney A. Moseley, who acted as an accredited correspondent at the Dardanelles, seeks to correct some of the misstatements that have been made in regard to the progress of the operations there. He does not contend that mistakes have not been made, but he takes a hopeful view of the situation and maintains that except in regard to the Suvla Bay landings Britain has every reason to feel proud of what she has accomplished. What the Suvla Bay operations showed was that the army was wonderful and the leaders' ideas were splendid, but the method of execution was faulty. The secrecy of the landing stages, he believes, was curiously mishandled. The men who knew of it should not have known, and the men who should have known did not know. The censorship was a force, and the dependence of the Intelligence Department on foreigners was a great handicap. Mr. Mosely is of opinion that more might have been done than was done to enliven the men in the wretched conditions in which they had to exist. A brass band, he thinks, would have been of very great service. The work of the Letter Post Office was well done, but that of the Parcel Post Office was a scandal.

Mr. M. M. Mjelde, London Editor of the *Verdens Gang* of Christiania, contrasts the fertilising influence which Britain and France have had on the intellectual and political life of Norway with the materialising and cramping influence of Germany. He is particularly enthusiastic regarding the benefits which Norway has derived from her connexion with Great Britain. He rejoices that Sweden, in spite of strong pro-German influence in certain quarters, has kept to neutrality; and he claims that for this the attitude of Norway is to no small

extent responsible. Mr. S. J. Rapoport gives an interesting account of the life and writings of the Russian Philosopher, Vladimir Solodiev; and Mr. K. C. Lim explains the 'Significance of the Monarchical Movement in China'. Mr. H. W. Horwill tells the story of the high tariffs which for so long oppressed the American people, pointing out that they were the direct outgrowth of temporary import duties imposed as a financial measure during the Civil War; and Mr. W. E. Dowding contributes an interesting article on the 'War Giving.' Mabel R. Brailsford writes on 'Cromwell's Quaker Soldiers:' and Mr. J. E. G. de Montmorency contributes to the Literary Supplement a poem, 'To Italy', and a short article on the stained glass of an old church in England. There are the usual reviews of books.

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

True National Service by A. Carson Roberts occupies the first place in the current number of this Review. It is to be welcomed as an attempt to base the plea for universal service on the principle of the obligation on all citizens to serve in the defence of the State, but the further contention that war is beneficial only if entered upon whole-heartedly, and that wars are always beneficial if so entered upon seems to belong to the philosophy of the Central European powers more than to that of Great Britain and her allies. Mr. Roberts supports his case by reference to a number of wars, but it is equally open to an opponent to quote others against him. It is, for example, strange to hear from an English writer that both France and Germany benefited by the War of 1870. It is a far more usual thesis to assert that they both suffered material and moral loss. Perhaps France lost less than her enemy, but this is not a consideration which is likely to lead others to enter whole-heartedly upon a war—again, the French certainly were enthusiastic for the wars of the First Republic and the First Empire, but they were not very conspicuously benefited by them. Admitting that the immediate aim of the Northern States in the American Civil War was a right one, was the result altogether for the gain of the United States as a whole? War undoubtedly, does bring out compensating virtues in the belligerent nations, but "compensating" implies a loss. Mr. Roberts is certainly right in assuming that such benefits as accrue by War are independent of the victory or defeat, or at least to some extent so, but his emphasis upon the benefits of War tends in the direction of the thesis that certain virtues can only be acquired by War; that way lies madness of the right Teutonic kind. If conscription is necessary, and it well may be, it is in order that the evils of war may not fall on one section of the community alone, and

that the best, because the one most animated by the sense of duty and responsibility. If the voluntary system fails, the state must claim the service of the unwilling, but it is absurd to suppose that the conscript is individually so good a soldier as the volunteer. England will be in a particularly unfortunate position in this respect, because her allies are accustomed to the idea of conscription as part of the national life, while with us it must have something of the appearance of a press-gang measure. Pressed men fought well enough in the face of the enemy, but they gave the authorities a world of trouble to get them ready for the firing line; the Royal Marines are the only branch of the King's Forces which have never mutinied in the course of their history.

A FRENCH *view of Anglo-French Relations* by M. Davray, shows an intimate knowledge of the English temperament, and helps to explain why on one or two occasions the French public have been misled into dissatisfaction at our efforts. The comparison between the French and English methods of legislation and administration is illuminating, and could only have been written by one with intimate and sympathetic knowledge of both countries. In India we are liable to forget the fettering and clogging effect of public opinion, and yet the necessity of conciliating public opinion at the beginning of the War, which forced Sir Edward Grey to refer to Parliament what was a foregone conclusion, evidently caused much unnecessary anxiety in France. The second occasion quoted by M. Davray on which French confidence was shaken, was evidently directly attributable to the ill-advised, if not intentionally captious and unpatriotic, agitation against the Government, carried on by certain English papers. If their editors read this article, we do not envy their feelings; it is a serious offence to embarrass a Government at such a time as this, it is something worse to cause misunderstandings between Allies.

MONOPOLY *in Religion* by the Bishop of Carlisle, is clearly meant as a contribution to the controversies arising out of incidents at the Kikuyu Conference. The article suffers under the disability of the prolonged use of a metaphor sustained throughout the whole paper. Metaphors, as was once pointed out by, I think, M. Clémenceau, are very dangerous things, and Dr. Diggle has certainly run some risk of being misunderstood. The majority of those who read this magazine will no doubt agree with his main thesis, but it is to be hoped that they will not all think that those who do not find themselves in complete agreement with him, always "glory in" their "monopoly" of grace. Is it altogether fair controversy to represent either the Roman or the English Catholic as a "monopolist" because he believes that Our Lord Himself

intended that there should be one Church, with large authority from Himself, and not many churches which, because they contradict one another, cannot all have the same authority. Without doubt, the Christianity of the New Testament appears to make an exclusive claim to be the only method of salvation revealed to man, and if the "traditional" forms of Christianity be in error, in claiming to represent the one Church in all Her perfection, it is not through pride, but because of an error which leads them to claim for a part of the Church, what belongs to the whole. The questions raised, of authority, of orders, of the second sacrament, and of orthodoxy, are all vital and therefore controversial, but their treatment in this article has not helped the writer of this review to a clearer solution of them. Ridicule is like the boomerang, and it is not good argument; "common sense," in the twentieth century meaning of the phrase, is not the ultimate court of appeal in matters of the Faith.

When the Dark Hosts are Vanquished by Mr. A. P. Sinnett attempts, by the aid of "Super-normal" influences of an undefined character, to foreshadow the state of the world after the present war is over. Mr. Sinnett is evidently a Theosophist, and he shares with that body a tendency to use the terminology of other religious systems in senses quite different from those in which they are familiar to everyone. Apart from this characteristic of his style, we can say very little about Mr. Sinnett's article. He seems to promise a world rejuvenated, filled with intangible prosperity, and a speedy re-incarnation to those who fall in the War. There is much also about the devil.

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

In the *Fortnightly Review* perhaps the most interesting article is the History of the War. It may contain little that one has not read in the telegrams, but it is much more comprehensible.

In orders of September 14 and 15 regarding the great operations which began on Saturday, September 25, General Joffre, in disposing of about one-and-a-half million men, explained that the intention was to "drive the Germans out of France, liberate those of our countrymen who have been suppressed for the last twelve months, and snatch away from the enemy the valuable possession of the occupied territory." Though this did not come about, it is pretty evident that two more such assaults will render the German lines untenable in anything like their present position.

Apart from minor attacks meant to hold the German local reserves, there were two main attacks. The more important of these was in-

Champagne. The first rush captured the German first line trenches over a front of fifteen miles. Sixteen thousand unwounded prisoners and seventy captured guns testify to the vigour of the attack. The greatest advance, two miles, and the heaviest fighting fell to the share of the division of General Marchand, who was wounded when leading his men. The pressure, moreover, was maintained, for on October 5th, Butte de Tahure was captured. This is of great importance as an artillery observation post; it is within two miles of the railway from Bazancourt to Challerange, and the Germans will therefore be deprived of the means of rapidly bringing up reinforcements. The Germans have had serious losses in their attempts to recapture it.

We are more interested, however, in the other attack, in Artois, the British assaulting north, and the French south of Lens. The British attack was started by two corps (about 70,000 men), afterwards reinforced by about the same number of men; it was very successful, the strong Hohenzollern and Kaiser Wilhelm redoubts did not stop the rush, and over 4,000 yards were gained. The advance left the brigadiers behind, and there was some difficulty in securing our positions against an enemy eager to take every opportunity of enfilading us with machine-guns or even of attack when any dislocation in our lines appeared. Hill 70 was not cleared, and though it was captured later it was impossible to hold it. This was not surprising as it would have commanded Lens. The French captured Souchez, famous for the Labyrinth, and advanced a mile to a mile and a half beyond.

That night reserves from Belgium were brought up, next day a heap of rubbish from the coal-pits, called Fosse 8, was recaptured and served to annoy our left flank. On the next Friday the enemy recaptured most of Fort Hohenzollern; a week later, a German attack was completely repulsed with a loss of 8,000 killed. Our troops followed up the beaten enemy and captured a trench. On the 13th we attacked, using gas; we recaptured the Hohenzollern redoubt, leaving only the communication trenches, known as Big and Little Willie, in the enemy's hands.

Thus in three weeks' fighting the British and French have secured a position in which the country W. and S. W. of Lens is a German salient. Before long we should be able to render the lines through that town useless, but another line which passes a mile and a half to the east of the town is probably beyond our reach at present.

On September 18th, the Germans entered Vilna; with that the German offensive lost its vigour, and Russian counter-attacks have harrassed them severely.

In Mesopotamia, Kut, where the Shatt-el-Hai leaves the Tigris to join the Euphrates, was captured at the end of September. It is only 100 miles from Baghdad; to capture the latter would be of great political

importance, but just on that account the advance is being made with circumspection, as to hold it will be more difficult than to take it. The account of the state of matters in Serbia is more sanguine than events in November would justify.

THE first article is on Swedish Activism. Neutrality is Sweden's official policy and is approved of by the great majority of the nation. Against this policy, the Activists, who favour the Central Powers, and are drawn from all parties but mainly from the Right, protest in favour of the Central Powers; a counter-agitation, that of the neutralists, has arisen in consequence. A British Mission has been trying to settle affairs with Sweden; the Germanophile papers took a very high tone over the matter. The Premier condemned both sets of agitators; he explained, however, that other contingencies than invasion might compel entry into the War. This was claimed by the Activists as a victory.

In their propaganda, the Activists declared that the moment was critical for the culture and the life of Sweden; the grounds of their appeal were suspicion of Russia and sympathy with Finland. Those who distrusted Germany more than Russia were told that a Germany that had not received help from Sweden would be ill to deal with. If, for example, her victory were only partial, she might allow an Atlantic port to Russia if the latter gave up the claim to Constantinople. Norway would not be a sufficiently powerful ally.

M. Staff and M. Branting, the Liberal and Socialist leaders, took the other side. Even the half-Activists were attacked, whose favourite saying is "Of course no one wants war: but Sweden is not going to put up with any treatment that is meted out to her." The Socialists adopted inquisitory methods against the members of the party who were supposed to have contributed to the War-Book.

Sweden has not forgotten the part she once played in the world: "the Swede is much concerned with his dignity: interest take second place." This, given Germanophilism, explains Activism. Germanophilism does not mean direct love for Germany; it is dread of Russia and sympathy with Finland, and Russia's treatment of Finland has not improved conspicuously since the war began. In fact, some of the Finns are thinking of rising and it is principally to this feeling that the Activists appeal. The anti-English element in Activism is increasing; it is due to sympathy with Germany and is helped by various British indiscretions. Then Russia's misfortunes were its opportunity; the frontier races of Russia should be liberated.

COLLEGE NOTES.

FRIENDS of the College will be sorry to hear of the loss it has sustained in the departure of Mr. Templeton. It took place somewhat suddenly and unexpectedly. Mr. Templeton looked a strong man, and in the very best of health; and it was hoped that he had many years of useful work before him in the College. But some time ago, certain symptoms made their appearance, which were not at first regarded as being of much consequence, but which gradually intensified, till it became necessary to call in medical advice. The result was that the doctors who were consulted pronounced Mr. Templeton to be in serious danger, and ordered him to be invalided home at once. Accordingly, he left Madras for Bombay on the evening of the 14th of November, only two days after it was finally settled that it would be necessary for him to go home. He is now on his way to England, and it is expected that he will derive much benefit from the voyage. There is practically no chance of his being allowed to resume work in the tropics, and his loss is deeply felt by all connected with the College. Mr. Templeton had been a member of the staff for two years. During that time he worthily upheld the traditions of the College, by devotion to work, by sympathetic care of the students under his charge, and by the deeply religious spirit he brought to all his tasks. He was a man of singularly attractive disposition; and more especially as Superintendent of Caithness Hall and as the companion of the students on the foot-ball field, he came very close to those who were associated with him. He carries with him the respect and sympathy of all who knew him, whose fervent hope it is that, in the providence of God, he may be speedily restored to health by rest and change of scene and climate, and be spared for many years of useful service in other surroundings.

A FORMER Student has favoured us with the following 'Note from Life' which we believe will be read with interest:—

The first problem that confronted me after leaving College was not that of securing an appointment or choosing a profession. From the Senate House, I was ushered by kind friends directly into an educational institution in a town which at that time, more than thirty years ago, was in a rather backward condition. There were some graduates in the town, a second grade college and a high-school, and Christian missionaries had worked for years and made some fairly distinguished converts from the highest castes. Yet, compared with Madras, the town was enveloped in darkness, as I found out very soon. The light that was needed to avoid collisions with one's neighbours

was not the light of truth, but of wisdom, and this I had not learnt from books. The collisions were therefore frequent, and for a young man quite exhilarating.

Accustomed in Madras to eat bread baked by non-Brahmans, I forget now whether my baker was a Christian or a Sudra. I insisted upon that forbidden article of diet in the backward town. The Brahman neighbours felt uneasy and possibly indignant, but they did not remonstrate, for I did not know their vernacular, and they did not know English. Our kitchen was separated from theirs by a wooden partition, and the ladies who peeped in through the chinks satisfied themselves that we cooked no animal food. "Eating bread may be the custom of his caste" said the ladies, as I was told: "but he seems to be a very honourable man. He never looks at women; they may congregate on the outer *pyals* and talk ever so loud, but he bends down his head or turns away his face and walks on, without casting a glance at them. Very respectable!" The male neighbours were pleased with my kindness to beggars. So in their eyes my charity and respectability covered all vagaries of creed and conduct.

Accustomed in Madras to hear lectures and sermons, I attended the local church on Sundays, for that was the only place where one could hear a discourse in English. That was very suspicious, but in my house no outlandish practice could be discerned, and it was therefore clear that I could not be a Christian in Brahmanical clothing. However, I was not content to hear speeches. I was ready to speak and once I spoke in glowing terms of Christ's personality. Bah! That could not be very innocent. Indeed it set a few orthodox circles ablaze. They fixed a day for my baptism and a theosophist organised a rescue expedition. I believe nothing of a violent nature was contemplated; at any rate all that I know personally was that one evening the theosophist called on me and engaged me in religious conversation and drew me out on various question of theological interest. "After all you are not a Christian, but only a broad-minded eclectic!", exclaimed he at the end of the conversation, and he narrated the various rumours he had heard and the object of his visit. The landlord, who had given me notice to quit, changed his mind, and the rest of my voyage in the Bay of Bengal was uneventful. That town, from all I read in the papers, appears to have become a centre of enlightenment now, and if I visit it again I am sure I shall not be confronted by the old difficulties. It is now a railway station, as it was not then, and the restaurant must have solved many delicate questions. The carriers of the torch of knowledge must have illuminated many others.

IN the calendar of our students, the month of November is distinguished by two events, one of which is Deepavali. It is a feast dear to the heart of every Hindu young man, who generally gets a present of new clothes on the occasion, and especially so if he is married, in which case he gets a very handsome present from his parents-in-law. We have known cases in which when the young man was unable to go to receive the present in person, it has been sent to his Hostel address by *registered* post: an interweaving of home custom and public facilities of transmission with the even tenour of College life. But the non-Brahmin Hindu students of Caithness Hall do not seem to depend upon presents from home for making Deepavali lively for them. This cold weather feast is in this Hostel a day not only of feasting and hospitality but also a day of real light and warmth, "a feast of reason and flow of soul," a day on which goodwill and culture prevail, a day which, once participated in, is not easily forgotten. Fancy Mr. F. W. Henderson sitting in one of the trenches in France, in the midst of British artillery and with the enemy shells bursting round him every now and then and writing a letter conveying his Deepavali greetings to the members of Caithness Hall so as to reach them before the 6th November last.

On this day the members entertained as usual the Professors and their ladies and members of other Hostels, besides former members of the Hall, among whom the graduates of the year presented to their old Hostel a portrait of the Rev. Dr. Russell. This was unveiled by Mr. Macphail than whom none could more appropriately perform the function, seeing that he knew Dr. Russell longer than any body else in the College. Mr. Macphail described how, when he was going back from India in 1887 after serving for one year as Assistant to Dr. Miller, he saw Mr. Russell at Port Said standing on board the ship which brought him to Madras where he was to take Mr. Macphail's place as Assistant to the Principal. That was twenty-eight years ago. Four years ago Mr. Russell retired owing to ill-health brought on by strain, with a record of service of which any educationalist might be proud. The new buildings, in the erection of which he spent himself unstintingly, will remain his peculiar monument in the College: but the counterfeit presentment he then unveiled would give succeeding generations of students who lived in Caithness Hall an idea of the man to whom the College and through the College the South Indian people owe so much. Another presentation made on the occasion was that of a portrait of the late Mr. Craig. This was unveiled by Mr. Crawford who had been Mr. Craig's tutor at Oxord. Mr. Crawford knew how full of hope and joy Mr. Craig was at the prospect of serving the Kingdom of Christ in India, and how intensely he loved his work and his students. But the tragedy of young lives cut off before their bloom

was being brought home to them all by the war, and it is impossible to think otherwise than that these lives will blossom elsewhere and for higher ends.

After an exchange of greetings between present and past members, represented respectively by the Secretary of the Hall and by Mr. C. Krishna Reddi, B.A., M.B., C.M., who was now the Medical Attendant of all the College hostels, the dramatic portion of the entertainment began with an English farce entitled "The Rule of Three," depicting the ridiculous situations in which a suspicious husband finds himself perpetually placed. This was enacted with a verve and spirit which quite astonished the audience. Men and women to the manner born could not have acted much better. It is sometimes said that Indian students cannot enter into the spirit of English "society" novels, which there is no use, it is said, prescribing for study in College classes. These critics will not be unwelcome at the next similar performance by Caithness Hall students. Having thus established their capacity for natural and effective acting, the success of the students in reproducing, in Telugu, scenes of Indian life in various grades of society, was not so very remarkable. The opportunity for improving upon the original play by *impromptu* speeches was not likely to be missed by young actors caught in the frenzy of constructive, imaginative sympathy. Mr. Macartney who presided over the whole function congratulated the members upon their excellent performances. He for one would find it difficult to say who among them acted best. The winner of the prize for acting, which was given away by Mr. Macartney along with a number of other prizes offered and competed for by the members themselves, might be the best, but there were others who ran a very close second. A number of books were also presented to the Hostel library in commemoration of this celebration of "the feast of lights."

ANOTHER winter weather event in Madras is the Convocation of the University, which takes place not long after the Government have come down from the hills and settled to their work on the plains. Depending upon the Convocation is the College Prize Distribution and the Reception to the graduates of the year by the Senatus and the College Day Committee.

Owing to delay in the arrival of prize-books, the prize-distribution could not take place on the usual day; but the new graduates were welcomed all the same on the day following Convocation. There was a very large attendance; only a very few among those who had taken the degree the previous day being absent. Mr. Corley congratulated the graduates and exhorted them to keep alive their interest in the

College and to maintain their connection with it by becoming regular readers of the College Magazine and by joining the College Day Association. He quoted Burke's famous saying that statesmen were made in the home, and pointed out how through attachment to the institution in which they had received their training, they could learn those lessons of loyalty to ideals and of unselfish labour for patriotic ends which were so invaluable to them in the present state of their country's progress. Mr. C. S. Anantarama Aiyar, Under-secretary to the Government of Madras, spoke on behalf of the College Day Association and welcomed the new graduates to the ranks of former students, and reminded them that their education, far from having come to a close, was really beginning just then and that the tests to which they would be subjected in life would be far severer than any they had known at college. Mr. R. K. Shanmukam, B.A., responded on behalf of his fellow-graduates. Similar receptions were held of course on a smaller scale, in the Rungiah Chetty Hostel and in the Fenn Hostel. While in the "Rungiah Chetty" the present members played the part of hosts, that role was assumed in the Fenn Hostel by the new graduates. The Convocation is thus becoming a season of educational rejoicing, a season of congratulation, of exhortation and of demonstrations of local and sectional patriotism. Not a district association in the presidency town but claimed and congratulated its district men among the university victors; the latest association to muster the graduates whom it could legitimately claim as part of its constituency being the Dravidian Association of Triplicane, whose spokesman, Rao Sahib T. Ramakrishna Pillai, welcomed the non-Brahmin graduates and impressed upon them the duty of raising the position in the general life of the country of the various classes whom they represented.

THE College Day will be celebrated this year on Monday, the 27th December. Mr. R. Srinivasa Aiyar, Deputy Accountant-General, will preside over the public meeting in the Anderson Hall at 5 P.M. The Conference begins at 9 A.M. The breakfast will be at 11 o'clock. A special feature of the proceedings at the public meeting will be the unveiling of an oil painting of the late Mr. S. Rungiah Chettiar. The usual message from Dr. Miller has been received.

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*A YEAR OF PEACE IN A TIME OF WAR **

BY W. MESTON, M.A., B.D.

ANOTHER year has gone by, a year of mighty import for Europe and for the world. With increasing fierceness the conflict has been waged between liberty and oppression, between the right to live and the right to domineer, between the call of expediency and the sanctity of plighted honour, between the material and the spiritual. We see to-day more men under arms than the world has ever seen; and during the year gone by the issues have been terrible. Fair lands have been devastated, green fields reddened with the blood of men, homes rendered desolate, the bonds of affection ruthlessly snapped. And along with these have gone hardships borne with cheerful mind, sacrifices that make the heart beat, deeds of heroism almost without a parallel. And all the time we have been here as in a garden enclosed. No shell has burst over our heads, the land has not been devastated even by famine, no glitter of steel has disturbed our quiet lot. Day after day the door of the College has stood open, day after day hundreds have entered; here have we sat in studious calm while hundreds of our kith and kin were keeping watch and ward for us even unto death. A Convocation, of undiminished size, included among those who appeared at it a contribution from this college of one quarter of the total number in the Presidency who took the B.A. degree. Judging from causes of absence tendered in class, marrying and giving in marriage have suffered no modification. The crowds in the College office

* An address given at the College Prize-giving on 10th December, 1915.

together with the rustle of paper and the ring of silver have testified to exchequers that are not exhausted. No hostile cruiser has handed over the College prizes of this year to the kindly interest of the fishes of the Indian Ocean. Peace of soul and profit of mind have been our portion; and from the quietness and safety of our seclusion we render hearty thanks to Almighty God.

But with such a dire and momentous strife in the Empire to which we all belong, with one of our own professors within hearing of the guns, what have we been doing to justify the twelve months of quietness that have been ours?

I

I would answer, in the first place, that here we have been seeking to foster and to learn a life *corporate yet individual*. Here in the classroom and in all the circumstances of academic life we have been realising that we are essential to one another. This is no new idea to India; much that is of the essence of Indian thought and institutions is bound up with the notion of a corporate existence. The College takes advantage of this idea and widens its scope. In the classroom, the tennis court, the football field we feel that we are linked by invisible chains. Twenty years ago, I remember, there sat on one of the benches of the Second Class, side by side, a Muhammadan, a Christian, a Hindu, and a Parsee. This proximity, though due to the alphabetical arrangement of the class, is symbolical of what this College is doing by no speeches or special organisation. It is binding its members into a larger unity. It is laying the foundation of that more comprehensive society where men will overcome their differences not by entirely forgetting them, but by not glorying in them, by making common cause against injustice and ignorance and privilege, by working together, in a spirit of mutual give and take, for a united life of high endeavour and worthy purpose. For this corporate life, that will one day issue in a rich, self-sacrificing, thoughtful, national life the College has been fitting you.

But it has never forgotten the individual. A frequent objection to schools and colleges now-a-days is that they mould all that pass through them after the same pattern. It is an objection that has but little to support it in the lecture rooms, the societies, or the hostels of this College. The individual is fostered

and the individual counts; his influence is felt in every class, in every committee, in every social activity. For it is the aim of the College to impress on every one who passes through its halls a sense of individual responsibility, to awaken the individual conscience, to inspire each one with the dignity of being true to himself, to stimulate in all the glory of self-reliance. For the College believes that the lesson thus early learned will stand you in good stead in the days to come, fitting you if need be to stand alone, to take an independent course, to be able to mould men by the force of a telling personality, to shape opinion by the power of a fearless individuality.

II

In the second place I would answer that we have here been imparting an education at once *academic and practical*. No one can pass through our classrooms, but more especially our libraries, without feeling that here there is being engendered a truly academic spirit. There is being fostered in our midst the joy of learning, there is being stimulated the eager desire for a cultured mind. Some at least are learning that, even if learning brought little position and less material reward, it is still a great thing to draw forth the magnificent possibilities of the mind, to exercise to the full a power which, the more it is cultivated, the more it unfolds. For the mind, with its sensitiveness, delicacy, responsiveness, is a treasure beyond compare; cherished, as we seek to cherish it within these walls, it yields a solace that is unending, and an insight that has perennial charm, and a content that laughs at circumstance. You will know the truth of this in days to come.

But here the education if academic is also practical. In the dictionary, "academic" is defined as "scholarly (and by implication) abstract, unpractical." The implication is here belied. In this academic seclusion we train men to face life and its responsibilities, to discharge honourably civic duties, to take if opportunity occurs, a worthy place in their country's legislature. Men are being fitted here for a real place in the sun, not because the college can guarantee them high salaries or conspicuous position, but because it quietly enlarges the mind, imparts wider and truer views, fosters the joy of learning; and because at the same time it gives a learning which finds its appropriate outcome in action

Thus it is that learning has its shrine here--not because it will bring you necessarily tangible rewards, but because it will bring you the happiness of a deeper culture and a wider outlook, and the stimulus to spend and be spent in your country's cause.

III

In the third place I would answer that we are justified by the influence here exerted. It is *an influence which while short in its action is abiding in its results*. Here we seem to be on the banks of a stream that is for ever flowing. In some ways this is pleasing; for a flowing stream is healthy and fair, it escapes the evils of stagnation. But there is a disadvantage and a real one. The flow is all too rapid. Those who teach in a college feel the truth of Heracleitus' dictum that we never bathe twice in the same stream. Four years is a long time for any student to be here; a great number are connected with the College for a shorter time; very few are longer; are there any here who can say as an applicant for a certificate once said "that he had studied here from the A.B. to the B.A."? This time of student life is far too quickly gone; and those of us who remain and see the tide sweeping on are oftentimes sad at heart.

Yet though the time is quickly gone, it is long enough to leave an abiding impress. One of the joys that bring to us some compensation for the short compass of the students' life in our midst is when men come back to tell us of their times at College, to dwell on the happy days that sped so fast and which they feel will never have an equal. But a still greater joy it is when men come back and we see by their whole attitude and bearing that the lessons taught here are not forgotten, that they are carrying into life what they have learned in College. They feel the atmosphere of the College about them, they tell us, in spheres very different from that which they have left behind. They have the sense that the College has imposed a responsibility on them. Their mental gifts, their knowledge acquired not without difficulty, are their own and yet not their own; they are for others also. The moral discipline which they have learned is to be shared with scores of their fellow countrymen. Deep in their heart is formed the conviction that the toil and sacrifice which enabled them to go to College, and the fruits of their study gained at College, have left them involved in a debt which they

can never meet but which they must at all costs seek to liquidate. They have a feeling that they are surrounded by a great cloud of witnesses, visible and invisible, looking upon their lives and eager that nothing base should mar them, nothing dishonourable should rob them of their power. The very walls of the College seem to cry out, walls that have looked for nearly four score years on those who have taught and those who have learned here. And a man becomes proud of his College, as we trust you too will; provided it is a true pride, a pride that makes you ashamed if you fail to spread the spirit of this College, if you do not embody its training in act. A pride that drives you to think of deserving students whom you might help, of ignorant people whom you might enlighten, of less favoured communities whom you might influence for good.

IV

In the fourth place I would answer that the College, *inseparable from the material*, (as all colleges must be) *finds its meaning in the spiritual*. Look at our College report; it has to mention fees collected, sums expended, buildings purchased; thirty pages are occupied with accounts. Every year sees some acquisition; a new laboratory is erected; an old building is transformed. Our buildings cover more than an acre of ground; shelves have to be added to accommodate the ever growing number of books; additional hostels are planned for. When we speak of numbers we tend to think of quantity, bulk. But all this that catches the eye, all this material casing would be a weight beneath which the whole College would sink if it were all. But it is not all; it is not even important save as it is symbolic, sacramental. Were the only message of the College that what is seen and can be handled, what can be counted and arranged, is the great object of attention and attainment, then its existence in South India would entirely fail of justification, most of all at such a crisis as the present. But the College is bigger than its buildings; it is not lost in them; not petrified by them. It lives. Why? Because it transcends the material. Here we learn and know that the human spirit is laid hold of by God's spirit and so lives. Here we know that the past is not irrevocable, but that evil may be vanquished, and a new life begun. Here we know that there are spiritual forces more powerful than the physical, of which

if we take advantage life is lifted to a higher plane and gains a fairer outlook. Here we know that our fleeting existence is the preparation for an immortal destiny. Here we learn that life is no uncharted sea, but that, as we voyage amidst its waters and its storms, we have a Pilot whom we can trust and who will bring us safely through.

Such is the task which the College has been setting before it during these past months as for more than two generations—to send out men able to labour together while true to individual conviction, men who cherish the mind while they use it for their country's uplift, men who are proud of what their College has given them while they humbly seek to discharge the obligations it has imposed, men who scorn not the material while all the time they use it for spiritual ends. Such is the task by which the College would claim to be justified for its days of calm in the midst of a convulsed Empire. Surely it has been no unworthy task to which to devote itself, steadily and resolutely, when the mettle of individuals and nations is being tested as by fire. A worthy task, you may say, but an impossible one. Is it? There are two forces before which the impossible hides its head: one is the enthusiasm of youth, the other is the faith of riper years. And here, in this college, these two forces meet—enthusiasm and faith. And because they meet, we face the future with assurance. For let but our enthusiasm grow keener and our faith strike deeper, and we know that a greater future awaits the college than anything it has accomplished in the past. If it remains true to its ideal, this college will become—and it can think of no higher glory—this college will become the truest Servant of India that South India has ever known.

*THE WAR—A YEAR AFTER.**To Former Students of the Madras Christian College
at the Meeting on College Day for 1915*

GENTLEMEN,

Rather unexpectedly I find myself still able to send some sort of greeting to the annual gathering convened by the College Day Association. My communication must be shorter than on earlier occasions. It is not on that account less hearty or sincere.

I suppose that beyond all other subjects of public interest your thoughts continue to be fixed upon the great war—its present prospects and probable results. That they should be so fixed is only right. This war is by far the most tremendous struggle that the world has witnessed. The issue of it, whatever that issue may be, must powerfully effect the immediate interests of every land and people. Nay, far more than any struggle that history records it must contribute to the settlement of the terrible question of what is to be the ultimate destiny of the human race in its passage across the field of time.

By more than one communication that has come to me from among you, I am led to fear that not many of you have laid to heart my warning of a year ago, to the effect that it is vain to hope for an easy or an early victory in the conflict which barbaric ambition has forced upon our Empire and its Allies. I warned you then that delay and disappointment were inevitable and that we must be prepared to bear if necessary the strain of temporary defeats. The year that lies behind us has evidenced too sadly that these anticipations were correct. There is indeed much reason to be thankful that the hope of immediate triumph, which our enemies cherished at the outset, has failed. To that extent they are already defeated. Yet the hope of complete and permanent victory seems as distant upon our side as upon theirs. There may be many a change before this is read to you,

but as I write such clouds are gathering that the whole immediate prospect seems to be darkening rather than becoming brighter. I have indeed no doubt that the final result will be that which we desire, provided only that there be determined and persistent courage and resolution on the side of the peoples who are banded in defence of our righteous cause. At the same time it is plain to all that we failed at first to measure the strength of our enemies aright. It is plain that much greater effort must be put forth, and much greater sacrifices made, than are apparent even now. India has responded nobly to the call of loyalty and duty, but India equally with all other defenders of our cause needs to be prepared for greater sacrifices than have been demanded hitherto.

Now nothing will more effectually help us to bear what evidently lies before us than a clear understanding of what in the last analysis is the real issue between our enemies and ourselves. It is the question of what is to be the decisive factor in determining the destiny of mankind on earth. Is that chief factor to be material force, or moral right and moral influence? To all intents our enemies maintain that it is the former; we, that it is the latter. Consider the present tremendous struggle from this, the proper because the most enlightening, point of view, and you will see that our cause is worthy of every effort and sacrifice that is needed to secure its triumph.

It would indeed be useless to deny that force has its legitimate place in the scheme of the world in which we find ourselves. There are many scores or perhaps hundreds of men in South India most of them not young men now who can testify by experience what my views on this point are. It has always been a satisfaction, though not a surprise, to me when one and another of these gentlemen have told me in after years how my timely and thorough application of the cane to them in their school-boy days had been a germ of enduring benefit throughout their active lives. I have no doubt that this has been the case with many who have never said so to me, perhaps not even to themselves. But it is by no means only in years of training and school-boy immaturity that compulsion has a rightful place. It is well for all of us that force, in various ways and to some extent, is brought to bear on us in the whole of life from the

cradle to the grave. As with individual men so it is with communities and nations. Force and compulsion cannot healthfully be altogether eliminated from the course of their development.

The question that has to be settled by this, the most stupendous of all wars, is whether force is to be a subordinate or the supreme factor in determining the history of the human race. To the followers of that new morality which I tried to explain to you a year ago, according to which the State must be a law to itself, it is the fundamental principle that force is the final and the only arbiter in all disputes among the nations. This is the principle avowedly acted upon by those rulers of Prussia who have acquired domination over Germany, and have dragged Austria-Hungary and Turkey and now at last Bulgaria in their wake. They hold, and possibly with entire sincerity, that deeds of cruelty and treachery—the sinking at sight of defenceless ships, the burning of unoffending towns, the murdering of women and children, the breaking of solemn promises and all possible forms of frightfulness—become allowable and even commendable whenever the defence or aggrandisement of the State makes such things necessary. This is the central idea of that ethical code to which it seems to us that regard to the well-being of mankind demands prompt resistance, wherever and whenever it is acted on. It is held by those to whom the new code is abhorrent that the place of force is subordinate and not supreme as certainly in the case of nations as in that of individual men.

The view for the maintenance of which the British Empire and its Allies mean to struggle to the last is that war must never be allowed to set considerations of morality and humanity altogether aside. We contend that both men and nations must be as free as is possible under the circumstances in which they are providentially placed at any time. We contend that, while the various peoples of the earth may submit to all beneficial influences from without, none of them shall be compelled to adopt languages or laws or customs of which they disapprove, or to become the slaves of alien communities that are stronger for the moment than themselves. We contend in fact that mere material force holds always a secondary place, and that it is both unwise and wicked to apply it to either individuals or

nations except when it is manifestly subservient to moral ends. The one great aim of those who have forced the present struggle on the world is to sweep from their path all who uphold the principle that moral influence stands on an altogether higher plane than compulsion in any of its forms. To save themselves from being crushed out of existence by the upholders of this novel code of ethics is, for the present, the one primary and pressing duty of every people and every man concerned for the higher interests and the true progress of our race.

To those who believe in an all-wise, all-loving, ruler of the world the fact that furious war and tremendous suffering has hitherto accompanied or ushered in every healthy development of human history has always been a terrible problem. It is a problem which cannot be solved, and probably cannot even have its conditions adequately phrased, in our present state of being. Nevertheless, it remains true, as the poet has it, that :

“All the past of time reveals
A bridal dawn of thunder-peals,
Wherever thought has wedded fact.”

This is written broad across all records of the past, and to-day it is as true as ever.

Revert with me for a moment to recent history. It stands out as clearly there as in narratives of the dim and distant past that, in the existing constitution of this world of ours, fierce conflict attends upon every firmly-based advance. The principle that physical force is not the ultimate factor in the case of individuals needed for its establishment in the thought of men that terrible civil strife in America which a few of you are old enough to remember as distinctly as I do. That struggle, and it alone, determined that human slavery should vanish from the world. No doubt slavery lingers still in remote corners and under disguised forms. Yet no sane man will ever again defend it. A judgment that cannot be reversed has been passed upon it for all ages still to come. It ought not to be surprising if a longer, bloodier, and in every way more costly struggle be needed now, for the firm establishment of the principle that nations equally with men are not to be enslaved by those who happen to be stronger than they are—that in both cases alike the place of force is subordinate and the place of moral influence supreme.

Nations are greater than men. To preserve them from enslavement is a higher, and therefore a harder, task than even to deliver men from bodily bondage. The enslavement of a nation by the superior efficiency and brutal force of another would be as fatal to the development of the divine ideal as the system of personal slavery which by universal consent has at last been sentenced to extinction. Yet, if there is to be no enslavement of one nation by another, the countries now arrayed on the side of freedom must fight on until they secure a victory over the Prussian spirit as complete as that which followed the long delayed capture of Richmond and the downfall of the Southern Confederacy. It may be that years of costly and chequered struggle will be needed before victory like this can be attained by us. That it should somehow be attained at last is indispensable if mankind as a whole is not to relapse into anarchy and barbarism and slavery.

I would have you mark, however, that the overthrow of those who aim at the enslavement of the nations is certain to be fruitful of solid and far-extended good. It is not really against the German people that we fight, but only against the spirit of those who for the present have succeeded in subjecting that people to their sway. It is very noticeable that it is not any express adoption of the new international morality that is inspiring our enemies as a whole in the stubborn resistance which they offer to our arms. I pointed out to you last year how those who have forced this struggle on the world found it necessary to get their countrymen to believe that Britain and her Allies had long been plotting against Germany and were bent upon her ruin. Only the comparatively few possessors of real power in Germany and her Allies sincerely hold the creed that might makes right, and that the state need take no account of commonplace ideas of fair dealing or of honour. Thus nothing but the wholly false impression that their national existence is at stake fills the armies and the peoples of our enemies with the determined courage so evident in their bearing. The old morality is not dead in the breast of Germany, it is only pressed down and overlaid by the influence of a systematically instilled falsehood. Complete defeat, and to all appearance defeat alone, will enable our present enemies to see facts as they have been and are. When the day of defeat for its deceivers once arrives Germany may yet have an honoured

place in the brotherhood of nations and take its rightful share in the moral advancement of mankind.

There is a striking parallel between what happened half a century ago in America and what is happening, and I trust will happen, in the Germany of our day. Not only the noblest and the wisest but the great majority of those who fought in virtual defence of slavery were not animated by any conscious desire to keep fellow-men in bondage. What inspired them to bear up so bravely in the face of heavy odds, through four long years of suffering and sacrifice, was the sincere belief that they were defending the rights of the communities they were born into against unjust and usurping power. Final defeat brought with it the needed disillusionment. Through it they learned at last what was the real though hidden cause of the struggle in which they had been engaged. Probably there is no man or woman now in the United States who would not uphold the right to personal freedom of every member of the human family—not one who continues to mourn over the “lost cause,” not one who does not recognize that the crushing of the slave-system was a benefit to the nation and a blessing to mankind. The case of the German people seems to be much the same. They fight with the courage and self-sacrifice they have so abundantly displayed not because they consciously desire to enslave the nations round them. Their inspiration comes from the false belief which Prussian rulers have sedulously and cunningly instilled into the minds of all Germans who have been reaching manhood for the last twenty or thirty years. They have come sincerely and passionately to hold that their national existence is in danger, and that those who in point of fact are withstanding aggression have wickedly conspired to bring about Germany’s destruction. Even as in the parallel case nothing short of complete defeat is likely to bring about their disillusionment. For that end it is accordingly the duty of every community that values the freedom of nations as it values the freedom of individuals to strive even to the last ounce of treasure and the last drop of blood. The victory by which in this case “Thought will be wedded to fact” may be long delayed, but when the final thunder-peal sounds forth it will proclaim a bright new era for vanquished and victors alike. I trust that these of you at least who may still be counted young

will live to see the day when none will remain even in Germany to mourn over the "lost cause" of a Prussian domination of the world.

Let hopes like these, however, turn out as they may, the communities and the nations banded together in the cause of freedom and of honour have one consideration to nerve them to withstand delay, disappointment, and disaster too, if that should come to any of them. This consideration is that it is not the mighty, not those whose trust is in brute force employed without a scruple—not they but the meek—the meek in the sense that I set before you last year—who are in the long run to inherit the earth.

WILLIAM MILLER.

BURGO PARK, BRIDGE OF ALLAN,
SCOTLAND,
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WHAT DOES A CHRISTIAN COLLEGE STAND FOR?
ITS ATTITUDE TO OTHER FAITHS.*

BY A. W. DAVIES, M.A., *Principal of St. John's College, Agra.*

THE whole question of sectarian colleges is very much in the air just now. The passing of the Hindu University Act and the enthusiasm which it has evoked mark a very distinct epoch in the history of Indian education and have already stimulated the promoters of the Mohammedan University scheme to reconsider their attitude. The keenly patriotic spirit which such institutions call forth is very noticeable at Convocation time when the new graduates of the Central Hindu College, Benares, and of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, make their public appearance and are greeted with rounds of applause from their adherents on the floor and in the galleries of the Senate Hall.

To-day I am going to attempt as frankly and clearly as I can to consider more particularly the question of Christian Colleges, and if in explaining their aim and character I am forced to make statements and take up a position which must inevitably throw

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me into somewhat striking conflict with some of my hearers for whom and for whose opinions I have the greatest possible respect, I can only say that my subject demands plain and definite speaking; but if I am betrayed into uttering an inconsiderate or discourteous word, I shall expect and I shall deserve no indulgence at your hands.

In the first place I would point out that the aim of a Christian College is strikingly different from that of other important religious Colleges in India. Unless I am very much mistaken, both Hindus and Mohammedans would define the objects of their denominational institutions as being the promotion of the educational and religious welfare of their communities. We may expect Aligarh and Benares to become strong rallying centres, as indeed they are already, of Hindu and Mohammedan interests and to provide powerful barriers against the secularising tendencies of modern thought, but the ugly word 'proselytising' has, so far as I am aware, never been uttered in connection with them. The admirable purpose to which they are giving themselves is that of forwarding the highest good of their community in every possible way.

Now any such explanation of the Christian Colleges of India is manifestly inadequate. There are five such Colleges in these provinces, and there are not sufficient Christian students in the provinces to fill any one of them. The object of a Christian College in India, then, clearly cannot be simply to promote the welfare of the Christian community. I do not suggest that that is not a good motive. It would indeed probably compel the establishment of one Christian College in the United Provinces. It cannot possibly account for the presence of five. And indeed the fact is, their object goes far beyond this. The Christian Colleges, and St. John's among them, are definitely and with conviction trying by every lawful and fair means in their power to hasten the day when India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin shall become a Christian land.

I can very well understand some one saying to himself—How different from the tolerant spirit of Hinduism which is willing to give every great Master, even Christ Himself, a place within its fold! How different from the broad-minded liberalism of the great Sir Syed Ahmed, who declares that rightly understood there

is no difference between Christianity and Mohammedanism! What is wanted in India is some large eclectic faith such as the magnanimous Akbar sought to found in the 16th century—such as Theosophy would have the learned among us accept to day! The Christian attitude, you will say, is the very quintessence of presumption and narrow sectarianism.

May I ask your patience while I examine this charge somewhat carefully? And first we will confine ourselves to India. Will you look at the effect of Christian education here? Remember the handicap of a foreign language, inevitable barriers between race and race, the connection with a foreign and often unpopular administration. And yet in face of all these disadvantages I fearlessly challenge comparison with the achievements of Christian education in throwing light and hope into the dark places of Indian life. Is it a narrow thing to care for the leper and the orphan and the blind,—to have given its first stimulus to higher education, and even to the spread of classical studies and to the revival of vernacular literature,—to have encouraged the spread of women's education until you yourselves have to turn to Christian girls for teachers in your schools,—to be providing, in the North at any rate, the great majority of women workers in our hospitals? Is it a narrow thing to have been the first to bring the hope of life from the dead to the down-trodden masses of South India and the depressed agriculturists of the Northern Provinces?

Please do not misunderstand me. I do not claim a monopoly of philanthropy for Christianity. I have walked under the shade of trees planted long ago by some kind hand now dead. I have seen the wells dug for thirsty travellers. I have read of the great hospital system of the splendid Gupta Kings, and seen the rugged boulders, whose inscriptions tell of the royal benevolence of Asoka. But I cannot shut my eyes to other things, and as I sat the other night and listened to the dancers clashing their sticks together in the Ram Lila festival, I seemed to hear that other click of sticks of which the old Chinese pilgrim wrote more than a thousand years ago—the sound by which even in the glorious Gupta age the outcaste proclaimed to his proud neighbours the degradation of his presence. And I maintain that a college that has sent Brahmin Christians out

to live and work among such people as that cannot fairly be called sectarian and narrow, and that a faith which has at last stimulated the people of this country after centuries and centuries of neglect to found missions for the depressed classes cannot with any fairness be called presumptuous if it claim to have a message for the labouring and the heavy-laden beyond the borders of its own community.

But in considering this charge of narrowness and presumption we must go beyond the boundaries of India. And now we must leave Hinduism behind, for Christianity and Muhammada-nism share alone among the great modern religions the claim to have a message for all mankind. To India too once belonged that glory. In Gautama the Buddha she gave to the world one of its greatest sons, and one who, though he emptied life of all its richest meaning, yet moved among men as the prince of sweetness and courtesy and was able to set in motion a stream which reached to the northernmost and southernmost limits of Asia carrying on its waters kindness and peace, and which even to-day has not lost its charm for many quiet minds in East and West. But India, through some strange madness surely, strangled this wider faith in its very home and drove it from her borders; and Hinduism elected for better or for worse to confine itself within the racial and geographical limits of Hindustan.

The range of Islam is wider. If its religious and philosophical ideas run in a narrower bed than those of Hinduism, their current is the more powerful, and has carried the name of the Prophet of Arabia to the far corners of Asia and Africa. From the Nile to the Atlantic practically the whole population of North Africa with one voice honours his name, and their cry is taken up and passed on through the great deserts and uplands to the waters of the Zambezi in the South. The peoples of central Asia up to the limits of Siberia itself, where the day is so short that the five times of prayer can barely be observed, turn southwards to Arabia as their spiritual home. In China, some twenty millions of people, Chinese in dress, in manners, and in language, swell the vast numbers who count themselves of the 'house of Islam,' and the Crescent reckons its followers by millions in French China, Malaya and the Dutch Indies. In Europe, if its role has been far from a happy or glorious one of recent years, it

has left the memory of splendid conquests, noble achievements in art and science, a refined and curious culture, and, of old time, a lofty chivalry. But vast as is the extent of this newest of the great religions, amazing as is its cohesive power wherever it holds sway, it is only in India that it can be said to have abandoned the mediaeval spirit, for nowhere else, I think, is it consciously attempting to express the religious teaching of its founder in a form that can hope to win for the Crescent the spiritual and intellectual allegiance of mankind to-day.

It is just here that the contrast with Christianity is most marked. For not only in India, but throughout the whole world, the Christian Church has made and still makes the claim to have a message for the highest and lowest among mankind. From the earliest days she took the name Catholic or Universal as her title, and to-day as often as Christian people repeat their creed they re-affirm their belief in the Holy Catholic Church.

Such a claim may be called presumptuous. It cannot fairly be called narrow. The Christian Church has many and very grievous faults. I have no desire to minimise them. They are sufficiently glaring, they are sufficiently humiliating. But the years as they have passed have brought with them an experience of its power and range which has taught it to be patient, and which has bred in it an unextinguishable hope. For it has seen its message go forth in a hundred tongues and to a hundred races, and it has seen light and hope spring into the eyes of hundreds of thousands of the savage and depressed. It has saved dying races from extinction; it has freed slaves, destroyed tyranny, and given hope for despair. In Korea, the South Seas, New Zealand, Uganda, Sierra Leone, North America, the Arctic Circle—everywhere it has seen the backward races respond to its call, and its path among them is marked by life and light and hope. That is why I maintain it cannot be called narrow.

But this is not the only reason why a Christian College in India claims that it cannot fairly be called narrow for openly stating that it aims at the propagation of the Gospel of Christ in this land. For the Christian Church has more to point to than the raising of the outcaste and the slave.

Although, to use the words of Christ Himself, it has seen its message of life and hope most eagerly embraced by babes and

sucklings, it has not turned away from the prudent and the wise. Wherever the Church has gone it has stood for education and intellectual enlightenment. Not only has it been the first to reduce many of the languages of mankind to writing, not only has it spread a network of schools throughout the world—it has also been in the van of the highest educational progress and advancement among the higher races. The Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, the ancient Hospitals of London, are all Christian foundations. What the Madras Christian College has done for South India, what Dr. Ewing of Lahore has done for the Punjab, could be matched and surpassed in significance in other lands. In North China is a St. John's College founded by Americans, many of whose graduates were foremost among the makers of New China. And a great scheme of a Christian University for China has been planned and, I believe, in part realised. Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the first Chinese President, was the product of a Christian Mission School and is himself a Christian. The Doshisha College in South Japan, the Agricultural College in the North, and scores of other schools and colleges tell the same story. And the Church in China and Japan claims among its members not a few of the highest in the land—the President of China himself calling in Christian ladies to educate his own daughters. Palestine and the Levant are indebted to American Christian effort for splendid educational institutions. Even our own College has played no ignoble part in this same work. Our founder, Bishop French, in his old age went to Arabia, and his lonely grave is to be seen at Muscat. The builder of the old College here in the city became a Bishop in Persia, and Mr. W. J. Thompson, who was the first engineer of this new building, has gone to work in the Stuart Memorial College in Ispahan.

This is but a brief account of the work which Christian institutions are doing for education in the various countries of the world. But there is a deeper aspect of it still. It must not be forgotten that when Christianity arose and spread through the Roman Empire, it had to win its way among a cultured and intellectual if decadent people. Behind them were all the great achievements of the men—Socrates, Plato, Aristotle—whom we still call masters to-day; and the Roman Empire which held with one hand the far and wild islands of Britain, stretched out the other to the luxurious and mysterious East. Egyptian and Per-

sian cults were becoming acclimatised in Rome, and the scorn of the philosophers, the contempt and hatred of the patriots, the suspicion of the Imperial governors, all fell upon the new pitiful little sect which was said to meet for strange secret rites and to worship a malefactor as its God. But scorn and contempt had to bow their heads in shame, and royal persecutors learned what their later imitators down to the present day have ever since been discovering, that the blood of the martyrs only proved to be the seed of the Church; until at last the faith which had entered Caesar's palace by the back door in the company of slaves and menials, climbed after four centuries to the Imperial throne of Constantine himself; and the Church which had to struggle for her life against the philosophies and theosophies of that day produced those great thinkers who wrought her theology in forms such that the more we study them the more they compel our wonder for their boldness and their truth.

Such are the traditions and such the experience that lie behind and around a Christian College in India and which give to it the courage to make the claim which I am making for our Colleges to-day.

But this experience has another important consequence which bears upon the question of what a Christian College stands for. If the first centuries of the Church were a time of intellectual ferment, what is to be said of the nineteenth century—an age of wide discovery and progress, invention following invention and theory coming fast on the heels of theory? Trained investigators have sought for the secrets of the universe in every field. New and promising sciences have sprung into existence—old doctrines have been called in question—history has been rewritten—and ancient records rescrutinised. East and West have come together—thoughts have flashed from continent to continent—old landmarks have disappeared. Through the midst of the turmoil the Christian Church has passed. Its Scriptures have been re-examined in the light of that modern historical criticism which India still distrusts in the case of her own sacred books. No mercy has been granted, no reverence has prevented the most ruthless methods being employed; and while there has been undoubtedly a wide unsettlement of faith, and while undoubtedly some things have been and still are vigorously questioned—the

net result is to the Church of Christ substantial gain. Our books are given back to us, no longer, perhaps, as the magical documents which our fathers believed in, but as the unquestioned historical record of the religious growth of an extraordinary nation and as the priceless portrait of a Figure, the historical character of Whose features can never again be shaken, and Who as He has won the grudging admiration and almost awe of His critics continues to win to Himself in ever increasing measure the homage of the whole world of men and women still. And so from the vortex of the nineteenth century He comes, and that same voice speaks out quite fearlessly to the world to-day, "I am the way the truth and the life."

For if He is not the truth, then He and His claims will pass. And if He is not the truth then the truth must be greater than He. And if the truth be greater than He, we need not fear it. It must be great indeed. And that is why we welcome from every quarter the revelation of truth.

There is a great saying of St. Augustine, one of the leading figures in the early history of Christianity—*Magna est veritas et praevalerebit*. Great is Truth and it shall conquer. It is in that spirit, in that faith that our Christian Colleges are founded. That is why we claim our place in the educational system of this country. We have no desire to teach a Christian version of history, a Christian biology, a one-sided Christian philosophy. The truest history, the most accurate biology, the most profound philosophy, must be Christian or Christianity is false.

It is because of this conviction that nothing is greater than the truth and that all truth can but lead ultimately to the same goal that we cannot feel that the distinction between sacred and secular is a true one. All things that are pure, all things that are noble, all things that are lovely, all things that are of good report—all these should be found in a Christian College, and all must lead the soul to lofty ends. We do not feel, therefore, that our task should be limited to religious teaching. We are debtors to anyone whom it is in our power to benefit in any way, and therefore anything that we have received or learned and that can in any measure enrich the lives with which we come in contact, we must give in the name of Christ.

And this wide interpretation of our message—the open wel-

coming of truth wherever found—the desire to give the best we know to all whom we can help—this in some measure at any rate heals the breach which our definitely proselytising purpose must make between us and men of other faiths. For they too (do they not?) claim to seek only the one eternal truth, and they too—we can see it proved to-day on every side—seek from their hearts the manifold good of the students in their care. And so we can travel part at least of the way together, and if our convictions as to the goal to which our path must lead are different, still we can walk together till the paths diverge. There are great causes in India for which we may well work side by side—the cause of education, female, primary and other. There are great social problems which we may be able to attempt together—problems of caste and marriage—there is even the quickening of spiritual life in which we can all, at least up to a certain level, find a fellowship. So many of us have come as far as to realise that we have a loving Father in the God who made us. Can we never pray to Him together, for we all even in stumbling fashion seek to do His will? There are so many, I feel, whom the Lord Christ would call to Him if He were here as in those early days in Palestine. Those that are not against us are for us, He once said. Cannot His followers in India to-day claim some spiritual kinship with others who it may be still refuse to call Him by the name of Lord?

There are many disappointments in the work of a Christian College in India. For though perhaps the more surprising thing is its optimism and its patience, yet its disappointments are real enough.

How does the missionary account for these disappointments? What explains his patience and his hope?

It is first of all the result of that deep-rooted conviction of the truth of his position, which to others can only appear as bigotry, but which enabled the great Athanasius to stand alone against the world; but it is confirmed by the sense that he is embarked upon an enterprise which experience in other ages and in other lands leads him to think must finally succeed, and also by the fact that he can see clearly some at least of the restraining influences which act so powerfully against success.

For he knows already that much has been accomplished.

He knows that the idea of a Father God is far more widely spread in India than it was a hundred years ago. He knows that there are scores of men and women who are secret followers of Jesus Christ. He knows that there was a time when the educated classes in no inconsiderable numbers definitely contemplated the open step of conversion as the only alternative to their discarded polytheism. And he sees that things are different to-day. He sees that it is not now the question of either Christianity or Polytheism. In the intervening gap are many half-way houses. The Samajas have arisen offering every stage of reform. A man may hold and preach theism with strong conviction and yet call himself a true Hindu. He can preach against caste and advocate the most far reaching reforms and yet profess himself a devoted believer in the infallibility of the Vedas. And helping and helped by this process there has swept over India a wave of self-consciousness—a splendid realisation of its national identity, a grand determination to win from the contemptuous Western world respect for its history, its art, its literature and religion. Every College debate breathes this spirit. It is reflected in essays and conversation, it is the commonplace of the public press. The cry is, 'Indian national self-respect before all else,' and it finds striking expression in the last paragraph of Lala Lajpat Rai's new book. India's "Prosperity and future depends upon the reconciliation of Hinduism with that greater ism—Indian Nationalism—which alone can secure for India its rightful place in the comity of nations. Anything that may prevent or even hinder that consummation is a sin for which there can be no expiation."

In face of that strong feeling the Christian missionary realises that he is preaching a religion which comes with all the insignia and trappings of the West—the mark of that which is felt to be the denial of what India is aspiring for; and she seems to regard it as some steam roller, noisy and crude, which will crush all character and spontaneity out of her life and leave a dull flat track behind it. She feels that the Christian Church is seeking to rob her past of its spiritual glory and to imprison her soaring spirit in a hard soulless dogmatism. What but the uttermost heart conviction will remove a prejudice like that?

There are some missionaries who recognising the difficult temper of the time are not afraid to advocate the withdrawal of

all Christian forces, temporarily at least, from the field of higher education, and the concentration on those lower strata of Indian society which have more immediately to gain by a change of faith, and which have proved that by becoming Christians they are none the less Indians, but that they enter into a larger life than has been granted to them during long centuries of practical serfdom. There is much to be said for such a policy, and yet it would mean the deserting of a large field of service for India. It may be that for the time the higher classes of India will turn away from what we know to be the best thing that we can offer them, but so long as there is a real service to render, as I believe there is to-day, I hold that we are bound by the most sacred principles of the religion which we profess, to continue to give anything that we can which will make for the highest good of India during these critical days of travail and rebirth.

Thus far in the face of a not unnatural charge of narrowness and presumption I have tried to set forth what are the things for which a Christian College stands and, as I believe, rightly stands. Now I wish to deal more specifically with the second part of my subject. What is its attitude towards other faiths? I have already covered the ground in part and I need not detain you much longer. I shall try first to answer the question, What is the attitude of a Christian College to non-Christian faiths in general? What does it think of them? How does it act towards them? And secondly to attempt the more solemn and responsible task of saying what a Christian College believes about the position before God Almighty of a follower of another religion.

In answering these questions I think I ought to make clear that I cannot undertake to speak for all Mission Colleges, and that while I feel sure that I have the general approval of my Christian colleagues on the staff of St. John's, it is better that I should be understood to commit no one but myself in what I have to say.

If then I am to describe the attitude of a Christian missionary towards the great non-Christian faiths, I shall have to begin with the admission that this attitude has not always been easy to defend. There has been in the past too much of abuse, too much of readiness to seize upon excesses and treat them as normal, too ready an inclination to attribute to the deliberate deceptions

and crafts of the devil all so-called 'Heathen' religions, and the nobler their maxims and their thoughts the more were they held to display the subtilty of the Arch-fiend.

All this or the greater part of it has passed. The word Heathen is now generally reserved as a description of the lower Polytheistic and Animistic religions, and this is a sign of a changed outlook. Greater understanding has begotten greater sympathy. A modern British student audience is almost as sensitive as an Indian audience could be to the utterance of any unfair or illiberal criticism. The modern undergraduate at an English University, even when he contemplates becoming a missionary himself, will speak as strongly about the attitude of some missionaries as the most vigorous Indian critic could possibly desire. The modern missionary then—I speak more particularly of the educational missionary—comes out with lofty hopes and high ideals. You often tell us that a change comes over us after a few months in the country. All seems so happy and hopeful at first. Then you are disappointed in us. Have you ever considered that perhaps, quite humbly and honestly, we are disappointed in you? Let us leave to others, perhaps some future historical genius, the nice apportionment of blame in this unhappy disillusionment. I do not disguise from myself or from you that no light portion of it will have to lie upon our shoulders. If we are perplexed at first at the apparent lack of the same strong convictions in regard to moral principles which we come to think of as second nature, we are equally blind at first to certain admirable characteristics to which in the West we often pay too little heed:—a lavish hospitality—an ungrudging devotion, especially in sickness—a rare power of affection and responsiveness, a touching appreciation of simple kindness. Perhaps above all, if we have eyes to see it, an utter loyalty to causes and people whom you have once made your own.

I have ventured to hint at the experience through which many a missionary passes in India in his estimate of the people among whom he has come to live, because it is reflected to some extent at least in his attitude to their religion.

It is at first a large sympathy and respect. Then when there comes the realisation of how loose the majority of educated men sit to it except in its domestic relations, and indeed how

little they know about those very doctrines and ideas which he has been taught, perhaps, to look out for in every educated Hindu or Muhammadan, there is often something of a reaction, and only slowly comes back an appreciation of those great dynamic ideas which, whether consciously grasped or not, lie at the back of general Indian religious thought, and there follows a sincere and humble effort to understand and appreciate the great doctrines on which millions of one's fellowmen have rested for guidance and solace in the perplexities and sorrow that are the lot of all mankind. And as he goes deeper he begins to find that these ideas are no haphazard fancies—they mark and perhaps preserve some great and often vital truth which he perhaps has treated lightly in the past, and they bring it home to him again. I have in mind the great Muhammadan assertion of the unity and the majesty of God. It cannot have been the strength of military prowess, nor the promise of a sensual paradise, nor even the personality of its founder that gave to Islam its tremendous force and intensity. Great results demand adequate causes. It can be nothing but that vivid sense of the existence, the power, the sublimity of God that gave its driving and sustaining force to the Muhammadan onset. It was a splendid protest against a corrupt Christianity and a corrupting polytheism, and it has left Christians no excuse for the popular tritheism which has crept and still creeps into much of our devotional and even some of our theological forms of expression.

To turn to Hinduism. If general abuse and ridicule was ever the attitude of the Christian missionary it is not so to-day. There is plenty of room for criticism of things crude and unworthy, but it comes with a better grace from the Hindu reformers themselves. The attitude of the modern missionary is very different. The attempt is now much more widely made to find out what are the great dynamic doctrines of Hinduism—the ideas which really govern the thought of the people. It is difficult at first amid the apparent riot of ungoverned speculation which confronts him at every turn to find a clue which shall enable him to travel sympathetically and yet critically through the bewildering labyrinths. But even if he gets not much further than the threshold he cannot fail to be struck by the wealth and luxuriance of Hindu thought. Its very scale and

spaciousness is apt to shame his own small thinking ; its fearless facing of ultimate problems rebukes the readiness with which he and many of his fellow missionaries have avoided the questions to which the Indian thinkers have clamoured insistently for answer that will give the restless mind intellectual satisfaction and repose. And he realises something of what modern Christendom has lost in confining its theological thought so largely to immediate practical problems and in leaving almost unexplored the great contributions of the Masters of the early Church. For in the cosmopolitan Europe of their day those wider universal problems formed in a large degree the battle-ground of the critics and apologists of this new and daring faith.

But along with so much that wins his admiration, he sees too the gravestones of noble thought. Great fruitful religious ideas—the character of Varuna in the Vedas, the visions of the theistic reformers of a later day—buried among a network of tangled jungle growths. As in the spires of the Hindu temples the central tower tries to push its way towards the sky, while all about it cluster and crowd the grotesque forms of a crude and monstrous symbolism, seeming to lay unholy fingers on its more glorious hope—so he sees noble aspirations choked and clogged—and he longs to see a flaming intolerance of all things that are ugly and impure and of evil report spring up sword in hand and cut these things away. All about him he sees the reforming sects and he acknowledges with a glad heart the courage with which they have often carried on their campaign—but he confesses to a certain grave fear as he seems to detect a tendency to accommodate themselves to the very evils which they set out to combat—a fear that that marvellous and manifold ocean of Hinduism which has been the cradle and the grave of noble causes in the past, shall again re-assert its claim and bury the new systems of to-day, and that like some of the rivers of this great Indian plain they shall give promise of a plenteous harvest only to lose themselves at last in the arid desert sands.

Finally we come to that most solemn of all questions, what does a Christian College hold to be the spiritual destiny of the sincere follower of another faith ? It cannot compromise in face of the plain words of Christ and His Apostles : “ No man cometh

unto the Father but by Me." "There is none other name given among men by which we must be saved."

No religion can save men. It can only be God Himself. And if as the Christian holds God Himself became incarnate not simply as an individual man but as man—for us men and for our salvation, then that event and the eternal truth which lies behind it must belong potentially to all who share the nature of man. Its effects reach backward to those who in Christ's own words rejoiced to see His day and who saw it and were glad—forward to our own day and on to the day of nations yet unborn. The salvation which He offers is no Nirvana, no loss of personal identity in the Great Ocean of Being. It is the fully realised and conscious fellowship of the human soul with God—knowing as we are known, seeing Him as He is. The Muhammadan has emphasised for us the splendid transcendent majesty and power of God, the Hindu the awful inevitable relentlessness of moral law. The Christian proclaims that the resulting inevitable alienation between erring man and the perfect God can only be done away by a free act of boundless grace from the side of God, which shall preserve intact His moral reaction against sin, but which shall embrace and reinforce the first sign of the turning of man's rebellious will in penitence and trust towards God. This third term is no mere petty little makeshift of a man-made theology—it is integral and eternal as the being of God Himself. The Cross of Calvary was a picture to the whole world of what it meant to God to give to man the capacity to be more than a living machine—to have that awful glorious power of free will.

There is only one God, and if sinful man ever finds God Who is his home—it is this one God that he will find. There is only one atonement by which sinful man has ever or can ever find that Holy Father of us all, and that is by the boundless Grace of the Eternal God Who has revealed Himself to men, incarnate in time in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. Nor is there nor can there be salvation by any other.

There have been those who all unconsciously looked forward to His day, and who found in Him salvation though they never knew his name. Others I hold there are to-day whose souls are turning to the light although, through our own fault perhaps, they cannot clearly see what is its source. They are denied that

foretaste of the eternal joy which would be theirs here on earth if only they would recognise their Lord. But I believe they will surely find that He was and is their salvation when they pass beyond the grave. But there are others who know well whose the voice is, and what it is calling them to. They have come to Christ like the rich young ruler of the Gospel story, and like him they have turned sorrowful away. And the reason is the same as his—for *they have great possessions*. Not wealth, it may be, like his, but ambitions and plans for the future—and for the past, pride of race and caste and religion and all the traditions of rich centuries of civilization and of thought. God is their judge, not you or I, and the judgment they pass upon themselves. "For God sent not His Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved. He that putteth his trust in Him is not judged. He that believeth not hath already been judged, because he hath not put his trust in the only begotten Son of God. And this is the judgment, that light hath come into the world and men loved darkness rather than light."

*INDIAN THEISM, FROM THE VEDIC TO THE
MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.*

By Nicol Macnicol, M.A., D. Litt. Oxford University Press.

Price 6s. nett

BY A. G. HOGG, M.A.

THIS book, and the simultaneously published *Heart of Jainism* by Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, are the first instalments of a series entitled "The Religious Quest of India" under the general editorship of Mr. Farquhar and Dr. Griswold, the plans for which have been gradually maturing for some years past. The series aims in the first place at being thoroughly scientific, and indeed the names of its general editors are in themselves a guarantee that nothing will be allowed to appear which is not up to the standard of the latest historical and critical knowledge. But the series is distinguished from the ordinary run of scholarly treatises on Indian religious thought by two special features. The first is that all the writers contributing to it are to be men or women who in their effort to interpret the religious past of India have

the advantage of a considerable measure of direct personal acquaintance with the religious life of India to-day. The second feature is that the series proposes "to set each form of Indian religion by the side of Christianity in such a way that the relationship may stand out clear." Such an undertaking should be welcomed in the interests of a deeper mutual understanding, even if for no other reason; and, as the editors remark, however little sympathy a Hindu reader may have with the religious convictions and hopes of the writers, he may well be interested in perusing "an honest and careful attempt to bring the religions of India into comparison with the religion which to-day is their only possible rival, and to which they largely owe their present noticeable and significant revival".

Dr. Macnicol's book is not, as one possible interpretation of its title might lead some readers to expect, an exposition and critical appreciation of those few forms of Indian religious thought which might fall clearly within the scope of some hard-and-fast definition of the meaning of 'theism'. Instead of this it offers a continuous survey of the whole course of religious evolution within the long period named, with a view to noting, and studying the features of, each development that points in the direction of theism, no matter how far it may fall short of possessing a perfect title to be designated theistic. This method greatly enhances the religious interest and scientific value of the volume, but it also makes a reviewer's task more difficult. For the value of such a historical survey as the author carries out lies not so much in specific results, which a reviewer can summarise, as in the selective emphasis with which the author disposes his materials as he retells the story of the centuries. In the difficult task of marshalling the available data so as to throw into relief the aspect with which he is concerned Dr. Macnicol succeeds so well that the reader finds familiar facts taking on a fresh significance and has no feeling that he is listening to a twice-told tale. With this word of high praise we must leave the historical section of the volume to be studied at first hand by all who want a picture of what is most deeply personal in Indian religion, painted with reverence and sympathy.

Perhaps it may be well to emphasize this characteristic of "sympathy" here alluded to, in view of what has been said in a contrary sense by another reviewer. Dr. Macnicol is not afraid to express himself frankly, but it is with the frankness of friendship. In support of this assertion it may be worth while to cite two passages, especially since, besides illustrating the author's attitude, they are in themselves striking and memorable. The first occurs by way of introduction to the critical section of his volume. "Our task," he writes, "is that of the historian. As we listen to the poignant cries that echo

through the temple of mankind we may compare and contrast them; we may estimate their religious value: we do not condemn. We do not say that to understand all is to forgive all, for to forgive is not the province of the investigator, nor indeed of any fellow member of the same human race that uttered itself in these hopes and fears. But to understand—not all, for that is impossible, but some of the long travail of the human heart in its search for God, and especially to understand something of the travail of the Indian spirit as we can discern it through the dust and haze of centuries, is to have every instinct of easy criticism changed to sympathy and deep respect. We watch with reverence the age-long striving to draw near to God, to find assurance in His fellowship. But where He has been found most fully and men's hearts have been most fully satisfied—that we must recognise as the central shrine—there is the place of His richest revelation. Without censure and without dogmatism we have to endeavour to understand why He is present here rather than there, why He is found by the saint that seeks Him along one road, while He is only a dying echo of his own cry, a shadow of his own desire, to one who seeks Him by another.” No unprejudiced reader can fail to recognise the real friendship of one true seeker after God for all other true seekers, and especially for Indian seekers after God, that breathes in these self-revealing words. To the attitude which they express none can take exception unless those who cling to the shallow preconception that all ‘ways’ to God are equally sure and equally direct. The other passage which we propose to quote occurs in the course of a discussion of the extent to which India's failure to reach a more fully developed theism may be explained by the hampering influence of the doctrine of *karma*. Dr. Macnicol suggests that one way in which this doctrine has proved an obstacle to a richer growth of theism has been that it tends to preoccupy the religious mind so predominantly with the question of the *deliverance* of the fettered soul, that the question of the positive nature of God Himself is apt to be too much crowded out. “Perhaps we have here,” he says, “the secret of the worldliness of a people who, above all other peoples, have condemned the world. The seers of India have seldom been wholly possessed, as so many saints of other lands have been, by the endeavour after God. They cannot escape from themselves sufficiently to give themselves up whole-heartedly to Him. They give themselves up whole-heartedly instead to the endeavour, never accomplished, to escape from themselves. . . . Perhaps this is why India has always presented to us so strange a paradox—a people intensely religious, and yet so half-hearted in their religion. Their whole heart is in the escape, but it is not in the gaining of the goal of a divine

fellowship." Dr. Macnicol lives in India and numbers Indians among his friends. Under these circumstances none but a real friend of India would dare to express himself so frankly in a book which he knew that Indians might read. It is an estimate which he can dare to put into words only because it is one that fills him with regret. And it is one which he has some right to form because of the wide extent of his acquaintance with religious literature both in India and elsewhere. Yet in spite of these considerations we can well imagine that the second of the passages here cited may tempt Hindu readers to distrust both the sincerity of the sentiments which the other passage expresses and the reality of Dr. Macnicol's sympathy and friendliness. Such distrust on their part would be intelligible; and yet we, believe that, if only they will give due weight to one consideration; they will realise it to be unjustified. This consideration is that Dr. Macnicol feels, as the concluding part of his book makes evident and as every true Christian feels, that if there be in the religious thought and experience of Christendom something deeper and richer than anything to which India has attained, this is not due to any superiority in the religious spirit of Christendom as compared with that of India, but simply and solely to the circumstance that in Christendom the religious consciousness has come, as in India it has not come, under the creative influence of the life and personality of Jesus. Not even a friend could have felt able to permit himself such frankness of speech as that exemplified in the second passage quoted, if he had dreamed that merit could be ascribed to men of his own persuasion for what he believed to be a higher level of religious attainment than India has manifested. But the position is otherwise if the higher level of attainment is regarded not as meritorious achievement but as an undeserved benefit due to the transcendent personality of One to Whom the West did not give birth and by Whom she was spiritually led captive. We believe that if Hindus would accord to this consideration its due weight, they would be less irritated by that conviction, which is characteristic of all genuine Christians, of having something to impart, in the realm of religious faith and experience, which is higher than anything India has known. Let the Hindu consider this conviction mistaken if he can; but at least let him recognise that it is a conviction quite consistent with real humility and brotherliness, since the 'something higher' is regarded not as an achievement of the western religious consciousness but as a transfiguration wrought in it by Jesus Christ.

Dr. Macnicol's historical survey occupies more than three-fifths of his volume. Part II. then provides a brief review of the theological principles which have operated, consciously or unconsciously, as con-

trolling factors in the historical process, while Part III. furnishes 'Criticism and Appreciation.' The critical study is excellent, but we doubt whether it was wise economy to condense the argument here within 47 pages. To those readers who, as themselves Christians, have independent experimental acquaintance with the type of theism that furnishes the standard of comparison, the point of the criticisms urged should not be difficult of apprehension, but for Hindu readers a more expanded treatment might have been advisable.

It is in two chief directions that Dr. Macnicol seeks the reason why the very strong impulsion towards theism which his historical survey has exhibited in the Indian spirit has not reached more complete fruition. He looks for the explanation, on the one hand, in the positive hindrance offered to Hindu theistic thought by the doctrine of *karma*, and on the other hand, in the negative circumstance that Indian theism has lacked a concrete object of devotion as morally transcendent and as historically indubitable as Jesus Christ.

At no point in the whole process of development traced in this volume did Indian thought make a resolute and thorough attempt "to re-think the *karma* doctrine so as to personalise it, and give it a content more fully ethical and so more reconcilable with Theism." Consequently the Indian theist was posed with the following dilemma. "If God had His hand upon the world at all, if He was engaged in its concerns, then He was no God but a fettered soul, needing to be freed from *samsāra* as much as man himself. If, on the other hand, he was conceived as free, then it was a condition of his freedom that he have no connexion with the world and no influence upon it." This antinomy is nowhere fully resolved, although "the attribution to God of movements of grace towards the imprisoned soul is in itself an indication in the various theistic doctrines of a revolt from the grim law of retribution"—a revolt which comes nearest to success in the Śaiva Śiddhānta. In many of the popular *bhakti* worships, on the other hand, the dilemma appears simply to have been ignored. "Their adherents were either simple men who did not attempt to correlate their ideas and for whom the instinct of worship was enough, or they were people who deliberately divided the house of their thought between the intellect and the heart, and had for each room a different and appropriate demeanour. In either case the Theism that results is a precarious product, and of little permanent religious value."

Besides confronting Theism in this way with the difficulty of finding room for a personal God in the midst of the iron framework of *karmaic* cause and effect that so grips the universe, the doctrine also presents it with the problem of "explaining the relation of a free ethical personality, such as Theism postulates, to its rigid legalism." By

'legalism' is here meant the way in which "the whole emphasis is placed upon the isolated acts that make up a man's life, so as to make them in their separation and complexity dominant over man's destiny."

"The array of deeds, whether, as in the case of the Hindu, of evil deeds of the past that he cannot escape from or, in the case of the Pharisee, of good deeds in the future that he can never accomplish, strikes fear and despair into his soul. . . . The school of *bhakti* mitigates the hopelessness of the situation only to the extent of embodying the law in the person of a lawgiver, while still the idea of law remains. But there is no real change in the religion from its essential legalism though a personal God is postulated. He is a God in regard to whom this scheme of rewards and punishments still holds, either as the expression of His will or as a rival and independent power ruling side by side with Him."

To the third of the ways in which Dr. Macnicol finds that the *karma* doctrine has obstructed Indian theism we have already alluded incidentally in discussing his combination of plain speaking with real sympathy. It tends to have the defect of making the means to union with God, namely, emancipation, absorb more attention than the end, and so became an end in itself. "The only personality that matters is that of the fettered soul, and to him his personal existence is the very bond he seeks to break. If personal life is thought of as itself a burden, how can it be predicated worthily of God?"

It is not only, however, through its obsession by the idea of *karma* that Indian theism has suffered. Another hostile factor has been its excessive intellectualism. Even *bhakti* was described by Rāmānuja as "only a particular kind of knowledge of which one is infinitely fond and which leads to the extinction of all other interests and desires". In Rāmānuja's system, and in the *Gītā*, we may say that while ethical and spiritual ideas have been imported into this conception of the knowledge that brings release, the intellectual element is still predominant and determinative." On the other hand, such intellectualism must be admitted not to be universal in Indian theism, since both in the erotic theism that gathers about the name especially of Kṛiṣṇa and in the more thoughtful worship which is associated with Rāma we have a type of religion which is "predominantly emotional, and for that reason genuinely personal and theistic". But here we meet with a defect, the very opposite to that of intellectualism—the lack of a solid grounding in thought and reality. "Kṛiṣṇa to Caitanya, Siva to Māṇikka-vāsagar is as much the creature of his rapture as its creator. Where this is the case there is no guarantee as to the kind—whether evil or good—of the conduct and character which the emotion will produce. The original impulse may have been

given by the idea which the God as an historical or mythical person embodies, but presently we perceive that feeling has set off on a path of its own making to a strange and, it may be, a sinister goal." The needed "creative and controlling force, the means by which what is apt to be 'a blind and egoistic rapture' is transformed into a 'fruitful and self-forgetting love'," has been found by the great mystics of the West in Jesus Christ.

With the criticisms summarised in the foregoing paragraphs we are in general agreement, and by his compact and well-considered statement of them Dr. Macnicol has rendered a helpful service. We think, however, that the criticism might have gained still greater cohesion and thoroughness if more explicit attention had been given to one feature which is of pre-eminent importance in any comparison of Christianity with Indian religious thought. Christianity offers a salvation not primarily of the individual but of society and indeed of the entire world-order. Its goal is an ideal order of which it is said that "the nations shall walk amidst the light thereof, and the kings of the earth do bring their glory into it", and that by its coming "the creation itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption". On p. 259 Dr. Macnicol not only recognises this cosmic character of the 'Kingdom of God' but appears to be aware that it is very intimately associated with the capacity of Christianity for the apparently impossible feat of deducing a concrete social ethic from a transcendent kind of ideal. Nevertheless he does not use this insight to help himself to show how Christian theism escapes the determinism and legalism of *karma*, and, in the latter case at any rate, his argument appears to suffer by the omission. For he talks on p. 235 of a "spiritual nexus between man and God" which, among its other consequences, "implies that man should give himself to save his brother", but it does not very clearly appear what this nexus is, or why it has this implication—and these are precisely the vital points in a comparison with the socially contentless ethic of the *Gītā*.

The secret of the nexus is really nothing other than the 'Kingdom of God'; it is just the fact that for God and for man the goal of endeavour is social and cosmic as well as personal. In the individual Christian Christ may graciously recognise His *brother*, but He cannot find His *bride* in anything less than the Church, that is, the community of those who are solving the problems of life by means of the ideals and the powers of the new *kosmos*, the supernatural world-order. Explicit recognition of the point we are here emphasizing might also have enabled Dr. Macnicol to give more adequate and more obviously fair criticism of the way in which the *Gītā* attempts to transcend the legalism of the *karma* doctrine. He is content to do little more than develop

the remark that "the attempt to get rid of motive altogether is predestined to failure". Now, as regards the form in which the *Gītā* casts its solution, that is a just criticism, and the present reviewer must acknowledge having made use of it himself. This form, however, is only a device adopted for the sake of getting behind the *karma* doctrine without seeming to break a way violently through it. But the disguise is very thin; for the actions to be performed "without attachment" are to be done out of devotion to the Supreme Being, and so are not motiveless. Accordingly the question still awaits answer why this motive, so like—in words—to the Christian motive, does not provide an equally satisfactory escape from legalism into a spiritual morality full of social content. The reason is to be found in nothing else than the contrast between the non-social and acosmic religious ideal of the *Gītā* and the Christian ideal of the 'Kingdom of God'. Dr. Macnicol's discussion of Hindu legalism is particularly illuminating, but we think that, both with reference to the *Gītā* and in its more general aspects, it could have been rendered still more valuable if more explicit attention had been paid to the implications of what, in Christ's own thought, was the most constructive religious category.

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

THE Christmas week has now become an orgy of oratory. We should imagine that Bombay has this year surpassed all records. We have not verified the statement, but we have been informed that there were during the last days of the year no fewer than fifteen conferences. If any one doubts that India is alive let him procure tickets for half-a-dozen of the leading conferences and then give his opinion. The truth is that India is now seething with life. The main drift is still towards the political, but the social anomalies and defects in Indian life are increasingly clamouring for remedy, and the Social Conference though still far behind the Congress in its urgency is appealing with increasing intensity to the best thought and the finest minds in the Indian community.

The President of the Congress delivered out of his mature experience a wise and statesmanlike address characterised by his well-known ability. It was in the nature of a compromise and like all compromises received the criticism alike of the rabid section of the press and of the severely conservative. For ourselves we see in it little to criticise, but much to admire. There is little divergence of view between the President's ideal and the Government policy. It is altogether a question of speed. This doubtless in the minds of the young

is no small difference. Nevertheless in the history of countries the rate of speed is as nothing compared with the direction in which the ship of state is moving. Sooner or later it will reach the harbour if it is headed aright, unless indeed it is meanwhile wrecked by rash and incautious hands.

THE President of the Social Conference, Professor D. K. Karve, himself a leader in women's education, devoted his speech largely to female education. He complained of the apathy of Government in the matter of the education of girls, and urged extension irrespective of the quality of the education imparted. The real hindrance to the education of girls is however not the Government, but the customs of the people, even of the educated classes, who remove their girls from school about the age of ten. It is singular that from beginning to end Professor Karve made no acknowledgment of the extraordinary share that Christian Missions have taken in securing the development that has already been made. He considered women's colleges unnecessary. The girls might well attend colleges with men. In this we think he is mistaken. Women's colleges will do more to hasten education among women in ten years than men's colleges have done in thirty years. We venture to predict that women's colleges will be full to overflowing in another decade. We agree with the Professor however that there is abundant room for advance, and certain modifications in the university curriculum may be desirable in order to secure a larger supply of trained women teachers.

AN event of no ordinary interest to the religious and educational world of India and to all concerned in the history of Christianity in the East was the graduation ceremony at Serampore College on December 4th presided over by His Excellency Lord Carmichael, Governor of Bengal. In the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of Europeans and Indians, including His Grace, the Metropolitan (Bishop of Calcutta), and in response to the call of the Governor, the Principal of the College, Dr. George Howells, conferred, in the name of the Master and Council of the College, the degree of Bachelor of Divinity on three Indian students of the College, Rev. Prof. I. W. Johory, M.A. of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission, Indore; Rev. N. G. Kuriakos, deacon of the Orthodox Syrian Church, Travancore, and Mr. D. M. Devasahayam, B.A. of the London Mission, South Travancore, all three having completed the academic requirements of the College statutes and regulations. The unique interest of the ceremonial consisted in the fact that it signalled the first exercise by the College of the statutory right conferred upon it in the first case by the king of

Denmark in 1827. When the illustrious missionaries, Carey, Marshman and Ward, who founded the College in 1818, first settled at Serampore, it was a Danish colony, and His Danish Majesty, King Frederick the Sixth, granted the College a royal charter with full university powers. In 1845 on the transfer by the Treaty of Purchase of the settlement of Serampore from Denmark to Great Britain, the College was confirmed by the British Government in all its chartered rights and privileges.

The Serampore trio passed away before they were able to realise their full ideals for the institution, but in 1900 a movement was initiated for the reorganisation of the college on the lines laid down by the founders. This has been in steady process of realisation during the past six years, and the recent ceremony represents a notable step in advance in the growth of Indian Christianity and the claims of an educated Indian ministry. During the past session 21 students—8 residential and 13 external—were engaged in higher theological studies in connection with the College. The fact that the eight residential students belong to five and the 13 external students to eleven different Christian communions, indicates the possibilities of wide interdenominational work at Serampore. It only remains now to link up the Serampore College with the Bangalore United Theological College by affiliation if that is possible, so that the students of the latter may acquire a theological degree should they so desire it.

THE torpedoing of the P. & O. *Persia* in the Mediterranean adds one more diabolical act to the list of atrocities that stand to the credit of the Central Powers. They gain nothing by it but the execration of all right-thinking people. There is absolutely no military gain. On the contrary they only nerve the allies to still further activity, without reducing their power in any appreciable degree. The present loss has touched India much more closely than that of the *Lusitania* or the *Ancona*, and we express our sympathy with the families that have been bereaved. We trust that the loyalty and generosity of India will be stimulated by this vile deed which has in it no redeeming feature.

WE are indebted to the Australian 'Student Volunteer Movement' Magazine for the following poem, which will be of great interest to our readers:—

POEM FOUND ON THE DEAD BODY OF A SOLDIER.

Jesus, Whose lot with us was cast,
Who saw it out from first to last,
Patient and fearless, tender, true,
Carpenter, vagabond, felon, Jew—

Whose humorous eye took in each phase
Of full rich life this world displays ;
Yet evermore kept full in view
The far-off goal it leads us to ;
Who, as your hour neared, did not fail—
The world's fate trembling in the scale—
With your half-hearted band to dine,
And speak across the bread and wine ;
Then went out firm to face the end,
Alone, without a single friend ;
Who felt, as your last words confessed,
Wrung from a proud unflinching breast
By hours of full, ignoble pain,
Your whole life's fight was fought in vain—
Would I could win and keep and feel
That heart of love, that spirit of steel ;
I would not to Thy bosom fly,
To shirk off till the storms go by ;
If you are like the man you were,
You'd turn in scorn from such a prayer ;
Unless from some poor workhouse crone
Too toilworn to do ought but moan.
Flog me and spur me, set me straight
At some vile job I fear and hate ;
Some sickening round of long endeavour,
No light, no rest, no outlet ever ;
All at a pace that must not slack,
Tho' heart would burst and sinews crack ;
Fog in one's eyes, the brain aswim,
A weight like lead in every limb
And a raw pit that hurts like hell
Where the light breath once rose and fell ;
Do you but keep me, hope or none,
Cheery and staunch till all is done,
And at the last gasp quick to lend
One effort more to serve a friend.
And when, for so I sometimes dream,
I've swum the dark, the silent stream—
So cold it takes the breath away—
That parts the dead world from the day,
And see upon the further strand
The lazy, listless angels stand ;
And, with their frank and fearless eyes,

The comrades whom I most did prize ;
Then clear, unburdened, careless, cool,
I'll saunter down from the grim pool
And join my friends. Then you'll come by
The Captain of our company,
Call me out, look me up and down,
And pass me thro' without a frown,
With half a smile, but never a word ;
And so—I shall have met my Lord.

LITERARY NOTES.

THE death of Sir John Rhys removes one of the most distinguished figures from the sphere of Celtic studies. His position in Oxford, as Principal of Jesus—pre-eminently the Welsh College—and Professor of Celtic, was the fitting reward of long devotion to the educational interests of Wales and the study of Celtic antiquities and language. *A propos*, we may mention that the work on *The Welsh People*, produced by Principal Rhys in collaboration with Mr. D. Brynmor-Jones, invaluable to the historian and the philologist, has recently been re-issued in a cheaper edition.

A DISCRIMINATING study of *Germany since 1740* has recently been published by Ginn and Co. (5s. 6d.), which we commend to thoughtful readers. It is the work of an American, Mr. George Madison Priest, and free from the animus which might be supposed to colour the writings of an English or French author. But in its main conclusions it tallies with the best recent work in England and France, and generally confirms the accepted view of the tendencies of German politics for the last century and a half.

ONE result of the war will be the revision of many literary and historical judgments, long accepted without question, which the fuller revelation of German mentality has placed in a new light. In an able article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, a French writer applies this to Mommsen and his presentation of Roman (and indirectly of European) history. Without in any way detracting from the splendid thoroughness of Mommsen's investigations, we may welcome the prospect of a re-handling of Roman history which may supply those elements of sympathy, imagination and humanity in which he was unfortunately lacking. The fanaticism which would deny any credit to Germany in science or

scholarship is as mischievous as it is foolish. But the world of intellect will gain by the deposition of a few German idols from their old pedestals.

IN this connection, it is interesting to find another gifted Frenchman, M. Jean Finot, advocating in the *The Athenæum* an active attempt to promote the intellectual solidarity of England, France and Italy, in the interests of all that is best in civilisation. Those who have taken the measure of the worship of material force which Germany mistakes for "objectivity" will sympathize with M. Finot's programme of uniting more closely the three great nations which have already done so much to enrich the life of mankind.

PROBABLY many of our readers would like to know more about the history of Russia, our ally whose heroic resistance to Germany and Austria is contributing so much to the ultimate defeat of the Central Powers. They should buy *A Thousand Years of Russian History*, by Mrs. Sonia E. Howe (Williams and Norgate, 7s. 6d. net), which will go far to meet their desire.

SCIENCE NOTES.

THE Panama Canal, though completed months ago, is still subject to land slides which seriously reduce the depth of the waterway. These landslips still occur and no one knows when they will cease. Until such time then the canal is an unsatisfactory link in the chain of naval communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. For it must not be forgotten that the canal was primarily intended for the use of the United States navy.

AS has been well said, the United States is not a military nation. There is little consideration and less understanding among the people at large of military matters. The Government has no defined military policy. . . . and it has no defined naval policy. "The plain fact" says a reviewer in *Nature* "is that the American Government is gambling on the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe. Once let the balance of forces on our side be destroyed and the Monroe Doctrine could not be upheld by the naval and military force now at the disposal of the United States, and the whole fabric of American imperial policy would fall."

IN any war with projectiles an extremely important matter is to find out the exact distance of the objective. In order to determine this distance range finders have been invented and these achieve their purpose by means of some optical appliance. There are two chief types of range finders (1) prism or base, (2) subtend.

ONE of the most accurate range finders is that of Professors Barr and Stroud. It is a tube from a half metre to two metres long and is a sort of double telescope corresponding to two eyes set six feet apart. When the observer looks through the right eyepiece he sees a field of view divided into two parts owing to the light coming in through two distinct object glasses. If for example the object viewed is a flag staff then it appears broken in two. By moving inside the tube a thin prism, the observer can adjust the two halves until they coincide. The position of this prism on a scale seen with the left eyepiece is then read off and the range is obtained in yards.

SUCH an instrument was used in the fighting tops of the masts of our war ships during the fights off the Dogger Bank and off the Falkland Islands. The range finder high overhead kept constantly telephoning down to the gun layers 20,000, 19,000, 18,000 yards and firing began whenever the enemy vessel entered the known area within which hits would be certain. This range finder is very accurate. At 20,000 yards distance the accuracy is within 100 yards.

MORE than ten years ago experiments were begun in Dublin to test the effect of radium on germinating seedlings. In their results of this work Dixon and Wigham reported that the seedlings grew up without showing any signs of radiotropism, either positive or negative. Further experiments by other workers with greater amounts of radium showed that young embryonic tissues had their cell activities almost completely stopped. When the action of radium came through the soil however, germination and growth were both accelerated and the more distant plants were most stimulated. This led to the introduction of radioactive fertilisers whose sale was pushed by commercial companies. These fertilisers gave very mixed results and the busy staffs of agricultural experimental stations as a rule let the matter pass.

RECENTLY Mr. Martin Sutton carried out the requisite tests. Radishes, tomatoes, potatoes, onions, carrots and marrows, some in pots, others in ground plots were taken and acted upon by radium

residues and also pure radium bromide. The general result of this very carefully conducted set of experiments has clearly shown that the radioactive substances have been ineffective. In no case was increased growth definitely evidenced. At present then there is discrepancy between the results obtained by physiologist and those got by gardener. For the physiologist's work certainly proved that stimulation took place, while the practical grower's best experiments equally clearly show that, though such stimulation, may occur, the final growth of the plant is not affected.

THE extinct dinosaur *Stegosaurus* is well known to all students of Palaeontology who have been made familiar with the probable appearance of the animal when alive, by the drawing of Marsh. This figure is the one found in the text-books, even the latest ones. *Stegosaurus* is known from almost complete skeletal remains and since Marsh's time several authorities have considered that he was wrong in his restoration of the animal, in so far as the placing of the huge bony plates of armour, which give the creature its name, is concerned. These plates were almost a yard high in the biggest ones and Marsh arranged them as a single row down the middle of the animal's back with the largest tiles above the pelvis. Later workers recognised that the plates were a double series being set in pairs along the back. The latest view now is that the arrangement was not a single crest nor even a double ridge with the plates in pairs but a double row with the tiles alternating. Further the biggest plates should be placed over the root of the tail. When these ideas are adapted the huge monster is given the appearance of a browsing animal. The whole thing shows how difficult it is to restore correctly an extinct animal, almost the entire skeleton of which has been found in a state of excellent preservation.

IN his recent opening address to the Zoology Section of the British Association, the late Professor E. A. Minchin, F.R.S., took for his subject the evolution of the cell, a line of work in which he was an acknowledged expert and authority of the first rank. Up to the present he considered that cytologists had studied the cell as found in the higher plants and animals only. He thus found that they were dealing with the cell at its fullest development as a finished and perfect product of the evolutionary processes. "For my part" he said "I would as soon postulate the special creation of man as believe that the meta-zoan cell, with its elaborate organisation and its extraordinarily perfected method of nuclear division by karyokinesis, represents the starting point of the evolution of life." His firm belief was that the

evolution of the cell has taken place among the Protista and that its stages can be traced there.

MONOCHORIA, the water hyacinth, is a very pretty weed found growing in stagnant or slow moving fresh water in several places round Madras city. Near the Adyar, throughout Nungumbaukum, in Spur Tank, Perambur and elsewhere its attractive lilac or bluish flowers are to be commonly seen. We believe that its presence has been noted in and around Madras for the last ten years. To the botanist this plant is very interesting because of its leaf stalks being provided with floats which enable the plant to live in shallow or deep water. It is aquatic and thrives wherever there is fresh water. It spreads at a phenomenal rate by means of seeds, suckers and lateral branches and has thus become a pest and an enemy of man, though its natural charm and beauty cannot be denied.

IN a recent leaflet Mr. D. T. Chadwick, the Director of Agriculture for Madras, draws attention to the plant, and after recounting the harm it has done in Bengal and Burma he recommends that everybody should assist in eradicating the weed. A native of South America, the plant has been introduced to the United States, to Australia and to India. Its dangerous nature lies in the fact that by its rapid growth, in a short time it completely blocks water channels and canals which have to be kept open at great expense. Its dense growth also serves as an ideal breeding place for mosquitoes so that malaria is bound to accompany it wherever it goes. If South India is not to be overrun by this formidable pest, now is the time to act. All classes should co-operate in gathering and burning the weed, else if the "lilac devil" gain the upper hand much expenditure of health and wealth will assuredly be incurred.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE December number of the *Contemporary Review* is on the whole an interesting number. It opens with an article entitled 'The War, To-Day, and To-Morrow,' by Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett. As regards the situation of to-day, Sir Joseph takes a hopeful view. He thinks that probably we have crossed the watershed of the war, though we fail to realise the full significance of the crossing. The course of recent events has been largely influenced by the retirement of Russia. He is of opinion that the delay in attempting a great advance on the Western front is fully justifiable. If our object is to crush the military power of Germany, we cannot stop short at the Rhine. Therefore it is wise to continue the policy of attrition and to put ourselves into the best position for making the advance which is essential to the attainment of our object. Sir Joseph points out how in various directions Germany's difficulties are increasing; and maintains, in view of the somewhat unsatisfactory situation in the Balkans, that even if her venture in that direction were to be crowned with success to the extent of her obtaining possession of Egypt, she would not be much nearer her goal. She would still have the British fleet to reckon with and the risk of an attack on her flank from Russia. At the same time the confidence of the Allies must remain heroic. They are not yet on a position to define terms of peace. Germany has hitherto suffered little loss of territory and has made considerable gains; and the German still believes in his Kaiser, in his government, and in his social and military organisation. As for his accumulating debt, he knows that someone will have to pay it, but he does not believe that it will be he. This self-confidence, Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett says, can only be overcome by actual defeat.

Regarding the enormous drain upon Britain's financial resources which the war is causing, Sir Joseph says the power to sustain it is an essential condition of victory. It is not the present wealth of the country alone but the present and future wealth that is the security for those who furnish the country with supplies; and steps should be taken to secure for the nation some of the profit that has hitherto passed through private hands. He recommends the organisation of the country upon the lines of national production and distribution in cases where competition does not materially affect the issue.

As to the question of the terms which the Allies should be prepared to give to Germany supposing she is defeated, Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett says it is highly complicated and not to be settled by a denunciation in general terms of the evils of militarism. Germany, he says, must pay the penalty for her lust of conquest, but she must be restored to the company of civilised nations. We can only hope that chastened by suffering she may at last rise transfigured into newness of life.

Dr. Dillon contributes an article on 'Greece and the Allies.' The main propelling forces of Balkan politics are the will and power of the three Germanophile kings to follow the Kaiser, the growing conviction spread by a powerful press organisation with the field to itself that the Central Empires are certain to defeat the Allies and to pulverise their neutral friends, and the irresistible attraction of money freely bestowed. The Entente governments now know, he says, what a decisive part German propaganda has played in the countries of South-Eastern Europe. But placing their reliance on the force inherent in truth, justice, and humanity and refusing to use the infamous methods employed by some of Germany's agents they have all along placed themselves at a disadvantage in their negotiations with the Balkan States. They gave the peoples of these nations credit for a sincerity which they did not possess. In the present article Dr. Dillon concerns himself chiefly with Greece and the part which King Constantine has played in her recent history. His conclusion is that Constantine as the tool of the Kaiser is the only factor that counts in the policy of Greece. He takes exception to the statement which has been frequently made in respect of Greece and Bulgaria, that the heart of the people is right and that it is only the rulers who have gone astray. No such distinction can be drawn. As to the story of a Greco-Bulgarian accord, Dr. Dillon is unable to believe it. The Greeks, he says, loathe, and fear the Bulgarians, and these in turn despise the Greeks. A permanent reconciliation between them is out of the question. But this is not incompatible with an understanding between Constantine and the Kaiser about the reciprocal relations of Greeks and Bulgarians during the war and for a specified period afterwards. Such an understanding, Dr. Dillon says, is the basis of the policy pursued by Constantine.

Professor A. C. Pigou deals in a very instructive way with 'Sources and Methods of Paying for the War.' Professor J. Y. Simpson gives a very encouraging account of the effect of *Vodka* prohibition on the peasant life of Russia; and Mr. John Drinkwater writes in very appreciative terms of the personality and poetry of Rupert Brooke.

Professor J. W. Gregory discusses 'The Geological Factors affecting the strategy of the War'; Saint Nihal Singh gives an account of the 'Education and Training of the Emperor of Japan'; Miss N. Adler writes on 'Women's Industry after the War'; and Mr. J. E. G. deMontmorency, in the Literary Supplement gives expression to thoughts suggested by a visit to an old Manor House. Among the books reviewed is Mr. Balfour's Gifford Lectures, which are said to be "beyond all doubt the most fruitful contribution to modern philosophic thought that that has appeared in England for many a long day."

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

A SHORT article by Dr. Grundy recording *A Chance Conversation in 1905*, confirms the impression which has been prevalent for some years among the educated classes in England, that German hatred against us was a deliberately manufactured article for the purpose of distracting attention from internal politics, where the supremacy of the upper class has long been threatened by the Socialist movement. According to Dr. Grundy's interlocutor, the Prussian aristocracy had decided that a great European War was the only way of escape from their internal political difficulties.

The Morale of the French Soldiers, by General Berthand, is an interesting sketch of the ordinary Frenchman, rehabilitating most of our preconceptions, some of which had been undermined by news from the Front. He contrasts the French and German soldier, and we wish he had added on impression of the English. He emphasizes the Frenchman's gaiety and his acknowledged elan in attack, but he says very little of the staying power which the French Army has displayed in so remarkable a degree in the present War.

The Meaning of Death, by Mr. W. S. Lilly, is a review of a French novel showing, amongst other things, the strength of the Catholic revival in France, and the danger of the scientific mind refusing to accept anything except mathematical proof as valid. *Death Bills*, by Mr. Wilfrid Ward, is an essay on the History of some of the English Catholic Congregations from their expulsion at the Reformation to their return at the French Revolution. The number also contains a paper on *Servia Yesterday and To-day* in two parts by the Right Hon'ble Mr. W. F. Bailey and Mr. E. Hilton Young.

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE *Fortnightly Review* has considerably less matter of interest than usual. It opens with a dramatic poem by John Masefield, called 'Good Friday.' It deals with the incidents of the trial of Jesus by Pilate; it is quite reverent but much inferior in dramatic force to the Gospel narrative.

Mr. Archibald Hurd discusses the use we might make of our fleet. It has been assumed too readily that the navy is a defensive force. Co-ordinated with the Expeditionary Force and directed with skill, courage and faith, it would be an offensive weapon of the most powerful description. It follows that we have been wrong in our use of our army. Whenever one Expeditionary Force was despatched, another should have been got ready, and no military necessities should have been allowed to interfere with this. Attention to this would have made a great difference at Antwerp, in the Dardanelles, and in Serbia. Though we have lost all these opportunities of striking both hard and fast, others remain.

For this vigorous use of the fleet, there are certain requirements. The officers at sea must be young; this was secured some years ago. The control of the fleet must be in the hands of men who understand the Navy; this is not the case. Lastly, the supreme control must be in the hands of persons of imagination and courage. Mr. Hurd does not approve of our increasing our army, if it diverts our attention from the needs of the navy.

A. J. Liversedge's article on the possibilities of the large airship is similar in tone. The British had one or two unfortunate experiences with large airships, and so decided to go in for small non-rigid craft. A large British airship at Constantinople might have kept Turkey from declaring war.

Mr. Liversedge goes on to discuss the reason for the failure of the Zeppelins. Partly they have been kept in reserve, because atmospheric conditions have seldom been favourable for an attack on Britain, and because their power to defend themselves against aeroplane attack from above was an unknown quantity. The Germans are still thinking of an invasion in force by their airships. Another reason is that the condition of the atmosphere cannot be predicted and so does not lend itself to the German system of strict adherence to carefully prepared time-tables. The Allies, French, Italians and British are all much more at home in the air. The question is then, what the British could do with an air-fleet.

A large airship means one with a length of about 500 ft. and a diameter a little over 50 ft.; it will have a speed of 40 to 60

miles an hour, possibly more; it will have armament to enable it to meet other airships as well as aeroplanes, and will carry from 3,000 lb. to 5,000 lb. weight of explosives. It will be able to keep the air for from 36 to 48 hours, or to travel, out and home, a distance of 1,500 to 3,000 miles.

The disadvantage of the aeroplane is that it has to deliver its blow when flying at a high speed; while the airship can slow down, and of course the blows of the latter are much heavier. The most effective work which has been done by aircraft (Warneford's extraordinary achievement excepted) was that of a large French airship which destroyed a railway junction in the enemy's lines, together with trains carrying troops and supplies. Even for scouting, the airship has its advantages as photographs taken from it are clearer, and changes might be detected by the stereoscope. It could thus be used to prevent the establishment of large siege guns. And, conversely, the attack on fortified positions could best be made by large airships; they would also serve in important engagements to prevent the bringing up of reserves by destroying communications, for at such time anti-aircraft guns will not be so formidable. (This seems to show that the airship should be attended by aeroplanes, as the capital ship is by destroyers). Again large airships could shatter a mine-field by dropping large counter-mines, and this would have been particularly effective in the Dardanelles, where the current would have carried away the loosened mines. To defend London the proper method is to hold up the Zeppelins at the coast in daylight and either destroy them themselves or give aeroplanes the opportunity of destroying them.

The last section explains how a fleet might be built by assigning them to municipalities within reach of the threatened part of the coast. The frame can be of wood, as it is in certain German airships; so that there would be little need of skilled workers in metal. The municipal engineers could be made responsible for the oversight.

COLLEGE NOTES.

THE COLLEGE DAY was celebrated on the 27th December. The Conference of former students in the morning was not as largely attended as in former years. Among those present, however, were Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddi of Mysore and Dewan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nair, Dewan of Travancore. It was really good of Mr. Krishnan Nair, in the midst of his short visit to Madras and in spite of numerous engagements, to find time to attend the Conference and take part in its proceedings. He proposed, and it was resolved, that besides telegraphing the usual College Day greetings a letter be addressed to Dr. Miller thanking him for sending his annual message and conveying to him respectful condolences on the death of his brother, Mr. John Miller of Scrabster. Office-bearers were then appointed for the next two years: Rao Sahib T. Ramakrishna Pillai and Rao Bahadur T. Raghaviah were appointed President and Vice-President respectively; Mr. Paul Edward Devadasen takes the place of Mr. Mahomed Usman as Treasurer, Mr. Mahomed Usman himself becoming Secretary. To the newly-elected Committee was referred for final decision the proposal of the Corporation Engineer to shift Dr. Miller's statue from its present site a little further back from the road and towards the railings of the High Court compound, so as to do away with the footpath behind the statue, which on account of its sheltered position it has proved impossible to keep in a clean condition. After the Conference was over, some thirty former students sat for breakfast in the Upper School Hall, irrespective of distinctions of caste and creed. The catering, which was pronounced excellent, was done by the proprietor of Arya Bhavan, a Hindu hotel run on modern lines, located in the Jeevaji buildings (next to Caithness Hall), now the property of the College though for the present let to outsiders. There was a much larger attendance at the evening party although many former students who were in Madras at the time were not found either in the social gathering or at the public meeting in the Anderson Hall.

On the motion of the Hon'ble Hakim Zynulabideen Sahib, the new Sheriff of Madras, Mr. R. Srinivasa Aiyar was voted to the chair. The proceedings commenced with the singing of the College Ode, after which the loyal toast given by the Chairman was duly honoured. Mr. P. Nagabhushanam Pantulu then read a statement regarding the Rangiah Chetty Memorial Fund which, started soon after Mr. Rangiah Chettiar's tragic death in April 1909, amounted to Rs. 3,375; of which Rs. 400 was spent on the oil painting which was just then to be presented

to the College. The balance will be utilised for the founding of a Prize and a Dravidian Library to be named after him. The oil painting was then unveiled by Mrs. Skinner, and Dr. Skinner in accepting it on behalf of the College said:—

Those who knew Mr. Rangiah Chetty will recognise the portrait as a good likeness, though it can hardly convey the gracious and dignified courtesy of the man as he used to move about amongst us. Mr. Rangiah Chetty had been on the staff of the College for 35 years when he retired in 1906. He brought to the service of the College not only his acknowledged attainments as a Telugu scholar and as a mathematician, but what was much more valuable, the influence of a strong, simple and loyal character. As Assistant Professor of Mathematics and as Superintendent of the Vernaculars, he came into direct contact with large bodies of students year by year, and while all recognised his power there were many who came to know him as a personal friend, to whom they could always turn for advice and help, and from whom they derived both intellectual stimulus and moral impulse. His tragic death in 1909 was deplored not only by his former colleagues and students, but by the whole community to which he belonged, and of which he was one of the best known and most honoured representatives. It is most appropriate that Mr. Rangiah Chetty's memory should be perpetuated in connection with the College in which he found his life work. His sons, Messrs. Ramanujam Chetty and Rajamannar Chetty, have already perpetuated his memory by means of the Rangiah Chetty Hostel, their munificent gift to the College. But the present memorial has been got up by public subscription and is an expression of the esteem in which the late Mr. Rangiah Chetty was held by his former pupils and friends. In accepting the portrait on behalf of the College, I have to thank the subscribers to the Memorial Fund and the Committee who manage it for their gift. I hope it may be possible some time to secure a replica of the portrait for the Hostel. But the portrait itself will hang within the walls of the College. I can only say that it will be carefully guarded and cherished as a fitting memorial of one who was both a faithful servant of the College and also a distinguished member of the Hindu community. (Applause.)

The Chairman then proposed the toast of the College. He said:—

Seven years ago when I stood in the grounds of Government House at Lahore I was introduced to Rev. Dr. Ewing of the Christian College there. I found myself distinctly rise in stature when I told him that I was from the great Christian College at Madras. There are Christian Colleges for all the four-corners of India—in Bombay, in Lahore, in Calcutta and in Madras, but there is no doubt that the last is the greatest of them all. Like our masters the Scotsmen, the students

of our College are found everywhere. More graduates have issued from these halls than from the other Colleges in South India. Our College has furnished professors, judges, dewans and eminent men in other walks of public life who have had something to do with the awakening of Southern India during the last fifty years. You can therefore well imagine how proud I feel in presiding here this evening and in proposing the toast of our College. The Christian College stands for all that is best in education in Southern India. We are, therefore, specially thankful that we belong to the Christian College. The College Day is one we look forward to, with eagerness to exchange our thoughts and to greet old friends and professors. The College Day is a day of family reunion. We have had feasts and merrymakings and it is but fit that we should have some serious talk about our shortcomings and of matters which are to be immediately attended to regarding the welfare of our country.

With this introduction, Mr. Srinivasa Aiyar proceeded to say that, during his wanderings in different parts of India for more than a quarter of a century, he had observed a general deterioration in the physique of the people. The death-rate in India was much higher than in the civilised countries of Europe and America. The growth of towns and their insanitary condition, the poverty of the people and the pressure of modern life and civilization were no doubt partly responsible for this result: but the observation that the death-rate was greater among educated people led the speaker to look for other and special causes as well :—

As long ago as 1896 Dr. Bhandarkar and Justice Ranade were both dismayed at educated men dying early and fast. Dr. Bhandarkar thought that it was because the intellectual classes were restricting themselves to a vegetable and a non-nourishing diet. Justice Ranade with his usual wonderful insight proved that the graduates who died young were mostly those who were poor and ambitious, who had to exhaust their energy in their struggle against both poverty and the exactions of the university curriculum. I am also inclined to think that this mortality among graduates is higher in Madras than in the other Indian universities.

It is a matter of common knowledge that nearly 70 per cent of our Vakil and Munsiffs go through life as diabetics and die earlier than their uneducated fathers. As for graduates in other walks of life, they are dyspeptics, and those whose luck consigns them to humbler callings go through life like so many machines. These afflictions are transmitted to future generations in more and more intense forms, in geometrical progression. You will thus see what a serious problem we are now face to face with.

In trying to account for this sad phenomenon, Mr. Srinivasa Aiyar mentioned the various explanations suggested :—

Social reformers will point to our early marriages as the cause of all this trouble. These friends say that students who are at once ,

students and fathers must lag behind in the race and all their efforts to go forward must end in disease and death. The Brahmacharis of old became householders only after the completion of their student-hood. Nothing therefore would be more natural and beneficial for us than to revert to our old life in this respect. Our poverty advocates will say that it is because our educated men are mostly drawn from the poorer classes. In all countries death-rate and disease are naturally more among the poorer classes than among the richer. The modern man, especially if he has been to Western countries, is convinced that it is because we do not raise our standard of living, eat meat, and other nutritious food and dress elaborately for the sake of decency regardless of climatic requirements and ancient simplicity—we live with less vigour than the Western nations. There are still others who decry the modern complexities of life and the adoption in slavish imitation of the Western standard of living, as being at the root of many of our sufferings. Many thinking men will attribute our defect to lack of varied employment for our educated young men and the consequent crowding, in certain professions, making the struggle much more keen than it need be. This brings us to our backwardness in agricultural and industrial progress.

But these explanations were, in the speaker's view, not sufficient; Brahmacharya would not act as a panacea, costly living would not prolong life. The adoption of industrial and factory life such as obtains in the West would only lead to accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few and to stark poverty for the masses. Progress in agriculture was what India wanted.

Mr. Srinivasa Aiyar thought there was something wrong in the system of education imparted. One cause of physical weakness, he said, was that boys were made to learn in English and not in their respective vernaculars. He admitted that the greatest Indians like Ranade were the products of English education: but it would appear that they were giants who rose above the cramping influence of their surroundings. It would also appear that education in English stood in the way of Western knowledge permeating the masses. English had done its work by unifying India and might now give place to the vernaculars, so that this unifying work might spread. English would never become the common language of the land, and if the vernaculars were allowed to take its place there would be no dwarfing of the intellect nor undermining of the physique. Education would spread and the so-called depressed classes would no longer be looked down upon.

In asking his fellow alumni to set matters right, Mr. Srinivasa Aiyar said:—

There is a special appositeness in the decision coming from you, the alumni of the Christian College. What the Christian College thinks to-day, educated South India will think to-morrow. On us lies this heavy responsibility and I sincerely hope that we shall not be

found unworthy of the trust imposed upon us by our education, as well as by our professions. Let us remember that our College does not aim at sending out clever men, or even successful men, into the world. What it most desires is, in the eloquent words of Dr. Miller, "to make education an instrument of opening men's minds to moral and spiritual truth."

In these words did the Chairman commend the toast of the College, and in doing so we coupled it with the name of Mr. Corley whom he described as a worthy successor of Mr. George Patterson and Mr. F. W. Kellett in representing the Wesleyan Mission on the Senatus of the College.

Mr. Corley in responding to the toast spoke as follows :—

It is with some trepidation that I rise to reply to the toast, especially after listening to the speech in which it has been put before you. I will not attempt to cover the ground traversed by Mr. R. Srinivasa Aiyar in his speech ; it would take too long, and it would be unfair to him to attempt a reply without adequate consideration beforehand. It might also appear ungracious ; for while agreeing with him in many things, I should be obliged to controvert many of his points. This would be especially regrettable after the very kindly words he has spoken of me personally and in my capacity as representative of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. I will only say that if I did not believe that there was something more to be said on the subject than he has put before you, I should not have the heart to join in the toast or to reply to it as the spokesman of a College engaged in the disastrous work, as it would appear, of disseminating education.

In replying to the toast of the Madras Christian College, it may not be amiss if I say a few words on the subject of education in India. A cynical observer once remarked that very few men, and practically no women, take the trouble to think things out. Certain recent utterances on education lend colour to his contention. The zeal of some of the advocates of Indian thought and Indian institutions would lead the unwary hearer to suppose that everything Indian is at least in the near neighbourhood of perfection, and that India has nothing whatever to gain by learning from the West. Now if it were true that the mind of Europe and of England was hopelessly materialised, that English thought and feeling were degraded and corrupt, it would evidently be a crime of the first magnitude to infect the pure life of India with the malign influence of the West, and I should count myself as a knave to have any part in the work.

But let us reflect a minute. When I returned from England last July, I found Madras in the throes of a press and platform agitation over certain examination results. In the course of the campaign, the

Government and the University of Madras were held up to execration because (it was alleged) they were afraid to allow Indian students to read such English authors as Milton, Macaulay and Shelley, for fear they should be inoculated with the same kind of ferment as had proved so potent in transforming English life. I am not now concerned to discuss the truth of this wanton accusation. My friend, Mr. Mark Hunter, of the Presidency College, very effectually gave it the lie in the columns of *The Madras Mail*; and I have no desire to "slay the slain." What I want you to notice is that this charge, though baseless, is sufficient to dispose of the cant that represents English thought and life as something base and unworthy, which must necessarily exercise a depraving influence on India's character. If you like to maintain the unequivocal superiority of everything Indian, I can respect your opinion, though I do not pretend to share it. But that opinion compels you to regard everything that retards the spread of Western education not as a calamity or a wrong, but as a priceless, if perhaps unintentional, means to safeguard the heritage of the East. When we find, however, that a lady who, in her eagerness to champion the perfection of Indian ways, has not hesitated to pour contempt on her own countrymen, represents it as a wrong done to India that the disruptive influences of English literature have been withheld, we are entitled, I think, to condemn her for glaring inconsistency, if not for patent insincerity.

I may take it, then, that on one point we are all of us here in agreement. While very far from denying that India's inheritance from the past contains elements of solid and lasting value, we nevertheless are conscious of something wanting—conscious that India needs to learn something that her own past has not won for her. And I would remind you that history goes to show that India has nothing to fear from the process of borrowing. Rome's indebtedness to Greece is notorious; modern research goes to show that the Greeks themselves were heavily indebted to an earlier civilisation. But would any one accuse the Greeks or the Romans of a lack of distinctive national characteristics? Medieval Europe owed much to the Saracens; what the Saracens imparted, they themselves had largely borrowed from Byzantium. Yet it would be foolish to suppose that Europe had become Moslemized by its borrowings, or that the Saracens forfeited their own nationality in appropriating the gifts of the Christian world. To come nearer home, you are all well aware that English culture might be plausibly represented as a mosaic of elements derived from many sources—Hebrew, Greek and Roman, Frankish, Norman or Italian; but the possession of a very vigorous and distinctive, not to say aggressive, nationality has exposed the modern Englishman to the railery

of the world's humourists. When we see how strongly national characteristics persist in Britain, France, Russia, Italy, and the other countries of Europe in spite of their large community of culture and of history, we need not be afraid that India will be denationalised by imbibing from the same sources as they. I believe that I have, as a matter of fact, more faith in the national possibilities of India than many of its professed apologists. It is said that Walter Pater would never read the works of Stevenson or Kipling: he was afraid the individuality of his own style would disappear, if he exposed it to the influence of those vigorous writers. In the same spirit, it is hinted that the Indian peoples will lose their own qualities, and become a mere feeble reflex of the British, if English education and culture are allowed to spread. For my part, I do not believe it. Rest assured, the characteristics of India's races will no more be destroyed by modern education than those of the Briton or the Slav. Humanity is many-sided; and while we all seek to appropriate everything that has been gained by our comrades in the quest for truth, we need not fear that our own contribution will be lost or obliterated. If India has something to give as well as something to gain, you may depend upon it that her place, like that of any other people, will be that of a partner in the common culture who can be said to appropriate it just because she gives to it a colour of her own.

The College, then, for which I am privileged to speak, need not be ashamed of its endeavour to bring to India the fruits of our own long history. On many sides, it is the prerogative of Britain to impart to this country the results of its own development. But of the industrial and economic fabric, of the domain of law and government, it is not for me to speak. In the field of education, it is ours to bear a part in making known to you in the East the precious influences that have enriched our own life in the West. The literature which enshrines the great achievements of many centuries, the history and philosophy which explain and justify our culture, the scientific methods and discipline which mediate that mastery over our complex environment which characterizes the recent past, and from which the East is entitled to expect no less advantage than the West—these it is our aim to impart to all who are able and willing to pursue them. And not these alone; but with them, informing and inspiring them, the ideals which have been the motive force throughout our history. The crisis now in process has surely written in letters of fire the worthlessness of culture devoid of character. I do not pretend that Western civilisation is free from faults. But I do not hesitate to affirm that wherein it has excelled, wherein it sets an example which the rest of the world will do well to copy, it owes its strength and its inspiration to the

revelation of Heavenly Love given to the world in the Son of Man. And I have tried to show you that the people of India need not fear to lose themselves, rather in the truest sense they will find their real self at last, in surrendering themselves to all the higher influences which a Western, a Christian, education can impart. In acknowledging, as I do with considerable feeling, the toast you have so cordially accepted, I may express on behalf of the College our determination to persist in the great work to which we have set our hand. "Silver and gold have we none; but that which we have we freely give unto you"—convinced we could give you no better gift than the light of truth and knowledge from which we ourselves derive the freedom, the inspiration, the purpose, which give meaning and value to life.

The toast of the University was proposed by Mr. Paul Appaswami and responded to by the Bishop of Madras. Dr. Miller's health was proposed by Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddi and by way of response the message from Dr. Miller was read by Mr. Pittendrigh. The toast of Our Young Friends was proposed by Khan Bahadur M. Abdul Rahim, B.A., B.L., of Hyderabad, and replied to by a Muhammadan student of the B.A. Class. Want of space prevents us from reporting any of these speeches in this issue.

LORD PENTLAND's knowledge of public men in Madras is evidenced, whenever he has to make an important appointment, by his looking beyond the list of persons in the running, and choosing one whose worth he has had opportunities of observing unobserved and without aid from himself or his friends. This accounts for His Excellency's appointing as the Sheriff of Madras an alumnus of the College (perhaps for the first time in the history of the office) in the person of the Hon'ble Shifa-ul-Mulk Zynulabideen Sahib. We have on previous occasions sketched his career and we shall now only remark that his position as the first citizen of Madras reflects the high opinion he has earned for himself not only as a curer of disease but as a frank and courageous advocate of the indigenous methods of medical treatment. His speeches on this subject in the Madras Legislative Council have been marked by a strength of conviction combined with an appreciation of "the other side," which has won for him respect even from those who totally differ from him.

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*PRIVILEGE AND RESPONSIBILITY **

BY E. MONTEITH MACPHAIL, M.A., B.D.

You only have I known of all the families of the earth : therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities. Amos iii : 2.

THE Book of Amos is the oldest of the prophetic books of the Old Testament, and its author, the Prophet Amos, is one of the most striking personalities in the whole gallery of interesting portraits which the Old Testament contains. He was a herdsman or shepherd by occupation, and lived in the wild, rocky country that slopes from the highlands of Judah down to the Dead Sea four thousand feet below. There in the wilderness, like Elijah and John the Baptist, he heard the voice of God speaking to him, and realised that he had a message which he must deliver to Israel.

Amos himself was a native of the Kingdom of Judah, for he belonged to the little town of Tekoa which lies twelve miles south of Jerusalem and six from Bethlehem, but it was to the northern sister kingdom of Israel that he felt called to speak. Israel, which had its capital at Samaria and its chief sanctuary at Bethel, was far larger and more important than Judah, and at the time when Amos prophesied, i. e. about 750 B.C., it was enjoying great material prosperity. Its king was Jeroboam II, the great-grandson of Jehu, the successful rebel who drove so furiously and who overthrew amidst torrents of blood the worship of Baal and the house of Ahab. Under the Jehu dynasty, Israel had extended its boundaries and its people had become wealthy. But with wealth and prosperity, luxury and corruption had also come. The people were religious after a fashion, but theirs was a formal

* A Sermon preached at the Scottish National Service in St. Andrew's Church, Madras, on Sunday, 5th December, 1915.

ceremonial religion and, what was worse, a religion divorced from morality. The poor were oppressed; justice was corrupted; trade was fraudulent; and even their religious celebrations were often polluted by greed and sensuality. The priests were no better than the common people, and their wicked lives set an evil example to the common people and poisoned the fountain of religion at its source.

Amos, though a shepherd, was, as his book shows, a shrewd observer and one who knew by personal knowledge what was going on in the world around. As he meditated amongst his sheep in the desert and thought of the character of God and of the moral nature of His rule, and thought also of the corruptions he had seen, he felt impelled to warn the people of Israel that their conduct was certain to bring upon them the divine judgment. Away in the north-east a great empire had been growing up on the banks of the Euphrates. Amos, with the insight of a statesman, saw that its growth was menacing the national existence of Israel, and, as a prophet, he saw in Assyria the instrument with which God would punish sinful Israel if it persisted in its sin.

Impelled by this thought he crossed the border into Israel and began to deliver his prophetic warnings at Bethel, one of the two great sanctuaries of Israel. His words were disquieting, and when he ventured so far as to prophesy the doom of the reigning dynasty, he was looked upon as distinctly dangerous and was accused of sedition. Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, sent word to King Jeroboam that Amos was making a conspiracy against him, but the news that he had done so only made the prophet state in still clearer language the impending doom of Israel and of the royal house. Amaziah then ordered Amos to return to his native country: "O thou seer, go, flee thee away into the land of Judah and there eat bread, and prophesy there: but prophesy not again any more at Bethel for it is the King's chapel and it is the King's court". The priest was unable to understand the prophet's conduct. Judging him by his own low, moral standard he fancied that Amos was actuated only by mercenary motives in adopting the role of prophet. Amos in reply explained clearly that he was no professional prophet seeking gain or notoriety, but that he was inspired by Jehovah Himself. "I am no prophet", he replied, "neither am I a prophet's son, but I am a

herdman and a gatherer of sycamore fruit. And the Lord took me as I followed the flock, and the Lord said unto me: 'Go, prophesy unto my people Israel'". His indignant protest seems to have been in vain, and before he left, silenced by the authorities, he depicted in terrible words the horrors that were in store for the homes of Israel when the Assyrians should come upon them to punish them for their sins.

The voice of the prophet was silenced, and it may have been this fact which made him become the first of those who committed their prophetic oracles to writing. The whole of his book is of great interest when carefully studied, and much of it is extraordinarily applicable to modern conditions. Its keynote is that God is the moral governor of the universe, and that God demands of all men submission to His rule and obedience to His moral law. Further, he teaches that God is to be seen working in all history. If He brought up the Israelites out of Egypt He brought also the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir. Jehovah in the eyes of Amos was no mere tribal deity, the "old ally" of his chosen people. He cared for all men and would judge all men for their sins. It is specially interesting to note that the denunciations of foreign nations, which are contained in the first two chapters, are based not on their ignorance of the worship of Jehovah but on their perpetrating atrocities which were regarded as offences against the general dictates of humanity. Judgment is pronounced against them not because of injuries done to Israel, nor because of their idolatry, but because they have been guilty of breaches of natural law against which the consciences of all right-thinking men, whatever their religion may be, must needs revolt.

During the past year a distinction has sometimes been drawn between the God of the Old Testament and the God revealed to men as a Father by our Lord Jesus Christ. It is true that our Lord has given us in Himself the complete revelation of the Father, but we must never forget that the God whom Amos and the other prophets worshipped and preached was no immoral or unmoral national God, but was pre-eminently a moral person. He was one in whose eyes religious ceremonies could never form a substitute for the religion of a pure and contrite heart, and for the practice of justice and mercy. And did not our

Lord but continue this side of the prophetic teaching when He denounced the religiosity and hypocrisy of the Pharisees because they substituted sacrifice and ceremonial for justice and mercy, the weightier matters of the Law?

The keynote then of the teaching of Amos is, as I have said, the truth that God is a holy God in a moral sense, a God of justice and mercy, and He demands of His people, under pain of judgment, the exhibition of the same qualities. The Israelites might pride themselves, that in a special sense Jehovah was their God—the God of their fathers. But it was a delusion to fancy that they would escape judgment on that account if they deserved it. They might look forward to the Day of the Lord when the Lord would free them from their enemies, but if they were unworthy morally they would find that the Day of the Lord brought them only terror and dismay—darkness and not light. If He was in a special sense their God and had shown them special favour that fact only implied that they had greater responsibilities and, if they failed to be what they were meant to be, only made judgment all the more certain: “You only have I known of all the families of the earth: therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities.”

The idea contained in these words that privilege brings with it responsibility seems to me to be a specially suitable one for us to recall in view of the special circumstances in which we are met to-night. Our thoughts are turning to our own dear native land, and as we think of all that our little country has in God's providence been enabled to be and to do we may thankfully recognise what great things God has wrought for us, and may humbly try to realise the responsibilities that our privileges entail. At another time I should have been inclined to turn your thoughts to the history of our beloved Scotland and to have said something about men both in Church and State who, in fearless independence and in moral earnestness, resembled the prophet Amos. But we are met also under the shadow of the great war which has been ravaging Europe for the past sixteen months, a gigantic struggle in which our whole national existence has been at stake. The marvellous display of the spirit of unity throughout the empire which the war has evoked or, rather, revealed, leads me to take a wider view, and to say a few words on our privileges and

responsibilities as members of the British Empire rather than as Scotsmen.

It is no small privilege we enjoy in being citizens of the British Empire. Its vastness is a commonplace, but perhaps even we who in virtue of our being in India know more of it than our brothers at home do, hardly realise how vast it is. Our North American possessions alone are larger than Europe, and Australia is but little smaller; while the population of our Empire is larger than that of Europe. More than that, the new lands over which our flag flies are those which are best fitted for habitation by the races of the temperate zone. Their resources are only beginning to be realised, and assuredly a great future lies before the Dominions of the Empire. And no less certainly this great land in which we live, famous as its past has been, has a still greater future before it.

But size is not everything, and the greatness of our Empire, to my mind, consists not as much in its vastness as in the unity it displays in diversity. The Empires of the ancient world were created by force of conquest. It would be absurd to deny that force of arms and especially that sea power has played an important part in the creation of our Empire, and that, as we see now, we need our army and navy to repel the attacks of the envious, but it is not force of arms that is the internal bond of our Empire but an appreciation of the benefits received by those who belong to it. I do not undervalue the importance of sentiment but the revolt of our American colonies a hundred and forty years ago showed clearly that conflicting interests when treated with misunderstanding and want of sympathy may sever the closest ties of sentiment. The best augury for the continued existence of our Empire is the fact that in spite of the mistakes and evils from which its past history is not free we have obtained a firm grasp of the fact that the Empire exists for the benefit not of any one part of it but of all its parts, of the Empire as a whole. This ideal no doubt involves many difficult and perplexing problems, but it is only by the recognition of it that we can hope that our Empire may have a permanence such as the ancient empires failed to achieve.

And with regard to the tie of sentiment I may say in passing that I think we Scotsmen have made a valuable contribution to

imperial ideas. We often pride ourselves upon the part that men of our race have played in the history of the British Empire, but not the least important part that our country has had in the work of empire-building is the fact that Scotsmen have shown that it is possible to have the most ardent love for one's native land without allowing that local patriotism, if I may so call it, to interfere with that wider love for a larger whole which the existence of empire demands. If our Empire is to continue to flourish it must be possible for the members of the different nations—for such they are or are becoming—which form its parts to feel that they can be true, loyal, loving citizens of the Empire without losing their love for their native land.

The strength, the unity, the permanence of our Empire seem to me ultimately to depend upon the recognition by our citizens that our Imperial ideal contains certain great moral principles. The word Imperialism has sometimes been looked at askance as if it implied aggression and force, but except in so far as all government implies force these are not necessary elements in it. To me it seems that the great principles for which our Empire stands and which are its imperial ideal are freedom and justice. Freedom is of course a much abused word, but I mean by it the recognition of the worth of the individual and the removal as far as possible of everything that would prevent his proper self-development so far as that can be done without injury to others. We wish to recognise that there may be diversity in unity, that men should be allowed to differ and should not all be forced to be of one pattern. The diversity of our Empire has helped to teach us this, while the history of our native land has taught us to value the qualities of self-reliance and independence which freedom brings. And justice is but another side of the same thing for it too means the recognition of the rights of the individual. Without flattering ourselves we may, I think, say that the love of fair play is a characteristic of the British race. With it goes the love of justice, and justice is but the Golden Rule transferred to the sphere of government.

The problems of our Empire are many and great, for in practice it is difficult to grant liberty without allowing it to degenerate into licence, or to prevent injustice from resulting from an undue amount of freedom. Justice to the poor and the

oppressed may lead to what seems to be an interference with liberty. But in spite of all the practical difficulties which the statesmen of our Empire have to face I believe it is true that British citizenship is cherished consciously or unconsciously because men love freedom and long for justice.

What then of our responsibilities? We have received a great inheritance. It is ours to maintain it worthily. Hundreds of thousands of the best and bravest of our fellow citizens have come forward to fight and if need be to die in defence of our Empire and its ideals, and this lays a still greater responsibility upon each one of us. God has blessed our nation in times past for we may reverently see the hand of God in our past history. But, no more than the Israelites were, have we been placed in an exceptional position amongst the nations of the earth merely for our own sakes or to work out our own selfish purposes, but that we may be a blessing to others. If the prophetic teaching is true that privilege implies responsibility a heavy responsibility rests upon each one of us. The nation is made up of individuals and those who come in contact with us will not unnaturally judge our nation by our actions. Are we in our daily lives and amongst our fellow citizens here seeking to maintain the ideals for which our country, our Empire, our religion stand?

For let us not forget that we have a yet wider citizenship, wider than our Scottish or our British citizenship, for if we have listened to the call of Christ our citizenship is in heaven, and we are the subjects of "another King, one Jesus." Let us remember that as the name of Christ has been named upon us, those of this land who know but little of Him will judge our Saviour by the actions of those who are called by His name.

In an oft-quoted passage the prophet Micah put before his contemporaries his ideal of life: "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God?" Let us seek to walk humbly with our God recognising how much He has done for us both individually and as a nation by His providence and by His grace, recognising too that we are His stewards whom He will call to account for the use that we have made of the gifts which He has entrusted to us. Above all let

us remember that we are not our own but have been called in whatever position of life we may be to be fellow workers with Him in setting up the Kingdom of God on earth.

God of our fathers, known of old,
 Lord of our far-flung battle line,
 Beneath whose awful Hand we hold
 Dominion over palm and pine—
 Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
 Lest we forget—lest we forget.

The tumult and the shouting dies;
 The Captains and the Kings depart:
 Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,
 A humble and a contrite heart.
 Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
 Lest we forget—lest we forget.

“THE POEMS OF KABĪR” TRANSLATED BY
 RABINDRANATH TAGORE.*

NOTES OF A LECTURE

BY C. KINGSLEY WILLIAMS, M.A.

Kabīr, though little known in the West, and but little more than little known, I fancy, in South India occupies a very high place—some say one of the very highest—in the development of Indian thought about God. He shares with Tholasi Das the honour of having struck the severest blow at the primacy of Sanskrit and having made the vernacular Hindi the medium of religious thought and poetry. His appeal was not to the pundit but to the peasant.

That first: and the reason is plain. His appeal was not to the head, but to the heart. I would not be thought to mean that pundits have no hearts—certainly not that peasants have no heads. But peasants are certainly less liable to that most devastating of the enemies of religion, swollen-headedness, pride of intellect. And the *bhakti* movement spread among the peasantry not merely because it came to them in the language of home and

* *One Hundred Poems of Kabīr* translated by Rabindranath Tagore assisted by Evelyn Underhill: Macmillan and Co., 1915 4s. 6d. net.

was itself more intelligible, but also because it seemed to have an answer to deeper human questionings than the arid metaphysics of the schools could meet.

High in the succession of the *bhakti* saints stands Kabīr. No one, I imagine, with a knowledge of India's past can live in this green Southern land and not be glad sometimes to think that it is from this land the *bhakti* saints derive. The Alvēars were your fellowcountrymen, and Rāmānuja was born less than 25 miles from Madras. But, if legend speak true, the next great name, Rāmānanda, is the name of one whom the exclusiveness of the South drove to seek refuge in the freer atmosphere of the North, where in the 15th century the Muhammadan invasion was beginning to result in a mingling and interpenetration of the streams of Muhammadan and Hindu thought.

This result is more clearly seen in Rāmānanda's disciple Kabīr. The legend runs that he was the son of Muhammadan parents; it seems certain that he was brought up in a Muhammadan family—his name itself, taken from the Koran, would be sufficient evidence of that. We are also told that he came into close contact with the mystics of the Suni school of Islam in and about Benares. And it may well be so. The result upon his mind and work may be expressed in the words of Mr. Macnicol :—

"Kabīr was deeply dyed of Hinduism, yet influenced at the same time to a powerful extent by the new religious attitude that had by this time entered India with the Muhammadan invasion." There is "a new stringency, a new vigour—even if it is only in its negations—, and a more decidedly ethical outlook."¹

Other writers² have not hesitated to call him the Luther of India : and the title is more apt than will appear to those that remember the monk's denunciation of Popish superstitions but forget his passionate attachment to the person of his Lord.

Of one other interesting historical link I would remind you. One of the most important communities of North India, while outside the ranks of his professed disciples, derives directly from Kabīr: I refer of course to the Sikhs. The founder of that amazing church militant, Nānak Shah, was among Kabīr's immediate fol-

¹ *Indian Theism* p. 135.

² Wilson, quoted with approval by Westcott *Kabīr and the Kabīr Panths* p. 1.

lowers. The precept and example of the latter are held by the Sikhs to possess an authority equal to that of the founder, and the founder himself is known to have had the highest regard for his master.³

As a great leader in the *bhakti* movement, then; as the founder, or joint founder of Hindi vernacular literature; as the fountain head of the influence from which Sikhism sprang, Kabīr is an interesting and important figure.

But if that were all I should not be here to-night: for Rabindranath would not have translated his poems. The former would not be a matter for sorrow: the latter most distinctly would. Miss Evelyn Underhill, who writes a very beautiful introduction to this translation, includes him among "that small group of supreme mystics who have achieved that which we might call the synthetic vision of God." I am not sure that I can subscribe to that; because I am not sure that I know what it means. The language of mystics is often difficult: the language of writers about mysticism is always difficult. But I am quite sure that Kabīr's poems deserve to occupy a permanent place in the literature of devotion. I am a Christian; and being a Christian I cannot but look forward to the time when India will be Christian too (for I cannot think I am myself wiser or cleverer or better than she). And when India is Christian—or when Christianity is Indian for that matter—I hope to hear the songs of this great lover of God sung by the lovers of God in praise of the love of God—a love which has been proved in Jesus, as I needs must think, to be so much more wondrous than even Kabīr suspected.

Of his life there is but little one can say with certainty. His parentage is unknown. But that he lived in the family of a Muslim weaver and himself followed the craft of weaving in or near Benares we may believe. Benares in the middle of the 15th century was the centre of Rāmānanda's teaching, and it is said that the boy Kabīr desiring to become his disciple lay down upon the steps of the ghāt when the saint was descending it to bathe. "Rām! Rām!" cried the good man in astonishment when his foot stepped upon the seeming sleeping boy. But the boy leapt up claiming that the *mantra* of initiation had been

³ Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

spoken on him and that they were *guru* and *sishtyan* now. To which Rāmānanda agreed in spite of orthodox complaints.

Controversy waxed hot in those days : and Kabīr was not accommodating as we shall see. Hindus accused him of Muslimising Hinduism ; Muslims attacked him for Hinduising Islam. But when he died each claimed him for their own. A struggle began over his corpse ; but Kabīr appeared in the spirit, so runs the tale, and bade them look under the pall : and lifting it they found no body but a heap of flowers. Half was taken by the Hindus and burnt at Benares ; half burned by the Muslims at Maghār.

But it is more than time we passed to the songs themselves.

I have spoken of the " new stringency, new vigour " that appears in Kabīr first among reformers whom one can call Hindu at all. " Iconoclast " were hardly too strong a word. He attacks unsparingly three of the four prime enemies of spiritual religion, intellectualism, ritualism, austerity.

There is nothing but water at the holy bathing places ; and I know that they are useless, for I have bathed in them.

The images are all lifeless, they cannot speak ; I know, for I have cried aloud to them.—xlii.

O brother ! when I was forgetful my true Guru shewed me the way.

Then I left off all rites and ceremonies ; I bathed no more in the holy water ;

From that time forth I knew no more how to roll in the dust in obeisance ;

I did not ring the temple bell ;

I did not set the idol on its throne ;

I did not worship the image with flowers.

It is not the austerities that mortify the flesh which are pleasing to the Lord ;

When you leave off your clothes and kill your senses you do not please the Lord :

The man who is kind and who practises righteousness, and who remains passive among the affairs of the world, who considers all creatures on earth as his own self,

He attains the Immortal Being, the true God is ever with him.

Kabīr says " He attains the true name whose words are pure and who is free from pride and conceit. "—lxv.

I am neither in temple nor in mosque ; I am neither in Kaaba nor in Kailash : Neither am I in rites and ceremonies, nor in Yoga and renunciation.—i.

Why put on the robe of the monk and live aloof from the world in lonely pride ?

Behold my heart dances in the delight of a hundred arts and the Creator is well pleased.—xxxii.

The Yogi dyes his garments, instead of dyeing his mind in the colours of love :

He sits within the temple of the Lord, leaving Brahma, to worship a stone :

He pierces holes in his ears, he has a great beard and matted locks, he looks like a goat :

He goes forth into the wilderness, killing all his desires and turns himself into a eunuch ; he shaves his head and dyes his garments ; he reads the Gita and becomes a mighty talker.

Kabir says " You are going to the doors of death, bound hand and foot."—lxvi.

Not in rites or austerities, but in the life of the home is true religion :

He is dear indeed to me who can call back the wanderer to his home. In the home is true union, in the home is enjoyment of life ; why should I forsake my home and wander in the forest ? If Brahma helps me to realise truth, verily I will find both bondage and deliverance in the home. ...

Kabir says " The home is the abiding place : in the home is reality ; the home helps to attain Him Who is real. So stay where you are, and all things shall come to you in time.—xl.

And the way of knowledge is as vain as the way of ceremonies and the way of austerity :

The Purana and the Koran are mere words ; lifting up the curtain I have seen.—xlii.

The Kadi is searching the words of the Koran and instructing others ; but what does it avail ?—liv.

O man, if thou dost not know thine own Lord, whereof art thou proud ?

Put thy cleverness away ; mere words shall never unite thee to Him.

Do not deceive thyself with the witness of the Scriptures.—lix.

As you never may find the forest if you ignore the tree, so He never may be found in abstractions—xl.

I have learned the Sanskrit language ; so let all men call me wise.

But where is the use of this when I am floating adrift and parched with thirst and burning with the heat of desire ?—xci.

And very definitely—

Philosophy cannot attain unto Him.—lxxvi.

The main doctrine of popular Hinduism too—the doctrine, moreover, round which in almost all other teachers the *bhakti* movement has revolved—he will have nothing of. He uses the name Rām to denote the Supreme, just as at other times he uses the name Brahma ; and the music of the celestial flute player is

one of his common figures for the music of the spheres as heard by the ear of the lover of God. But the doctrine of *Avatars* he will have nothing of.

None seek Him the perfect, Brahma the Indivisible Lord.
They believe in ten Avatars ; but no Avatar can be the Infinite Spirit...
The Supreme One must be other than this.—xiii.

It is not surprising to find that one who hated asceticism and loved the simple charities of the home as Kabīr did, loved also man's great home, the beautiful world of God.

The migration of the swan :

Tell me O swan your ancient tale
From what land do you come, O swan ? to what shore will you fly ?
Where would you take your rest. O swan and what do you seek ?—xii.

“ The spangled heavens ” :

Waving its row of lamps the universe sings in worship day and night.—
xvii.

The loveliness of little things :

The subtle anklets that ring on the feet of an insect—lxvii.

reminding us of “ the sparrow that falls not to the ground without your Father,” these simple beauties, these and the lotus which seems to move India from the Himalayas to Comorin as a rose moves England—these are the poet's constant theme.

But he is no nature-worshipper. His worship is for the painter not the picture ; his love is for the Father's heart not for the Father's home.

And here is the core of the matter. Kabīr is a mystic—and no ordinary one either—finding the essence of religion and the goal and meaning of life in the personal apprehension of God in and as the most intimate and real experience that he knows : not in creeds which are the *ex post facto* articulation and explanation of the experience ; not in cultus and worship, which are the common expression in symbol and act of the experience ; not in morality, which is the concrete reaction on the world of the experience : but in the direct and immediate (though not therefore unmediated) awareness of the presence and power and beauty of the Lord of Life.

The nearness of God is perhaps his commonest theme :

O my heart, the Supreme spirit, the great Master is near you ; wake,
O wake !

Run to the feet of your Beloved : for your Lord stands near to your head.
 You have slept for unnumbered ages ; this morning will you not wake? - xix
 Lamps burn in every house, O blind one, and you cannot see them.
 One day your eyes shall suddenly be opened and you shall see ; and the
 fetters of death will fall from you.—xxi.

I laugh when I hear that the fish in the water is thirsty :
 You do not see that the real is in your home, and you wander from forest
 to forest listlessly.—xliii.

He can be found anywhere and therefore “ dwelleth not in
 temples made with hands.”⁴

O servant where dost thou seek me ? Lo ! I am beside thee. . .
 I am neither in temple nor in mosque : I am neither in Kaaba nor in Kailash.
 If thou art a true seeker, thou shalt at once see Me : thou shalt meet
 Me in a moment of time.—i.

If God be within the mosque, then to whom does this world belong ?
 If Rām be within the image which you find upon your pilgrimage, then
 who is there to know what happens without ?—lxix.

He is found within the soul or not at all—“ the Kingdom of
 God is within you.”⁵

Within this earthen vessel are bowers and groves, and within it is the
 Creator ;

Within this vessel are the seven oceans and the unnumbered stars. . .

And within this vessel the Eternal soundeth and the spring wells up.

Kabīr says “ Listen to me, my friend ! My beloved Lord is within.”—viii.

I have wrapped the diamond in my cloak : why open it again and again ?
 The swan has taken its flight to the lake beyond the mountains ; why
 should it search for the pools and ditches any more ?

Your Lord dwells within you ; why need your outward eyes be opened ?

Listen, my brother ! my Lord who ravishes my eyes has united himself
 with me.—xxxiii.

But, as Miss Underhill points out, Kabīr escapes many of the
 pit-falls of the mystic.

The union of the soul with the supreme soul does not
 obliterate the difference between them ; the union is a real union
 and felt as a union ; not an absorption in which difference and
 the feeling of difference are forgotten :

The creative is in Brahma, and Brahma in the creature : they are ever
 distinct, yet ever united.—vii.

If I say He is within me, the universe is ashamed ; If I say He is without
 me, it is falsehood.—x.

I laugh when I hear the fish in the water is thirsty.—xliii.

⁴Acts vii. 48.

⁵Luke vii. 21.

The infinite dwelling of the Infinite is everywhere : in earth, water, sky and air.

Firm as the thunderbolt, the seat of the seeker is established above the void.

He who is within is without : I see Him and none else.—lvi.

This union is achieved not by the understanding but by the heart, not by intellectual effort but by loving submission :

Philosophy cannot attain unto Him.—lxxvi.

Listen to me, friend : he understands, who loves.—xi.

As the leaf of the lotus abides on the water : so thou art my Lord and I am Thy servant.

As the nightbird Chakor gazes all night at the moon ; so thou art my Lord and I am thy servant.—xxxiv.

This day is day to me above all other days, for to-day the Beloved Lord is a guest in my house. . .

I wash His feet and I look upon His face ; and I lay before Him as an offering my body, my mind and all that I have.—lxxxviii.

It follows from this that salvation is a condition to be experienced with joy in the here-and-now, not to be deferred to some more or less distant time beyond the grave in other worlds than this ; we are saved in this world—or not at all :

O friend ! hope for Him whilst you live, know whilst you live, understand whilst you live : for in life deliverance abides.

If your bonds be not broken whilst living, what hope of deliverance in death ?

It is but an empty dream that the soul shall have union with Him because it has passed from the body :

If He is found now, He is found then,

If not we do but go to dwell in the City of Death.

If you have union now, you shall have it hereafter.—iii.

He who has seen that radiance of love, he is saved.—xiii.

Salvation, in other words, is, consists in, nothing else or less than the Vision of the world as a manifestation of the love of God, which in turn calls out our love. “ We love him because he first loved us,” ⁶ as a Christian mystic has it.

He has awaited me for countless ages, for love of me He has lost his heart.

Yet I did not know the bliss that was so near to me, for my love was not yet awake.

But now my Lover has made known to me the meaning of the note that struck my ear.—lxxxii.

And what that note is he is at the greatest pains to explain, though always feeling, one needs must think, that "the love" of the Beloved, "what it is, none but his loved ones know" ⁷

Behold what wonderful rest is in the Supreme spirit; and he enjoys it who makes himself meet for it.

Held by the cords of love the swing of the Ocean of Joy sways to and fro; and a mighty sound breaks forth in song. . .

Behold how the thirst of the five senses is quenched there! and the three forms of misery are no more! . . .

I have drunk of the cup of the Ineffable,

I have found the key of the Mystery.

I have reached the Root of Union. . .

I have come to the Sorrowless Land.—xvii.

It cannot be told by the words of the mouth, it cannot be written on paper: It is like a dumb person who tastes a sweet thing—how shall it be explained?—lxxvi.

It remains to ask, however, whether the God whose love for us kindles our love, and in love for whom consists our soul's salvation, is clearly conceived as really lovable, clearly conceived as supremely worthy of our love. What is God's character, as Kabīr expresses it? Is there in Kabīr the basis of an ethical religion? That is one supremely vital question.

And another most intimately connected with the former is this:—Does Kabīr relate the loving worship of the saint to his moral purity? Does he make righteousness of life the proper expression of religious enthusiasm? A remark appeared in the press the other day to this effect: "The Malayali dramas of a certain date wonderfully stimulated the spirit of godliness, but had a deplorable effect on morals." Is dangerous nonsense of that order to be found in Kabīr?

I shall try to answer the latter question first.

I think it may be said confidently that there is a closer connection between godliness and goodness in Kabīr than in any

⁷ O Hope of every contrite heart

O Joy of all the meek

To those who fall how kind thou art!

How good to those who seek!

But what to those who find? Ah this

Nor tongue, nor pen can show:

The love of Jesus what it is

None but His loved ones know.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX,

other Indian poet. The simple virtues of the home are for him the normal and proper expression of the religious spirit. His mysticism is moral.

Selfishness and pride are for him the chief obstacles in the way of salvation :

So long as man clamours for the I and the Mine his works are as naught :

When all love of the I and the Mine is dead, then the work of the Lord is done.—vi.

The whole world does its works and commits its errors : but few are the lovers who know the Beloved.

The devout seeker is he who mingles in his heart the double currents of love and detachment, like the mingling of the streams of Ganges and Jumna.—xvii.

Similarly, simplicity, is the gate of heaven :

He who is meek and contented, he who has an equal vision, whose mind is filled with the fullness of acceptance and rest.

He who has seen Him and touched Him, he is freed from all fear and trouble. . .

His work and his rest are filled with music ; he sheds abroad the radiance of love.—lxx.

The man who is kind and who practises righteousness, who remains passive amidst the affairs of the world, who considers all creatures on earth as his own self,

He attains the Immortal Being, the true God is ever with him.

Kabir says "He attains the true name whose words are pure, and who is free from pride and conceit."—lxv.

And here follows a magnificent battle cry :—

Lay hold on your sword and join in the fight. Fight, O my brother, as long as life lasts.

Strike off your enemy's head, and there make an end of him quickly ; then come and bow your head at your King's Durbar.

He who is brave never forsakes the battle ; he who flies from it is no true fighter.

In the field of this body a great war goes forward against passion, anger, pride and greed :

It is in the kingdom of truth, contentment and purity, that this battle is raging ; and the sword that rings forth most loudly is the sword of His Name.

When a brave knight takes the field, a host of cowards is put to flight.

It is a hard fight and a weary one, this fight of the truth-seeker ; for the vow of the truth-seeker is more than that of the warrior, or of the widowed wife who would follow her husband.

For the warrior fights for a few hours and the widow's struggle with death is soon ended ;

But the truth-seeker's battle goes on day and night, as long as life lasts it never ceases.—xxxvii.

There is a note of challenging certainty and manliness in

that which any people might be proud to have heard among them.

One question, then, is answered, and in the affirmative: Kabir's mysticism is moral, his godliness is a godliness of goodness; character and conduct are a large part of his creed; his religion is righteous; his piety is pure.

The other question remains: "What is God's 'character' as Kabir expresses it?"

'The loveliness of the Lord' is the first thought that occurs to one—the unspeakable and incommunicable loveliness of God.

Where Spring, the Lord of the seasons, reigneth, the unstruck music soundeth,

There the streams of light flow in all directions. . . .

There is my Lord self-revealed: and the scent of sandal and flowers dwells in those deeps.—xv.

The light of the sun, the moon and the stars shines bright:

The melody of love swells forth and the rhythm of love's detachment beats the time.

Day and night the chorus of music fills the heavens.

And Kabir says "My Beloved One gleams like the lightning flash in the sky"—xvii.

The Hidden Banner is planted in the temple of the sky; there the blue canopy decked with the moon and set with bright jewels is spread.

There the light of the sun and the moon is shining; still your mind in silence before that splendour. Kabir says; "He who has drunk of that nectar wanders like one who is mad."—xliv.

And this loveliness, seen "in a point" as "white blossoming music" in the mystic's vision of ecstasy, is broken up into many lovely hues in the prism of his thought:—

Why so impatient, my heart?

He who watches over buds, beasts, and insects.

He who cared for you whilst you were yet in your mother's womb, shall He not care for you now that you are come forth?—lxiii.

Is your Lord deaf? The subtle anklets that ring on the feet of an insect when it moves are heard of Him.—lxvii.

I was drowning in the deeps of the ocean of this world and Thou didst save me: upholding me with thy arm, O Fakir (O God)

Only one word and no second, and Thou hast made me tear off all my bonds.—x.

But character after all means something more than loveliness. The loveliness of the lotus must, indeed, be found in any God that is to satisfy the human heart; but of itself it will not satisfy. Man demands, quite reverently but quite unhesitatingly, of God

that there should be in Him a purpose and a will for human life that man can approve and help to realize. The will of God must give meaning to life, and that for man means moral meaning. Is God conceived by Kabīr in terms of high moral purpose—has He a will for society—a goal for humanity? Is there in the mind of God :

“One far off divine event

To which the whole creation moves ”?

Is God Himself fighting in the battle for truth and righteousness to which Kabīr so finely calls his knights? I have not been able to find a trace of any such thing. The universe is not a battle field in which good and evil are for ever warring, with God leading on the saints against the hosts of darkness—not that, but something very different :

Life and death, union and separation, are all His plays of joy !

His play, the land and water, the whole universe !

His play the earth and the sky !

In play is the creation spread out, in play it is established. The whole world, rests in His play.—lxxxiii.

We can reach the goal without crossing the road, such is the sport unending.

Where the ring of manifold joys ever dances about Him, there is the sport of the eternal Bliss.

There the eternal fountain is playing its endless life-streams of life and death.—lxxvii.

I have sometimes thought that the God of some Christian moralists was a very solemn fellow. I cannot escape the suspicion that the God of Kabīr was something of a trifler. No man who has seen the beauty of the life of Jesus, been fascinated by his teaching and melted to pity and fear by the tragedy of his death, can escape the question, “What right has God to ‘enjoy the sport of the eternal bliss and leave us wretches to struggle alone in a world of pain and sin and death’? If that is what God is like I will not serve him, for I know one man least at least who is nobler than He.”

But Jesus, and, so far as I know, only Jesus, reveals to us a very different God from that: One who found the lonely bliss of heaven intolerable while men were struggling and toiling here on earth, and left His heavenly throne to share their conflict and their pain; One whose joy is the joy of sacrifice for love’s sake,

and His bliss not painlessness but suffering in and with the men He loves, till right triumphs and wrong is overthrown and the kingdoms of the world are become the kingdom of our God and of His Christ.

Only those who love a God whom they know to be like that have the right to sing as Kabīr sang of the wonderful love of God.

A STUDY IN THE GĪTĀ.

BY SYDNEY CAVE, B.A., B.D.

SHORT as the Bhagavadgītā is, its problems are among the most difficult and elusive in Indian scholarship. Questions of date and structure are usually in the case of Hindu works of very restricted interest. In the case of the Gītā their discussion seems essential to the understanding and exposition of the poem.

By the careful analysis of the earlier books of the Bible, Old Testament scholars have been able in a most illuminating fashion to trace the development of Hebrew religion. Their methods were once ridiculed and their results condemned, but in spite of the vagaries of some extremists they are to-day accepted by nearly all competent to judge. A very interesting attempt has been made by Professor Garbe to apply the same methods of criticism to the study of the Gītā. That his analysis will be at once accepted is improbable. Details of it will certainly be modified. Some very distinguished students of Hinduism totally reject his conclusion. Others, such as Sir G. A. Grierson, regard his position as already proved.

True or false, it marks a very interesting stage in Indian scholarship. His results should they be accepted would not only fix the date of the Gītā with comparative certainty but reduce its original teaching to something like a coherent whole and throw much needed light on the whole rise of the Krishna cult and its relation to orthodox Hinduism.

The composite nature of the Gītā's teaching has long been recognised. Its contradictions are not those of an occasional inconsistency: they are vital and irreconcilable. The explanation has been given that the author was a poet and not a philosopher and that we must not test an inspired work of poetry by the canons of rigid logic. But the explanation is insufficient,

In many passages the thought of the Gītā soars to lofty heights but often it is pedestrian enough. The same ideas are repeated time after time. Verses from the Upanishads are taken over unchanged. The teaching of the three moods of the Sāṅkhyan philosophy is a piece of pedantry¹. The Gītā for all its occasional sublimity is thus primarily not a work of poetic genius but a work deliberately written to support a particular religious view.²

We are familiar in the Vedānta with the distinction of an exoteric and an esoteric knowledge. But in the Gītā it is no case of a higher and a lower knowledge. The parts which speak of Krishna as the sole and personal God, the succourer of those that love him, convey no suggestion at all that this is mere exoteric knowledge and that to a higher knowledge only the neuter Brahman is real. There are then in the poem two essentially different strata, the one theistic, the other Vedāntic, and the question of which is original has to be met. According to some scholars the connection of the poem with Krishna is late and not essential. The basis of the poem is "an unsectarian work, perhaps a late Upanishad."³ Against this Professor Garbe argues strongly and it appears conclusively. It is the Vedāntic element that is not original. Thus, often as the words Sāṅkhya and Yoga appear, the word Vedānta is only once found and then in the sense of Upanishad.⁴ The poem as a whole is essentially theistic. A personal God Krishna in the form of an earthly hero demands, in addition to the selfless fulfilment of duty, believing love and surrender to him. He shows himself in his supernatural but still human form and promises to reward all faithful love by union with him after death. Such then is the original Gītā. Later it was redacted in the interests of the Vedānta and the closely related Mīmāṃsā schools. Dr. Garbe ventures to indicate these interpolations. The strength of his position can be appreciated only by those who read the poem, first without and then with, the passages thus omitted. These Vedāntic additions amount to about one-fifth of the whole poem. Their removal not only simplifies the teaching but makes the connection of

¹ *Sattva Rajas and Tamas*. ² Garbe, *Die Bhagavadgītā*, page 9.

³ So Hopkins, *Religions of India*, page 389. "This Divine Song is at present a Krishnaite version of an older Vishnuite poem and this in turn was at first an unsectarian work, perhaps a late Upanishad."

⁴ XV. 15 "I am to be known by all the Vedas, I am the framer of the Veda's ends [Vedānta], the knower of Vedas."

the poem more intimate and natural.⁵ In the original poem then, the worship of Krishna as the supreme Lord is taught in terms of the Sāṅkhya-Yoga philosophy. The later redaction is in the interests of the Vedānta.

This analysis of the poem corresponds in an illuminating fashion with the development of the Krishna cult as it may be traced in that vast thesaurus of Indian mythology, the Mahābhārata. The great epic as it stands contains over 100,000 ślokas and is thus about eight times as long as the Iliad and Odyssey together.⁶ In the first book it is clearly stated that the original work was only 8,800 ślokas long and that it contained 24,000 ślokas before the episodes were added. It is generally recognised that the history of the poem falls into these three stages.⁶

(1) There was a short epic narrating the tragic defeat of the Kuruva race in their struggle with the treacherous sons of Pāṇdu on whose side Krishna fought. The supreme God in this period was the personal Brahmā.

(2) In the epic expanded to about 20,000 ślokas the Pāṇdavas and not the Kuruvās are extolled and Krishna is honoured as an incarnation of Vishnu who with Śiva is now on an equality with Brahmā. So Megasthenes the Greek in 300 B.C. in a well known passage refers to Krishna under the name of Heracles as an avatār, a descent, of Vishnu.

(3) In the third period the epic is remade and Brāhmanised and Krishna becomes the all-God.

Professor Garbe basing his argument on R. G. Bhandarkar's researches⁷ indicates in some detail the rise and development of the religion of loving faith in Krishna which finds in the Gītā its

⁵ Thus—to take as an example the first big gloss—Garbe regards III. 9-18 as a Mīmāṃsā interpolation. As the text stands III. 19—“Therefore fulfil ever without attachment the work which thou has to do; for the man who does his work without attachment wins to the supreme”—contradicts III. 17, 18 which assert that for the man whose delight is in self “there is naught for which he should work.” If the interpolation be removed then III. 19 connects naturally with III. 8—“Do thine ordained work for work is more excellent than no work. Even the subsistence of thy body cannot be won from no work.”

[All verbal quotations from the Gītā in inverted commas are from Barnett's translation.]

⁶ Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, 282 : 284 : 286.

⁷ Report on the search for Sanskrit manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency 1883-4. See Grierson s. v. Bhakti-Mārga, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, II. 540 where Garbe's views are approved.

classic form. The attempt to resolve Krishna into a sun-hero may be dismissed. Krishna was an actual historic personage, the son of Vāsudeva and Devakī and the hero warrior of the early epic. Probably he is to be identified with the Krishna Devakīputra mentioned in the Chhāndogya Upanishad⁸ in connection with highly ethical teaching. We may assume that Krishna was a warrior chief who founded among his tribesmen, the Yādavas, a religion which by its ethical nature stood in marked contrast to the Brāhmanic philosophy and religion of the time. So Krishnaism was essentially an "ethical Kshatriya religion."⁹ The divine being was in this religion called the Bhagavat, the Adorable. Thus the oldest name of the sect was the Bhāgavatas.¹⁰ Gradually this popular monotheism found its philosophic expression in a modified Sāṅkhya-Yoga teaching, Krishna was deified and it seems not unlikely that the characteristic note of the religion was already *bhakti*, loving devotion.¹¹ This Garbe describes as the first period of the Bhagavat religion which may extend up to 300 B. C. Gradually this religion became absorbed into Brāhmanism. Brāhmanism had adopted with ease the kindly gentle Rāma. Not so easily did it incorporate in itself the sturdy warrior-hero Krishna. Possibly it was because of the fierce struggle that Brāhmanism had to wage with Buddhism that this incorporation took place. Whatever the cause, Krishna came to be associated with Vishnu the ancient sun-god of the Rīgveda as his descent, his avatār. But in the second period of the epic, which is assigned to 400—200 B. C., Vishnu is still only one of the gods, he is not supreme. Dr. Garbe then would date the second period of the Bhagavat religion from about 300 B. C. to the beginning of our era. During this period Krishna, though regarded as an avatār of Vishnu, is still not identified with Brahman. It is in the third period beginning at about the commencement of our era that this step is taken. As it was probably from 200 B. C. to the beginning of our era that Krishna as the avatār of Vishnu was regarded as the supreme God it seems right

⁸ He is spoken of as the pupil of Ghora Āngirasa who taught that "penance, liberality, righteousness, kindness, truthfulness, these form the Dakshinās (i. e. sacrificial gifts), *Chhānd. Up.* III. 17. 4. When Krishna received this view of the sacrifice "he never thirsted again", *op. cit.* III. 17. 6. ⁹ Garbe *op. cit.* 24. ¹⁰ The first literary reference to this sect seems to date from 400 B.C. in *Pāṇini* IV. 3. 98, vide Garbe, p. 25. ¹¹ The word *bhakti* in this sense occurs in the last verse of the *Cvet. Up.*

to assign the original form of the Gītā to about the second century before Christ. The Vedāntic recension was probably written at the time when Vishnu-Krishna the supreme God was only beginning to be identified with Brahman, the All. So in one stanza of this redaction it is said "At the end of many births the man of knowledge finds refuge in Me, knowing Vāsudeva to be the All; *very rare* is such a great-hearted man".¹² The Vedāntic redaction Dr. Garbe assigns with good reason to about the second century of our era¹³.

In literary analysis there is no finality and doubtless Professor Garbe's theory will be modified in detail but substantially it seems to mark an epoch in the interpretation of the poem and it will be convenient to use it as a working hypothesis in the exposition of the teaching. It will be necessary therefore to deal first with the teaching of the original Gītā.

Arjuna on the battlefield hesitates to order the fighting to begin. The leaders of the hostile forces are his kinsmen; why should he be the means of their death. He appeals to Krishna for counsel and professes his unwillingness to fight. Though they seek to slay him, he will not slay. To do so would be sin. At the destruction of a family stock, laws perish and lawlessness ensues. The women sin and, through their sin, castes are mixed and that leads to hell the family and its destroyers. No longer can ancestors receive their wonted offerings. A heavy sin then would it be "to slay our kin from lust after the sweets of kingship."¹⁴ The Lord Krishna bids him lay aside this unmanly spirit and Arjuna appeals to him for guidance. "My soul stricken with the stain of unmanliness, my mind all unsure of the law, I ask thee—tell me clearly which will be the more blest way. I am thy disciple; teach me who am come to thee for refuge."¹⁵ The Lord replies that his grief is unfitting. The wise grieve not over death. Souls are without beginning and end. The connection of a soul with a particular body is of no moment. Pleasure and pain belong not to the soul but to the influences of matter and these are transitory. Those who know the truth are delivered from their power. So there is no real slaying. The soul puts off its outward body and takes another as a man puts on new clothes. Why then should we grieve over any born being? If Arjuna shrinks from the fight he will be held a coward. If he fights and is slain, he will win

¹² VII. 19. ¹³ These dates are accepted by Grierson, *u. s.* II. 539 f.

¹⁴ I. 45. ¹⁵ II. 7.

paradise. If he fights and conquers his will be the joys of earth. Let him then be resolute and do his duty.¹⁶

Thus much, says Krishna, is according to the teaching of the Sāṅkhya. Now let him learn the lesson of the Yoga. Works must be done but without thought of reward. So even in activity a man may preserve quiet of mind: "The man who casts off all desires and walks without desire with no thought of a *Mine* and of an *I* comes into peace."¹⁷ And works belong not really to the *I*. They are done by the moods (*gunas*) of nature. This teaching, says Krishna, is not new. He declared it in the dim past. For his previous births had been many. Whenever need arises, once more he is born.¹⁸ Krishna works, yet is workless. Wise is the man who does the same. Those who offer sacrifices, who mortify the flesh and control the breath are not rejected but the best sacrifice is the sacrifice of knowledge. Such a man works fetter not. He possesses his "Self."¹⁹ Thus the casting off (*sannyāsa*) of works and the rule (*yoga*) of works both lead to bliss.²⁰ Only the ignorant distinguish between the Sāṅkhya and Yoga doctrines. The ways of Yoga are many. Some control the breath not looking around them, but the best Yogin, says Krishna, "is he who worships me in faith with his dwelling in me."²¹ At length Arjuna asks Krishna to let him look upon him in his glory. So the Lord granted unto Arjuna to behold him as the Supreme.²² His light was like the light of a thousand suns; many were his mouths and eyes, his marvellous aspects. His form filled the mid-space between heaven and earth and all the quarters of the sky. The threefold world quaked. To him gathered all the gods, the ancestors, the saints. Arjuna trembles at the sight. Krishna's mouths are "grim with teeth like to the fire of the last days".²³ In them Arjuna beholds the chief of his adversaries caught between the teeth, their head crushed. Into the blazing mouths the worlds too were "passing with exceeding speed to perish". The Lord explains that in him Arjuna sees events to come. Already has Krishna smitten the mighty men of war, Arjuna's enemies. Let Arjuna therefore smite and fear not.

Arjuna beholding the Lord in his splendour marvels that ever he called him friend and "bailed him as Krishna-Yādaava or comrade in ignorance of this his majesty through heedlessness or affection."²⁴ He prays the Lord to show himself again as

¹⁶ I. 28—II. 38. ¹⁷ II. 71. ¹⁸ IV. 7, 9. ¹⁹ IV. 41. ²⁰ V. 2. ²¹ VI. 47.

²² In the XIth song. ²³ XI. 25. ²⁴ XI. 41.

Krishna with diadem and mace and disc in hand, four-armed. And Vāsudeva does as he requests. So with many repetitions and amplifications the dialogue continues and the Divine Lay concludes with a beautiful invitation to Arjuna to seek refuge in the Lord and thus be delivered from all sins. And he is promised that all those who recite or read the story of the message thus graciously vouchsafed shall come unto the Lord. And Arjuna replies "My bewilderment has vanished away; I have gotten remembrance of the grace, O, never-falling, I stand freed from doubt, I will do thy word."²⁵

Such in briefest outline is the *Song of the Lord*. The Bhagavat religion is here so far united with Brāhmanism that Krishna is identified with Vishnu and Vishnu-Krishna is the supreme God. And this religion has found its intellectual expression in categories of the Sāṅkhya and Yoga systems.

This Sāṅkhyan system was an atheistic²⁶ dualism which asserted the eternal and separate existence of a primordial matter (*Prakriti*) on the one hand and a multiplicity of spirits (*puruṣa ātma*) on the other. Redemption consisted in thus recognising the absolute independence of the individual soul from matter. All the activities and feeling of men are ultimately physical. The soul itself is unchangeable, inactive and impassive. In the Yoga system room is left for the conventional recognition of the Lord (*Iṣvara*) but for the most part the Yoga seems to have been little more than the practical side of the Sāṅkhya doctrine. By regulation of the breath and the like all the activities of the Yogin were withdrawn from external objects into the intelligence (the *buddhi*).²⁷ Then by the royal way of Yoga (*rajayoga*) through concentration (*dhāraṇā*), meditation (*dhyāna*), and absorption (*samādhi*), unconsciousness is reached. The soul emancipated even from the intelligence (*buddhi*) is completely retracted from all connection with the material and abides in insentient solitude. The Gītā accepts this Sāṅkhya-Yoga system though it modifies it by resolving the atheistic dualism into a monotheism. Thus, when Arjuna complains that if he slays his kinsfolk great will be his sin, the comfort Krishna gives is pure Sāṅkhya. The "Body's Tenant" passes from childhood into age untouched and unaffected by the body. It is the influence of matter which pro-

²⁵ XVIII. 73. ²⁶ Atheism here means the denial of a supreme God. The popular polytheism was not attacked. ²⁷ The intelligence or *buddhi* itself belongs to the material.

duces the "Pairs" of cold and heat and pleasure and pain. Although matter is eternal, these influences are transitory. It is only the bodies in which the spirit dwells that die. So Krishna says "this body's tenant for all time may not be wounded in the bodies of any beings. Therefore thou dost not well to sorrow for any born beings."²⁸ And this independence of the soul from matter is frequently reaffirmed. All our activities are due to the moods (*guṇa*) of nature. It is only through illusive egoism (*ahamkāra*) that the Self imagines *I* am the doer.²⁹ Of these "moods" there are three, *Sattva*, *Rajas** and *Tamas*. Etymologically these words denote goodness, murkiness and gloom but really the words do not admit of translation. They denote at once qualities in external things and their correlates in the individual man. The theory is important because in it all deeds and traits of character are referred to purely physical causes.³⁰ Goodness (*sattva*) "fetters by the attachment of pleasantness and knowledge". Murkiness (*rajas*) "which is in essence passion", fetters with the attachment of words. Gloom (*tamas*) which is "born of ignorance fetters by heedlessness sloth and sleep."³¹

In one passage the conception of redemption does not transcend that of the Sāṅkhyan system. The Spirit and Nature with its moods are described as both beginningless. The Spirit (*puruṣa*) is born again because of the bondage of the moods of nature. But the wise man thus knows the spirit (*puruṣa*), and nature with its moods is redeemed. He never again is born.³² But such a redemption without moral change or love is not in accordance with the general teaching of the Gītā. It is a piece of Sāṅkhyan philosophy unharmonised with the Bhagavat religion. Generally the discrimination between nature and spirit is regarded merely as a preliminary accessory to the redemption which comes through the way of loving faith in the Lord. In this way the Sāṅkhyan teaching is transfused into a religion. Instead of a multiplicity of souls in absolute independence the human soul is regarded as a part of the divine essence. The

²⁸ II. 30. ²⁹ III. 27. ³⁰ External objects convey impressions to three internal physical organs (a) the means that receives the impressions and conveys them to (b) the *buddhi* or intelligence and (c) the *ahamkāra* the principle of egoism which makes the self regard the body's activity as its own: Garbe, *Sāṅkhya and Yoga*, page 24. ³¹ XIV. 5-7. ³² XIII. 19-23.

[* *rājas*, + *raj*, 'to be coloured, obscure': it is cognate with the Gothic *rigis*, 'darkness.' Philosophically it is used of the passions which 'darken' the soul.]

Adorable One says "A portion of me is the ancient elemental soul in the world of souls."³³ Instead of the denial of a supreme God, we have the beautiful and powerful portrayal of a God, mighty and merciful.

God in the Gītā is a spiritual being. In one passage,³⁴ Nature is indeed spoken of as a part of Him but in view of the general teaching of the Gītā, the reference would seem to be to God's activity in nature. "God is beyond the Perishable and likewise higher than the Imperishable."³⁵ He is the "unborn, the one without beginning, great Lord of worlds."³⁶ From Him "the All proceeds."³⁷ He it is who at the end of each age makes and moulds nature again.³⁸ Transcendent, He is immanent in the heart of all born beings. In the Gītā's sense of selfless activity, He is the true Yogin for He is the doer of work, and yet no worker. "Works defile Him not. He has no longing for fruit of works."³⁹ On His selfless activity the world depends. He is self-sufficient, yet He works.⁴⁰ Not only does He conserve the world in times of special need, He appears on earth to succour the right and restrain the wrong. Says the Adorable One, "Many births of Me and thee, have passed, O Arjuna. I know them all but thou knowest them not, O affrighter of the foe. Though birthless and unchanging of essence and though Lord of born beings yet in my sway over the nature that is Mine own I come into birth by My own magic (*māyā*). For whensoever the Law fails and lawlessness uprises, then do I bring myself to bodied birth. To guard the righteous, to destroy evil doers, to establish the law, I come into birth age after age."⁴¹ Thus the God of the Gītā is not the meaningless cypher of the Vedānta. The Supreme loves men and is known of them "exceedingly dear am I to the man of knowledge and he to Me."⁴² Graciously He bids men, come to share His grace and find in Him their refuge.

Just as the Gītā has transformed the theoretic teaching of the Sāṅkhya, so it has enriched and modified the practical discipline of the Yoga. The quest for salvation by flight from the world, austerity and meditation was too prevalent to be entirely rejected and the old Yoga method is still enjoined. In one passage indeed it would appear that to the saintly man, works are a mere preliminary and calm the real means of becoming a true Yogin.⁴³ More characteristically the Yoga discipline in the

³³ XV. 7. ³⁴ VII. 4-6. ³⁵ XV. 18. ³⁶ X. 3. ³⁷ X. 8. ³⁸ IX. 7, 8.
³⁹ IV. 13, 14. ⁴⁰ III. 22. ⁴¹ IV. 5-8. ⁴² VII. 17. ⁴³ VI. 3.

technical sense is recommended as a help to complete detachment from the world by the way of knowledge. Let the Yogin "abide alone in a secret place, utterly subdued in mind, without craving and without possessions." Let him sit "with thought intent and the workings of mind and sense-instruments restrained" "holding body, hand and neck in unmoving equipoise, gazing on the end of his nose and looking not round about him, calm of spirit void of fear abiding under the rule of chastity, with mind restrained and thought set on the Lord, so shall he sit that is under the Rule (*yoga*) given over to me."⁴⁴

But the author of the Divine Lay puts side by side with this a new and better Yoga which a man could practise and still remain in the world and do in the world a man's work. Let a man do his duty but in the Yoga spirit, free from attachment to the fruit of work and without hope of reward. It is in this teaching that the Gītā makes one of its greatest contributions to Indian thought. And in the verse which Indian commentators have called the quintessence of the whole poem this way alone is taught. "He who does My work, who is given over to Me, who is devoted to Me void of attachment, without hatred of any born being, comes to Me."⁴⁵ Each man's duty is clear. Let him look to the law of his caste and do it without dismay. Arjuna is a Kshatriya and as a Kshatriya must do a soldier's work unflinchingly. "For to a knight (*Kshatriya*) there is nothing more blest than a lawful strife."⁴⁶ Thus to each caste there is a special duty and this duty must be done. This teaching has been often condemned for its immorality and certainly the doctrine that no man can be blamed if he fulfil the duties of his caste has been carried in India to an appalling extreme. A man's work may be to steal, a woman's to be a temple prostitute. But it may well be doubted if the author of the Gītā would have sanctioned such an application of his doctrine. The strife in which Arjuna is engaged is a "lawful strife" and it is assumed that the war is just. And in other parts of the Gītā a high morality is enjoined. Thus the qualities assigned to men born to the estate of the gods form a goodly catalogue of virtues. "Fearlessness, purity of the goodness-mood, (*sattva*), abiding in knowledge, and the Rule, almsgiving, restraint of sense, sacrifice, scripture-reading, mortification, uprightness, harmlessness, truth, wrathlessness, renunciation, restraint of spirit, lack of malice, pity towards born beings, unwantoning

sense, tenderness, modesty, steadfastness, heroic temper, patience, constancy, purity, innocence, and lack of overweening spirit are in him that is born to God's estate."⁴⁷

Thus a man may be redeemed from the world in the midst of the world's activities. He may do work as if he did it not. Engaged in his daily task, he may yet be a true Yogin if only he be untrammelled by his deeds. So to do is better than to renounce activity. Casting off of works⁴⁸ and the rule of works⁴⁹ both lead to bliss but of these the rule of works is higher than the casting off of works.⁵⁰ It is in Krishna, not in sacred rites, that a man finds refuge.⁵¹ Sacrifices lead only to the world of the gods.⁵² If a man do them he must do them without thought of advantage or reward.⁵³ Through the attraction of the "mood" of nature it is hard so to act. One who does so is a true Sannyāsin and a true Yogin.⁵⁴

Whether the man treads the path of meditation or of selfless activity, it is only that he may be ready for redemption. And redemption comes from Krishna's grace which is appropriated by the *bhakti* of men. "*Bhakti*" is a word difficult to translate. It means far more than faith in the sense of belief. Perhaps "faith" in the sense of "loving faith" is the best English rendering. This "loving faith" in the Lord may be directed to other gods. With the tolerance so characteristic of Hinduism, Krishna is said to receive all forms of worship. It is in this way that the most degraded indigenous cults have been absorbed into Hinduism. It is in this way too, at the other extreme, that many Hindus to-day praise Christ though worshipping Krishna and describe the worship Christians offer to Christ as acceptable to their Lord Krishna. "If any worshipper whatsoever seeks with faith to reverence any body whatsoever that same faith in him, I make steadfast."⁵⁵ "They also who worship other gods and make offering to them with faith do verily make offering to me though not according to ordinance."⁵⁶ Krishna's grace is open to all, irrespective of character or caste or sex.⁵⁷ Even doers of great evil if they worship Krishna are deemed good because of their purpose and speedily come to righteousness of soul. Even those who because

⁴⁷ XVI. 1-3. ⁴⁸ The word used is *Sannyāsa*, from which *Sannyasin* is derived. ⁴⁹ Yoga. ⁵⁰ V. 2. ⁵¹ XVIII. 66. ⁵² VII. 23. ⁵³ This of course removes the motive of the Brahmanic rites which are frankly based on the principle *do ut des*. ⁵⁴ VI. 1. ⁵⁵ VII. 21. ⁵⁶ IX. 23. ⁵⁷ So the Gītā though called the "essence of all the Upanishads" is only tradition (*smṛiti*) and not scripture (*śruti*) for Çūdras and women are not permitted to hear *śruti*.

of their sins in former births are born as women or in the two lower castes (Vaiçyas and Çudras) if they turn to Krishna attain to the supreme path.⁵⁸ And it matters not how trifling be the offerings men bring, Krishna will accept them. "If one of earnest spirit set before me with devotion a leaf, a flower, fruit or water, I enjoy," says Krishna, "this offering of devotion."⁵⁹ So to all Krishna gives the invitation he gave to Arjuna. "As thou hast come into this unstable and joyless world, worship Me. Have thy mind on Me, thy devotion toward Me, thy sacrifice to Me, do homage to Me shalt thou come."⁶⁰ Of the nature of the future life of those who come to Krishna, the Gītā speaks with but little clearness. From the Sāṅkhyan standpoint, the soul when redeemed is completely freed from all connection with matter and as consciousness becomes extinct. But the promises of the Gītā seem in opposition to this to denote a conscious communion with the Supreme. Those who are redeemed by knowledge, says Krishna, become "one in quality with Me" but this relationship seems one of likeness not identity.

Such in brief is the teaching of the original Gītā in which the Bhagavat religion is expressed in terms of the Sāṅkhya-Yoga doctrine.

In the Gītā as it stands this teaching is confused by the Vedāntic interpolations. Thus in the passage in the third *song* already referred to, the command to Arjuna to do his own work without attachment is interrupted by a long passage explaining the efficacy of sacrifice. "The gods comforted by the sacrifice shall give to him the pleasure of his desire. He that enjoys these their gifts without giving to them is a thief."⁶¹ So elsewhere it is said that neither this world nor the next is for him who does not offer sacrifices.⁶² Of greater importance is the Vedāntic assertion that Krishna is the All.⁶³ He is the taste in the water, the light in the moon, the mystic syllable in the Vedas, the understanding of them that understand, the splendour of the splendid.⁶⁴ Few there are that thus know Krishna to be the All.⁶⁵ In a long and tedious passage Krishna is identified with the greatest of each kind of being.⁶⁶ This beginningless supreme Brahman is described in familiar Upanishadic terms as *Om*, *tat*, *sat*.⁶⁷ To understand the doctrine of the Brahman is to enjoy the essence of immortality.⁶⁸ Krishna as the All is declared to be "known by all

⁵⁸ IX. 30-32. ⁵⁹ IX. 26. ⁶⁰ IX. 33, 34. ⁶¹ III. 12. ⁶² IV. 31. ⁶³ VI. 29-31. ⁶⁴ VII. 7-11. ⁶⁵ VII. 19. ⁶⁶ X. 12-42. ⁶⁷ XVII. 23-27. ⁶⁸ XIII. 12-18.

the Vedas; He is the framer of the Veda's ends (*i.e.*, the Upanishads), the knowledge of the Vedas."⁶⁹ In Krishna's body, Arjuna may behold the whole universe and all else that he would see.⁷⁰ In clear contradiction to the Gītā's central teaching, Krishna is said to be veiled by illusion (*māyā*) and known to none.⁷¹ He who in the Gītā is declared to love men is here described as "indifferent to all born beings"; there is none whom He hates, none whom He loves.⁷²

Such are the two strata of the Gītā. It is clear that their doctrines are fundamentally incompatible. If Garbe's hypothesis could be accepted, these differences would be explained.

A NEW BOOK OF TAMIL POETRY. *

By H. A. POPLEY, B.A.

THERE has just come into my hands a new book of Tamil Poetry, which made my heart rejoice as I read it. I had to read it on and on as I found it was full of clear, crystal gems of verse and thought. I have read as many of the recent Tamil poetical productions as I could come across, searching for the man, who like the Poet Laureate of Bengal could weave together clear words and high thoughts in the Tamil language into a sweet mystic music, as Taiyumanavar, Pattinattar and many others have done. Again and again have I been disappointed. Then I came across this little book of verse. As I read, my enthusiasm grew. Here at last is clear, chaste Tamil, so that even a child can understand many of the stanzas. Here is true verse with lilt and rhythm, using the varied alliterations and assonances of Tamil, not as a slave, but as a master who only uses them to express his meaning more clearly and more sweetly. Here is the modern ethical note struck clear and strong, above all mysticism and all sacredness. Here too is the boldness of the advanced Hindu thinker, who, like his Bengal prototype, refuses to put God outside the sense delights, and rejects altogether the theory that asceticism is the noblest part; and who deliberately states that no fate has such power as God's grace.

விதியென நினைத்தால், உன்னருள் வலியை
வெல்லவும் விதிக்கில்லை வலியே.

⁶⁹ XV. 15. ⁷⁰ XI. 7. ⁷¹ VII. 25, 26. ⁷² IX. 29.

* *Collected Poems.* By T. Lakshmana Pillai, B.A. (The Bhaskara Press, Trivandrum).

“Do you say ‘Fate’? I tell you fate has no power that can conquer God’s Grace.”

நேயப் பெண் பிள்ளைக்காதாரம்—இந்த
நேயிக்கு நாம் செய்ய வுண்டுபகாரம்
காயம் நமக்களித்த சாரம்—அந்தக்
கடமை தொடுப்பதோ விடுவதோவீரம்.

“We should give to support of wife and children; and to good men. The body is a strong instrument given to us. Does true courage consist in shirking these duties or in taking them up?”

துறந்தால் கொடும் அகங்காரம் துறக்க; ஓர் சொல்லுக்கு வாய்
திறந்தால், அஃதுண்மைக்காகத் திறக்கச்; சிதைவில் புகழ்
சிறந்தால் அது நன்மை செய்து சிறக்கத்; திரியுலகில்
பிறந்தால், உபகரிக்கப் பிறக்கப் பெரும் பீரேவே.

“If you renounce, then renounce bad self-assertion; if you open your mouth to speak, open it for truth; if endless praise come, let it shine out of doing good; if you are born in the world, be born to do kindness and so obtain greatness.”

The author is not led astray like some to believe that education is all that India needs. Listen to the following verse, beautiful in its Tamil, and high in its thought.

கற்றார் ஒரு கரை கண்டார்; நற்கல்வியொடு குணமும்
உற்றார், நிலைக்கரையுற்றார்; இரண்டு முற்றுண்மையுடன்
பற்றேயிலானடி பற்றிக்கொண்டார், சொல்பதவியெல்லாம்
பெற்றார்; அவர் தம் பெருமை எம்மட்டுண்டு பேசுகிறே.

“The learned have only seen one shore; they who with learning possess character also, have reached the everlasting shore; they who, possessing both of these, have truly reached the feet of Him who is without worldly attachment, have attained to the highest bliss; it is impossible to describe their greatness.”

In the following verse the futility of a life without a real trust is shown by a striking simile:—

நம்பிக்கையற்ற நரர்வாழ்வு, இருளற்ற ஞாலத்திலே
தும்பிக்கையற்ற ஒரு யானை வாழ்வதுபோல், தொலையா
வம்புக்கும், வாசிக்கும், மல்லுக்கும், வேதைக்கும், வஞ்சனையார்
அம்புக்கும் ஓர் இலக்காவதல்லால், இன்படைவிலதே.

“Life in this dark world without confidence is like an elephant without his trunk. It may be a mark for boasting, for health, for prosperity, for trouble and for the sharp arrow of deceit, but can never attain felicity.”

The book breathes a spirit of glowing optimism. In one verse he asserts that the whole world is born out of love "

அன்பிலிருந்துலகமெல்லாம் பிறந்தனவே.

It is really almost impossible to stop quoting ; but it is better to leave the reader to find out the gems for himself and I can assure every one that many will be found.

There are two long pieces in the book, Gnāṇāntanadi mālai, and Ninaivāḍchi and some smaller pieces, some of them being renderings of English poems. It goes without saying that the work is unequal. Some of the verses as we have seen reach a high level of poetry and thought, and some are very commonplace. One cannot, of course, agree with the author in everything he says. Sometimes it is a little difficult to understand his exact position. It is clear however that we have a deeply religious mind, facing the problems of the modern world and realising the necessity for an ethic as well as a piety. It is a book that every student of Tamil should study. If Mr. Lakshmana Pillai can keep his clear Tamil style and high ethical note he has a great work to do in the Tamil country.

The only poems that strike a jarring note are the three written for a lady friend on particular deities, and the defence our author makes is a little out of harmony with the spiritual tone of the book.

It would be easier to refer to the verses if they were numbered, and it is hoped that in any subsequent issue this will be done. The author has done well to separate the words and make free use of punctuation marks in order to make his meaning quite clear.

Just one or two quotations before concluding this note.

எல்லாரும் இன்பம் விரும்பல் இயற்கையின் ஏவலென்றால்
பொல்லாங் கியற்கைக்கு மாறுட்டம், அத்துடன் போர்செயலே
நல்லாறு சேர்ந்த இயற்கைத் தலைவன் நடபடியாம் ;
வெல்லாது தீங்கதை, நன்றே, இறுதியில் வென்றிடமே.

"The desire for joy may be common to all, but evil is always the adversary of nature ; to fight with evil is the habit of nature's leaders who walk in the right path ; evil will not conquer, but in the end good must overcome evil."

திண்பார்க்கும், ஈசன் நிறம், பார்க்கவேண்டில் திகழுகின்ற
விண்பார்க்க, மெய்யின் விசித்திரம்பார்க்க, நம்மெய்யொடுக்கும்
மண்பார்க்க, மண்ணின் பாரம் பார்க்கப், பார்க்குமீம் மாண்கருவிக்
கண்பார்க்கப், பின்கருதிப் பார்க்கச்செய்ததெதக் கையெனவே.

"If you wish to see the greatness of God, look at the shining heavens ; look at the wonders of the body ; look at the earth to which

our body goes; look at the fertility of the soil; then think whose hand has done this."

சின்னப்பொருளென் ரொதுக்கிவிடேல், சூற்றம் செய்துவிட்டால்
தன்னந்தனித்தொரு தாம்பின்கயிறும், நம் சத்துருவாம்;
நன்னெறி நின்ற மனச்சாட்சி போதம், நமக்குண்டெனில்
மன்னர் ஏதிரக்கினும் வெல்லும்படை நம்மருகிலுண்டே.

"Do not call anything small and put it on one side; to one who does wrong, a single small string is an enemy; if we have the light of a good conscience, though kings assail us, a conquering host is with us."

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

As we write the Madras Legislative Council is in Session. It is an interesting psychological fact, not unknown in other bodies, that the Council becomes most animated, when concrete and individual instances of wrong doing are alleged. At the last meeting of the council the subject that aroused the deepest interest was the action of the Medical Council with regard to a particular individual. During the present session the subjects that have stirred the Council to activity are the proposed acquisition of land on the north bank of the Adyar for houses for Government officials, and the use of English as the medium of instruction in the lower classes of the Government Girls' School in Triplicane. It is difficult to see why these latter subjects should cause even a ruffle on the surface. It is true that the Land Acquisition Act should be used with great caution in the acquiring of private property as the Hon'ble Dr. Nair very properly contended, but the majority of speakers argued the matter from the standpoint of finance, and it was easy for the Government to show that financially the proposed purchase was a clear gain to the revenue. The discussion on the teaching in the Triplicane School was vitiated, as His Excellency pointed out at the close of the debate, by the unfortunate introduction of the general question of the importance of teaching in the vernaculars. We believe there is no division of view on the general question. There can be no doubt that in elementary schools for girls, and the lower standards in High schools the medium of instruction should be in the vernacular, but it does not follow that an absolute rigidity should be maintained in every school. Whether a departure should be permitted in this particular school is a matter to be determined by the school authorities in the light of the requirements of the pupils and the wishes of the parents, and is hardly a matter for a full-dress debate on the floor of the Legislative Council.

WE are indebted to the *Epiphany* for a report of the following address delivered by the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler, the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, to the Rangoon Diocesan Conference. We make no apology for reproducing it in full, as Sir Harcourt Butler speaks with exceptional authority on education in this land. "I myself am convinced" he said "that no system of instruction for the young is even tolerable, which does not contain, at any rate, some form of religious instruction." The Institution with which this magazine is connected, has contended for this in season and out of season, and recent events in Europe have only intensified this conviction. The finest fruit of education is character, and the most powerful influence in the building up of character is that which comes through pure and lofty religious teaching.

"I FEEL that I cannot usefully take part in your discussions this afternoon, interested though I am in them. At the same time I did not like the first Diocesan meeting to pass without attending it in some capacity. It was suggested to me that I might take the occasion to offer some remarks on education. In accepting that suggestion I realized the limitations of the times in which we live. Every wise man will be very guarded in speaking now about the future. Most things will wear a different aspect after the war. Even in distant Burma we shall feel the backwash of the great upheaval of the Western world. It has been well said that after the war we shall find ourselves on the other side of the watershed looking down on to a new scene and prospect below. This is true; but possibly the question of education will be more important than ever it was before.

I shall not talk to you this evening about local problems of education because I have not yet acquired sufficient local knowledge to discuss them. I will, however, ask your kind attention to a few general observations bearing on educational problems and conditions. The first and most important problem for an educationist, a problem which has often been neglected in the past, is the consideration of the material with which he has to deal. In every country the course and character of education are directed and to some extent restrained by the prevailing mentality and concentrated outlook of the parents and teachers who belong to a preceding generation. Any attempts to go much further than that generation can see are not very likely to meet with much success. I may remind you that in nearly every country the educational system has come into collision with two fundamental obstacles; first, that there are limits to what one can put in that nature has left out and to what one can take out that nature has put in; secondly, that students set the pace and that students are very

often unwilling to learn what their instructors are eager to teach. The first essential therefore is to get into touch with the country.

In recent years there has been a decided movement in most countries both in the Western and the Eastern world to infuse new life into the educational system ; to recognize the scope for and the importance of character-formation at school and the scope for and the importance of practical forms of instruction in touch with practical life. Conditions necessarily vary greatly in old agricultural communities on the one hand and in new on-pressing commercial communities on the other. In the pronouncement of educational policy which was issued by the Government of India when I was in charge of the educational portfolio, the following passage occurs :—

‘ In the forefront of their policy the Government of India desire to place the formation of the character of the scholars and undergraduates under tuition. In the formation of character the influence of home and the personality of the teacher play the larger part. There is reason to hope—in the light of acquired experience—that increased educational facilities under better educational conditions will accelerate social reform, spread female education and secure better teachers. Already much attention is being given to religious and moral education in the widest sense of the term, comprising, that is, direct religious and moral instruction, and indirect agencies such as monitorial or similar systems, tone, social life, traditions, discipline, the betterment of environment, hygiene, and that most important side of education, physical culture and organized recreation.’

We shall all do well to ponder in detail what this condensed statement of policy means.

In no country perhaps has the practical side of education been so vividly realized as in the United States of America. There ‘ fitting for life’s work ’ has become the watchword of education. ‘ Bread and butter studies ’ are demanded by many parents. A British observer remarked of one of the universities of America : ‘ It knits together the professions and labour ; it makes the fine arts and the anvil one.’ The results have no doubt been remarkable, but many thoughtful Americans are already questioning them. In a recent article my friend, Mr. Clayton Sedgwick Cooper, has said :—

‘ But with all our successes in the education that fits the hand to the work of the moment, there have come insidious dangers in the realm of the student’s ideas of mental and spiritual progress. He has gained much over his forefathers in the machinery of effective educational action ; he has lost something in the region of his soul.’ It is the old story ‘ Man cannot live by bread alone.’

It may be that the war will inspire deeper and wider views of religion. It may be that the demand for religious training for children will increase in extent and in intensity. I myself am convinced that no system of instruction for the young is even tolerable, which does not contain, at any rate, some form of religious instruction. There are difficulties to be overcome in certain countries and amongst certain people; but as Cardinal Newman once said: 'A thousand difficulties need not make a single doubt.' I would far rather see religious instruction conveyed in a faith alien and even hostile to my own, than to see children brought up on non-religious instruction, in the words of the apostle 'having no hope and without God in the world.' It may be that the simpler forms of religious instruction are better, but let there be some religious instruction. The British Government has set an example in this matter. While entirely impartial in matters of religion it is tolerant and even helpful to all.

In this as in every branch of education the selection of the teachers is all important. If one can only get the right teachers and train them, one can do much in a short time to improve any educational system.

Another very important note of educational life is the encouragement of variety of experiment in the adaptation of the educational system to the economic and social environment. Anything like a cut-and-dried system is bound to nip and destroy the buds that are bursting in an educational spring-time. I believe that such an educational spring-time is before us and we ought to look out for originality of ideas with the object of giving so far as possible experimental scope to originality.

I have felt it better to deal only with a few generalities this afternoon. If my words should arrest your attention and invite what I call mental friction, the rubbing of mind against mind, whether in agreement or in opposition, or if in any way they are suggestive to you of more important or useful thoughts, then I shall not have spoken to you in vain."

THE local Y. M. C. A. was singularly fortunate in securing the services of Sir John Hewitt, recently Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, at their last annual meeting. Sir John speaks with the authority of a distinguished administrator, he has seen with his own eyes the work which the Y. M. C. A. is accomplishing in France, and he has an intimate knowledge of what it has done or is still doing in Gallipoli, Mesopotamia and East Africa. It is impossible to speak too highly of the magnitude of its efforts, or of the self-denying labours of its secretaries and helpers in every field. What it has done in

the way of relief, and of securing comforts for the soldiers of the Empire will never be forgotten, and we trust that Sir John Hewitt's deeply interesting address will stimulate the generosity of the community.

THE Entrance Examination for the admission of new students to the United Theological College, Bangalore, will be held on the 28th April, 1916. Applications should reach the Principal not later than April 8th. Application forms may be had from the Principal.

All applicants must present satisfactory certificates of conduct and character, and pass an examination in Biblical knowledge. Candidates who have passed an examination not lower than the Intermediate Examination of an Indian University, or, in the case of Ceylon students, either the London Matriculation Examination or its equivalent in the Cambridge Senior Local Examination (i.e., a pass in five sections including English with Composition) are admitted without further literary test. All others are required to pass an entrance examination with a view to ascertaining whether their knowledge of the English language and their general education are sufficient to enable them to profit by the College course of instruction in Theology. For the Scripture Test no special portions are prescribed. The examination is to be a general test of the candidate's Scripture knowledge.

In the English test there will be two parts :—

- I. (1) An Essay on some subject bearing on Christian work in India.
- (2) A passage of English prose to be translated into the candidate's vernacular.
- II. (1) An Essay on a general subject.
- (2) The substance of a piece of simple theological literature to be put into the candidate's own words.

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

The Umayyad and the Abbāsid Khalifates, by the Rev. Canon Sell, D.D., Christian Literature Society, Madras, etc., 1914, Price 8 as.; *Muslim Conquests in Spain*, by the Rev. Canon Sell, D.D., Christian Literature Society, Madras, etc., 1914, Price 10 as.

THESE little volumes, which have appeared in "The Islam Series" of the C. L. S. publications, form, along with Canon Sell's books on "The Four Rightly Guided Khalifas," and "The Muslim Conquest of North Africa," a succinct account of the early history of the spread of Islam. It is useful that such an account has been made available, for most people are extraordinarily ignorant about the beginnings and later development of that great movement, and no better authority on it can be desired than Canon Sell. A short summary of the story he tells may be of interest.

The Umayyad family was a branch of the Quraish tribe—the Arab tribe to which the Prophet Muhammad belonged—and the third Khalifa Uthman was a member of that family. In 657 a schism occurred in the Muslim world. Mu'awiya, the Governor of Syria, an Umayyad by descent, revolted against the Khalifa Ali, and ultimately established himself on the throne. It was during his reign and that of his son that Hasan and Husain, the sons of Ali, met with an untimely end—the tragedy commemorated by the festival of the Mohurram. Damascus became the capital of the Muhammadan world and remained so till 750 A.D. when Abdulla, the great-grandson of Abbas, who belonged to another branch of the great Quraish tribe, defeated and slew the Khalifa Marwan. 'Abdu'r Rahmān, a member of the family, escaped and founded a new Umayyad Kalifate at Cordova in Spain which lasted till 1031.

Abdullah died in 754 and was succeeded by his brother Abū Ja'far who was known as Al-Mansūr, the victorious. It was Mansūr who made Baghdad the capital of the Abbasid Khalifas. He spent some time in looking for a suitable site for a capital, but at last decided on one on the banks of the Tigris, and there about 762 he founded the city of Baghdad. Mansur was the grand-father of the famous Hārūn'r-Rashid, the Caliph who appears in so many of the stories in the Arabian Nights. Hārūn was a contemporary of Charlemagne's and reigned from 786 to 809.

It was during this period that the Saracen civilization reached its zenith, a civilization drawn, it must be remembered, chiefly from that of the Greeks. In the course of the ninth century the power of the Abassids declined and in the eleventh century the Seljuk Turks became masters

of Baghdad. "In 1050 Toghrul Beg's name was inserted in the public prayers and he was invested with the supreme temporal power." Henceforward the Khalifa was merely a puppet in the hands of his Turkish masters, who, however, by their vigour and military skill revived the power of the empire. The end came in 1258 when the Mongol hordes under Hülágú Khán took and destroyed Baghdad and slew the last Abbasid Khalifa Musta'sim Bi'lláh.

The greatest of the Umayyad rulers of Spain was 'Abdu'r-Rahmán III who reigned from 912 to 961. Under him Cordova became a most magnificent city, and as the Abbasids in Baghdad were now declining in power he assumed the title of Khalifa. Until then the Umayyads had been satisfied with the title Emir or Sultan. His son, Hakam, was a most learned and he made Cordova the most important seat of learning in Western Europe. His successors were weak and in 1027 Hishám III, the last of the Umayyad Kaliphas, was deposed and imprisoned. The Cordovan Empire then broke up, each province or city of importance choosing its own ruler, and this disunion soon encouraged the Christian kingdoms of Northern Spain to extend their dominions at the expense of the Muhammadans. It was during this period that the famous Cid Campeador Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar flourished. Cid, it may be mentioned, is a corruption of Sayyid. He is the hero of many Spanish ballads, some of which in Lockhart's translation used to appear in school readers, but his career, as described by Canon Sell in an interesting appendix, was distinctly curious for he sometimes allied himself with Muhammadan Emirs against the Christian powers.

The Muhammadan power in Spain revived under the Almoravides and later under the Almohades, both of whom crossed over to Spain from Africa. The Almohades, however, received a crushing defeat at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 which proved to be a decisive battle. Soon the Muhammadan power in Spain was restricted to the small kingdom of Granada, but it was not till 1492, the year in which Columbus discovered America, that Ferdinand and Isabella, the sovereigns of Aragon and Castille, by the overthrow of that kingdom, completed the reconquest of Spain.

The British Isles. By J. B. Reynolds, B.A. (A. & C. Black. Price one shilling).

THIS exquisitely illustrated little work is another volume of the Beginners Regional Geography series to which we have previously directed attention. It has all the excellences of its predecessors and is altogether a charming book to put into a child's hands. The illustrations, mostly coloured, and the clear print make the book what it is—a real delight. But the language employed might be more

carefully chosen and less monotonous. We note two mistakes. One page 10 we read "From Aberdeen there is a railway up the valley of the Dee to Balmoral, where the king has a castle." The Deeside branch of the Great North of Scotland Railway runs from Aberdeen to Ballater (over 40 miles), which however is eighteen miles from Balmoral Castle. Balmoral Castle is on the opposite side of the Dee from the main road from Ballater to Braemar. Again on page 57, 'the Eddystone Lighthouse is opposite Plymouth. Its light can be seen seventeen miles on a clear day; surely 'night' is what is meant.

It is good that the language should be simple but the information given must first and foremost be accurate. It is a pity that more attention is not given to writing simply, accurately and in more varied language on a subject which is of so much interest.

The Last Days of Pompeii. Abridged and simplified by E. Tydeman, B.A. (Oxford University Press. Price one rupee).

THIS little book is one of a series of volumes of stories retold for Indian Students, the object of which is to provide suitable alternative readers for the higher classes in Indian Secondary Schools. The stories are not only abridged but also rewritten so that all matter not likely to be readily understood by the Indian student is removed.

We have nothing but praise for this volume and the series to which it belongs, for the little books are the work of men who have had or are having, full experience of teaching English in India. The series is sure to be widely adopted and to meet with the success which it merits.

LITERARY NOTES.

AMONG the many parallels between the present war and the great contest with Napoleon a century ago, none is more interesting than the aptness of Wordsworth's poetry to the present struggle. The pages of *The Times Literary Supplement* have repeatedly furnished evidence of this; and in a recent number it crops up at several points. A long notice is devoted to two reprints, edited by Oxford veterans—Mr. A. H. D. Acland's selection from *The Patriotic Poetry of William Wordsworth* (1s. net), and Professor Dicey's edition of *Wordsworth's Tract on the Convention of Cintra* (2s. 6d. net)—both of which we cordially commend to our readers. A few pages further on, a correspondent compares "the impudent proclamation of the Kaiser's love for the Serbian people" to Napoleon's address to Spain in 1810, and suggests that Serbia's fitting reply may be read in Wordsworth's noble "Sonnet xxvii,"

"We can endure that He should waste our lands . . ."

IT will be a salutary by-product of the war if we come to a deeper appreciation of one of the greatest and most truly national of English poets.

The Caliph's Last Heritage, by Sir Mark Sykes (Macmillans, 20s. net), is a work of great value in relation to the future of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey, being based on a long and intimate knowledge of the peoples and countries in question. Like all travellers in the Near East, Sir Mark shows a great regard for the real Turk, as he is to be met with in the country. For the crypto-Jews and others who make up the "Young Turk" party, he has an equally great contempt.

RECENT events in China give special interest to the lately published translation of a French work on the Chinese Revolution. A clear understanding of the movement that led to the formation of the Republic is a necessary preliminary to any comprehension of the present situation, and this will be well served by the translation of Prof. Farjenel's work, *Through the Chinese Revolution* (Duckworth and Co., 7s. 6d. net).

THE part played by Greece in the Balkan War of 1912-13 is effectively told by Captain Trapmann in *The Greeks Triumphant* (Forster Groom, 7s. 6d. net). It puts in a favourable light the effective work then done by King Constantine—an important set-off to the ambiguous policy he has lately pursued, and a proof of his genuine patriotism.

The Balkan League, by I. E. Gueshoff (Murray, 2s. 6d. net), is an important contribution to the history of the same Balkan War, somewhat impaired by the fact that it is in part an *apologia* for the writer's own career. He was Premier of Bulgaria in the early part of 1913, and his resignation in May of that year unfortunately gave free play to the policy of King Ferdinand and the egregious Dr. Daneff.

THE pressure of war, while stimulating publication in some directions, has sadly curtailed it in others. A Manchester paper, with a history of nearly a century, has been forced to discontinue; and we now notice that the *Athenaeum*, hitherto a weekly, is to continue publication this year only as a monthly. It is to be hoped this latter measure is only temporary, and that peace will restore to us our weekly *Athenaeum*.

A NAME less known than it deserves to be, even to professed students of the Empire's history, is that of Gibbon Wakefield, the

political genius who did more than any one else to formulate the process of colonisation for Australia. He also greatly influenced Lord Durham, whose memorable report on Canada not only affected the history of the Dominion, but helped to shape the general course of colonial history. A recent monograph, *The Colonization of Australia*, by R. C. Mills (Sidgwick and Jackson, 10s. 6d. net), will help to make more widely known the great services rendered to the Empire by Gibbon Wakefield.

SCIENCE NOTES.

AT the last meetings of the British Association in the section of Mathematical and Physical Science, Professor F. Soddy opened a discussion on radio-active elements and the periodic law. The discovery of a large number of radio-active disintegration products seemed at first difficult to reconcile with the periodic table of the elements, because the existing gaps in that table would only provide for a few of them. It has now been found however, that among these products, there are only three new separable elements—radium, polonium and actinium—the others being isotopes of elements already known, *i. e.*, they had identical chemical properties although differing somewhat in atomic weight.

WHEN an α particle was expelled, a shift of two places to the left in the periodic table occurred, while the expulsion of a β particle caused a shift of one place to the right. This fundamental discovery brought order from out the diverse radio-active products. Since an α particle carries two positive charges and a β particle one negative charge, this suggests that position in the periodic table is a function of the charge. Moseley's work shows that this is true from end to end of the table. Rutherford discovered the nucleus of the atom by experiments in scattering, and it seems likely that all isotopes have the same net nuclear charge. Isotopes cannot be separated by chemical means and as there are no less than seven isotopes of lead, the atomic weight of that element varies considerably; uranium lead giving 206.05 while thorite lead yields a result of 207.67. The new view of the periodic table is that it is a relation not between character and mass but between chemical character and nuclear charge. We are now able to state that there are 92 elements up to uranium, isotopes counting as one element, of which number 86 are known. Elements in modern times have been regarded as constituents but we seem now to be returning to the early views of the Greeks and the alchemists, who considered them as qualities.

A SECOND edition of Sir H. Risley's "The People of India" has just been published and is edited by Mr. W. Cooke. The origin of the caste system is the main thesis of the book. Risley in his first edition undoubtedly exaggerated the antiquity of the present social grouping of the people, believing as he did that the supposed fixity of caste dated back to a remotely early period and had thus presumably preserved in India a remarkable purity in physical type. Mr. Cooke, however, shows that caste in its most rigid form is comparatively modern. The older custom, as related in the Vedas and Epics, recognised the possibility of a *Kshatriya* becoming a *Brahmin* or *vice versa*. In many areas the existing tribes and castes represent mixtures of various races which have amalgamated within a comparatively late historic period.

IN opening a discussion on the relation of the chromosomes in heredity, Professor E. W. MacBride, at the British Association, said that the chromatin, viewed as a whole, is the bearer of the hereditary tendencies; for in determining the character of the offspring, the influence of the father is as potent as that of the mother. Do individual chromosomes bear different characters or groups of characters? Wilson in his work on *Drosophila* suggested that they do so. The best instance is that of the well-known sex-chromosome which is supposed to carry the determiner of sex and the qualities that are sex-limited. In some cases, the female nucleus has the accessory chromosome while in others it is found in the male. When, however, two species, differing in a secondary sexual character, are crossed, the distribution of this character in the hybrid and in the second filial generation shows that it cannot possibly be carried by the sex-chromosome. The odd chromosome thus may itself not be the cause of sex-difference, but in itself the result of that sex-difference.

The phenomena of meiosis and their agreement in form with the sort of segregation of qualities postulated by the Mendelian hypothesis, suggest that determiners of various characters are situated in definite pairs of chromatin units, which become separated at the meiotic division. As the number of allelomorphic characters is often far in excess of the number of chromosomes, the individual chromosomes may represent groups of determiners.

THE landslides in the Panama Canal have interfered with the supply of nitrate imported from South America by the Allies. These nitrates obtained from Chile are of the utmost importance in the manufacture of explosives, but are also employed in agriculture for manurial purposes. No modern farmer would like to have to do without nitrate of soda in these days, especially when any increase in

food production almost necessarily means an increase in nitrate consumption. Farmers use the nitrate generally during February and March and the Board of Agriculture has already made arrangements whereby farmers can get sulphate of ammonia produced in Great Britain at a price little above what the material cost before the war. Thus the situation is to a certain extent relieved. Artificial calcium nitrate for purposes of manure was on the market before the war and when tested had given satisfactory results. Yet it seems to have disappeared as a fertiliser since the outbreak of hostilities, though it is quite easy to manufacture.

A DISCOVERY of the remains of a large extinct elephant has been made near Chatham. Most of the bones, though in a very fragile condition, have been got and also the teeth and a tusk. This is the first time that bones and teeth have been found associated and since the teeth are certainly those of *Elephas antiquus* we now know the bones of that animal. From the humerus which was four feet four inches long it is estimated that the elephant stood fifteen feet at the highest part of the back.

AT the present time in the history of our race the child is now a national asset of great price. For many years past a serious and persistent fall in the birth-rate has taken place in Great Britain, but this decline has been largely compensated for by the striking diminution of the death-rate. As any increase in the birth-rate cannot be looked for at present it stands to reason that as much as possible should be done to lower the death-rate among infants.

SINCE the beginning of this century the infant mortality, *i. e.*, number of deaths per 1,000 of children under one year old, has declined from 158 to 105. It is evil conditions of environment, and not poverty only, which kill the little ones, for the children of miners (a relatively well paid and prosperous part of the community) die at the rate of 166, while those of doctors stand at 40! Unfortunately the infantile death-rate during the past year has increased very much, the mortality from measles for example having doubled, and this state of affairs is certainly due to the increased employment of women with the consequent neglect of their homes; while at the same time district visitors, nurses and others, who formerly did splendid work in looking after the children of the poor, have had their activities diverted in other directions. In order to remedy this present state of affairs Bradford has led the way in instituting, as municipal enterprises, ante-natal, pre-school and post-school clinics; ante-natal maternity homes, infants' departments and milk depôts and the feeding of expectant and nursing mothers.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE *Contemporary Review* for January is not on the whole a very interesting number, but it contains several articles well worthy of perusal. Under the title 'Seven Postulates of International Law' Sir John Macdonell deals with the prevalent statement that International Law is discredited by reason of the events of the war. It is no new thing to have the question asked, does International Law exist? It was common enough in the days of Napoleon for statesmen to say that treaties had become 'scraps of paper,' that the usages of war were violated, and that established sea-law was continued. With regard to the statement that International Law does not exist now, Sir John Macdonell says that in its unqualified form it is not true, any more than it was during the Napoleonic wars. There have been many complaints that the rules regulating the conduct of belligerents to neutrals and of neutrals to belligerents have been broken or evaded; but he holds that a comparison of the present with the past shows that there is no ground for alleging that these rules are less operative to-day than they have hitherto been. And he is further of opinion that the future of International Law is by no means so dark as some would paint it. He calls attention to the fact that in times of strain and stress breaches of contract between man and man become more frequent and that in such times the laws of a nation which ordinarily regulate the conduct of affairs within it have often to be annulled or suspended. He also points out that in the present instance the majority of the violations of International Law have been committed by one group of belligerents and that the altered conditions of modern warfare have made a revision of the old rules an absolute necessity. He admits that brutal things have been done in this war on a larger scale than ever before, and, worst of all, that those who have done them have sought to justify them. There have been taught doctrines, he says, which, if tenable, undermine or modify some of the postulates of International Law.

Sir John Macdonell proceeds to examine these postulates in order to find out whether in view of present experience they are all that could be desired. He takes first the assumption that there is a society of nations and that the rules of morality as understood between men among civilised peoples are binding in international relations. To-day, he says, there is a body of opinion flatly denying this. The state, it is held, is outside or above morals as well as law, and morality for

statesmen is wholly different from that between man and man. The second postulate dealt with by Sir John Macdonell is that the various nations of Europe form a society or community with rules to which it has individually or tacitly agreed. With regard to this and the third, which is but another form of this, he remarks that while in regard to some points the various nations have given their consent, in regard to others some only have given their consent and some positively dissent. Even where a nation has given consent there is often ambiguity as to the exact nature of the consent. For the future, says Sir John Macdonell, consent must be not merely implied but clearly expressed. As a fourth postulate it has been assumed that states would gradually and surely coalesce into higher unities; with regard to this Sir John Macdonell says the transition from the nation or state to a larger political unity is beset with difficulties which seem to be increasing rather than diminishing. The Europe which we know, does not show many signs of "the federation of mankind." As a fifth postulate it has been assumed that in the event of war taking place there would always or often be States observing strict neutrality, which would reprobate every breach of International Law and whose disapprobation expressed by their Governments would be a real sanction for the laws of war and lead to strict observance of these laws. The experience of the past sixteen months, Sir John Macdonell says, does not confirm this assumption. The recognition by neutral Governments of a sharp distinction between morality regulating the conduct of man and man and morality governing the conduct of States has brought it about that the grossest crimes are allowed to pass in silence. With regard to the value of treaties, the durability of which has been one of the postulates of International Law jurists have countenanced a theory which justifies laxity, viz., that only while circumstances remain substantially as they were when a treaty was signed, is the treaty binding. To-day, however, it is the fundamental doctrine of certain publicists that all treaties are subject to the condition of military necessity. A further postulate of International Law with which Sir John Macdonell deals is the doctrine of the equality of States. This doctrine has never been true in law or in fact. If there is to be real equality between states there must be respect such as does not now exist for the rights of small states. Generally, if there are to be stable international relations there must be within communities the true international spirit.

Sir John Macdonell is of opinion that for a long time to come there will be no unanimity among nations in regard to some of the rules of war; but there is no need for despair. There is the ever increasing intercourse of nations in time of peace, and the industrial and

financial world is getting more and more organised if the political is not. There is, too, what may be called the formative sense of justice which establishes practices and customs hardening into law. This sense of justice affects even its worst enemies, so that the violators of International Law are, even in these days of examples of barbarism, generally on the defensive.

SIR EDWIN PEARS writes on 'The Balkan Question.' The Balkan Question is in a terrible tangle but that it will ultimately come out straight he has no doubt. In order to show how the Balkan states got into the present tangle Sir Ewin Pears gives a brief summary of the chief events in which they have played a part since the formation of the Balkan League in March, 1912. Of the second Balkan War, in which Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece took part, he says it is a lamentable story in which no party can be held blameless. Bulgaria, was presumably to blame in provoking the war, but he holds that the division of Macedonia between Serbia and Greece was altogether unjustifiable. He refers to Mr. Crawford Price's contention that Bulgaria's action in forcing on the Second Balkan War was dictated by Austria, and this leads him to connect the disorders in Macedonia and more recent events in the Balkans with a long pre-meditated plan formed by the Kaiser and his advisers at Berlin for obtaining control over the whole of Central Europe and Turkey. As to the probability of the Kaiser's succeeding in carrying out his plan, Sir Edwin Pears thinks it is not very great. He is of opinion that Germany and Austria are playing a very dangerous game; and he believes that the Allies may count upon the defection of the Bulgarians from the Central Powers when they have learned how they have been deceived by their King. As to the Turks, he believes that the mass of the people, Moslems as well as Christians, remain friendly towards Englishmen. He thinks it unlikely that the threats of Germany and Austria will make Romania abandon her policy of neutrality. On the general question of the issue of the War, Sir Edwin Pears has no fear that the Allies will not get through. He is satisfied with the part that Britain is playing in the conflict. She has made some of her usual blunders, of which he thinks the check in Mesopotamia was probably one; but, he says, her hands are clean and she is playing the game.

DR. DILLON contributes an article on 'Italy and the Triple Entente.' One cannot understand Italy's exact position in the present struggle without making a sharp distinction between the nation and its rulers. It was the peace-loving nation that made war, whereas the government, vigorously seconded by the opposition, put forth every effort

to keep the peace. Not only were Giolitti and his party opposed to intervention but the present cabinet was desirous of preserving neutrality and even of renewing the alliance with the Central Empires. When the present cabinet failed in their attempt to come to an understanding with Austria, and Giolitti and his friends came forward with a peace programme, the Italian people would have none of it but declared their readiness to make heavy sacrifices for the cause of the Allies. Dr. Dillon's article was written just before Italy signified her adhesion to the Convention of London; but in the concluding paragraph he gave expression to the belief that though there were grounds for regarding Italy's relations towards the Entente as casual and unsatisfactory the four Great Powers would soon be drawn into more harmonious and closer combination. As regards her attitude to Germany, he characterises it as singular and indefinable and says that one seeks in vain for arguments by which it may be defended. Financial and economic questions weigh largely with Italy. The whole economic life of the nation is badly upset, and in spite of the financial aid which has been given by Britain, the pinch of poverty is keenly felt throughout the country.

A SOMEWHAT striking contribution is the anonymous article entitled 'The Hohenzollerns and the German National Character.' Two centuries ago, says the writer, the Germans were a nation of boors. They were poor, ignorant, backward, and undisciplined. They have become a cultivated and a powerful nation by the training which they received from their ruler-statesmen who have been the most successful educators, in the widest sense of the word, whom the world has seen. The article gives an interesting account of the work of Fredrick William, the Great Elector, King Frederick William I., and King Frederick the Great. It is no part of the writer's object to deal with the objectionable features of the German character and the causes which have produced them. The things with which he deals are things in which the other nations of the world can very profitably follow the German example.

SIR THOMAS HOLDICH contributes an interesting article on 'The White Man in Asia.' The problem of the expansion of the white races through those regions of the world suitable for them is a problem, says Sir Thomas Holdich, which grows in importance from year to year, and therefore demands the serious consideration of those geographical conditions which influence it at present and must ultimately decide its fate. How much of the world is there left which is still open to white colonisation? In Europe there is practically none. In Asia there is

Siberia, but Siberia is first and foremost the promised land of Russia. Apart from Siberia, Sir Thomas Holdich says, there is no other part of the continent of Asia of which it can be said that it is really a white man's country, that is, a country where the white man may make a permanent home for himself and where he may leave children after him to take up his burden. There are fields for European enterprise in Asia other than Siberia, but in them the European exists as the overlord, the employer, the capitalist, never as a member of the productive body of workers by whose labours the riches of the East are materialised. Even if it were possible that the white man could live and continue his race in these regions he could not survive in competition with the people of Japan, China and India.

MR. H. S. SHELTON writes on 'Conscription (open and veiled)'; Writing at the time when the results of the Derby campaign had not been analysed, he advocated the greatest caution in dealing with the situation. While admitting the importance of the military operations undertaken by Britain, he urged the necessity of trying to assess these in their due proportion to her other functions, in the conduct of the war. "Had we not a single soldier on foreign soil," he says, "we should still, navally, financially, and in the making of stores and munitions, be playing a great and a vital part." Mr. John M. Robertson deals with the English worship of anonymous journalism; and Constance Spender has an article on 'Miss Ferrier's Novels.' The Rev. Robert Christie contributes an article entitled 'The Sacrifice of the Individual and Immortality'; and Mr. Charles P. Bateman gives an account of the great and good work being done in connexion with the war by the Salvation Army. The other articles are 'A Zeppelin Adventure,' by 'Grace Bird,' and 'The Lady of the Lute,' by Mr. J. G. de Montmorency. Among the books reviewed is Mr. John Matthai's work on *Village Government in British India*. The number concludes with a short poem, 'Christmas, 1915,' by May Jenkinson.

We regret that we are unable this month to give a review of the contents of the *Fortnightly* and *Nineteenth Century*, as the January numbers were on board the 'Persia.'

[EDITOR, M. C. C. MAGAZINE.]

COLLEGE NOTES.

DR. MILLER'S seventy-eighth birth-day was celebrated in Caithness Hall on Monday, the 31st January—not far removed in numerical composition from the 13th January which was the actual date of the birth-day. Thanks to the late Mr. Rungiah Chettiar, whose genius for hero-worship had provided for the annual celebration, all the students in residence in the College Hostels were enabled to join in the celebration. Being a working day, it was a pleasant change from the routine of College-work to the lower terrace of Caithness Hall, cool and well-shaded from the evening-sun by the height of the main building, where the professors and ladies of the staff sat down to tea with the students. The presence of Mr. and Mrs. Moffat who had just a few days before returned from Scotland was noted with particular pleasure on account of their having narrowly escaped the danger of German submarines in the Mediterranean.

The meeting in the Reading Room downstairs was presided over by the Hon'ble Mr. Pittendrigh. The toast of Dr. Miller's health was proposed by a member of Caithness Hall, who spoke of the Christian College as Dr. Miller's greatest achievement. Mr. Hogg then replied.

After referring to the occasions on which he himself and Mrs. Hogg had had the pleasure of seeing Dr. Miller during their recent furlough, Mr. Hogg said that he did not feel inclined to speak at any length in acknowledging the toast, because after all it was by deeds rather than words that the memory of a man like Dr. Miller could best be honoured. Doubtless that was a familiar idea to them all, and he could not hope to say anything new along that line. At the most he might try to put familiar ideas in a fresh form. He would therefore ask them to contemplate the Madras Christian College for a moment not, in the usual manner, as Dr. Miller's greatest achievement, but as Dr. Miller's *failure*. When people looked back on a great man's work, they saw it as a finished thing rather than as the great man himself regarded it, namely, as the very unfinished and imperfect approximation to the much higher ideal which he had conceived and for which he was labouring. At the moment when the great man's hand was removed from his unfinished achievement, that achievement possessed the form impressed on it by the necessity of adaptation to the conditions then existing, and his very success in adapting it to those temporary conditions meant that his achievement at that moment exhibited not the rounded proportions of his ultimate ideal but the less perfect outlines forced upon it by the compromises which a statesmanlike mind wisely accepts. Thus the consequence of their position to-day, as they looked backward upon a

piece of work that was ended, was that they were apt to attribute to Dr. Miller as his work something much smaller than his real achievement, namely, the shell in which that achievement had found for its inspiring principle a temporary shelter and dwelling place. Dr. Miller's real achievement was to have formed a great educational conception, a conception greater than he or any one man could translate into accomplished fact, and to have spent a devoted life in approximating to the realisation of his inspiring dream. Hence they would honour Dr. Miller best if they sometimes looked upon the Christian College, not as his achievement—although indeed it was an achievement to be proud of—but as his partial failure. And that meant that, if they wished to be true to him, they must not be content to maintain the College and its work at the level of excellence at which he left it and in the particular form which circumstances then impressed upon it, but must labour towards a closer realisation of the ideal which he had at heart. He had left it to them a living thing, manifesting its life by growth and adaptation to circumstances. Simply to maintain what he had accomplished was to transform it into a dead thing. That was not the way to honour a great man.

There was one other practical reflection, Mr. Hogg continued, which he would put before them. History showed, as a friend had once remarked to him, how often great men were connected with great institutions. The greatness of an institution in connection with which a man found his lifework, by the calls it made upon him and the scope it gave his energies, provided the opportunity for the development of whatever was great in the man's own nature. By a great institution his friend meant not so much an institution on a great scale as an institution great in its conception and in the task which it was created to discharge. Now it must be remembered that although, in one sense, Dr. Miller had created the Christian College, yet as an institution great in its conception it had been in existence before Dr. Miller came to India. He came out to join in the great enterprise, already honourably begun and carried on through trying years by another great man, John Anderson,—the great enterprise of providing for the new India that was growing up a Christian education in which all that was worthy in the heritage of the West and the East might be included. It was simply recognising facts to say that it was by devoting himself to the service of an institution which was committed to this great enterprise that Dr. Miller was brought face to face with the demands and opportunities which developed to full fruition the potentialities of greatness that were in him. In this reflection they who were to-day assembled to honour Dr. Miller might find encouragement for themselves. Doubtless it was not granted to all of them to pass

their lives in the service of institutions which, regarded in themselves, had obvious claims to greatness of conception. But however petty in itself might be the institution to which some of them might be called to devote their service, still it was a bit of the machinery of the great institution of organized society and as such was a link in the grand enterprise of providing for India the conditions of a peaceful and healthy life. Let them regard their life-work, then, as a way not of earning an income but of participating in this great enterprise, and the result of so viewing it would be to provide, for such potentialities of greatness as might be in them, the same kind of stimulus to development that the College to which they belonged had provided for the great qualities implicit in Dr. Miller.

As readers of last month's College Notes will have guessed, the speeches made on the College Day turned largely upon an appreciation of the present educational system. The discussion was started by the Chairman who in toasting the College made an elaborate plea for knowledge being imparted in the Vernaculars in supersession in large measure of English which is now the chief medium of instruction in Secondary Schools. This was followed by Mr. Corley's spirited defence of Western Christian Education as imparted in our College.

Mr. Corley was followed by Mr. P. Appaswami, who on rising to propose the toast of the University spoke as follows :—

The University is being subjected at the present moment to merciless and in many cases undeserved attacks because the critics of the University start with different ideals as to what it ought to be. Some would like to have it copy the Oxford or Cambridge model, the policy of which is to turn out Christian gentlemen, with a certain amount of learning thrown in, much or little according to the capacity of the individual student : some would like it to be an open door through which every one who knocks for admission should be allowed to pass : others again would insist that every person who bears the hall mark of the University should be a person of approved merit and culture.

The University however need not mind these brickbats thrown at her, as she has made substantial progress in certain matters. Memory was always a strong point with Indian students and accordingly in the early days there was a disposition to rely on that faculty and 'cram' text-books and notes. There were students who could learn Euclid by heart or repeat a lesson backwards. But thanks to the modern university paper which aims at testing intelligence rather than information, there is a great improvement. Again students of a past generation had a very narrow outlook and scarcely ever went beyond the particular subject or text book that was prescribed.

Nowadays every one reads newspapers and magazines and has very pronounced opinions of his own on most topics of public importance. Formerly also there was a tendency to take Western ideas for granted and approve of all things that came with the glamour of the West : but to-day no idea or system or institution from the West would pass muster unless it had very substantial claims to back it while on the other hand students were inclined to fall back on Oriental ideas as after all substantially the best for themselves.

The Bishop of Madras in replying to this toast said that because of his vagrant habits, especially during the past sixteen years, he had been able to take very little part in the affairs of the Madras University. He had rather been a drone in the hive than an active Fellow. However, the reason that he stood before them now, responding to the toast, was on account of his being the oldest member of a University present in their midst. It was just forty-two years ago that he first became a member of the University of Oxford. But if His Lordship had not taken any part in the work of the Madras University, it certainly was not from any lack of interest, or from any feeling that the work was not important enough. As a matter of fact, he had thought a great deal about the work of the Madras University, and he sympathised with it very deeply. He had also sometimes dreamt his dreams as to what he would like the Madras University to be and the kind of work he would like to see it doing. His Lordship's one most earnest wish was that the Madras University would try and go on to perfection, undaunted by popular clamour, that it would on no account be deterred from steadily trying to raise the standard of its examinations. His Lordship also hoped that the University would go through its course of natural evolution. It began as an examining body and that function it had fulfilled as efficiently as it was possible to do, considering the very great difficulties in the path of an examining University in this country. Now it was trying to become a teaching body, and His Lordship hoped that it would go on and soon become a thinking university. One of the great functions of a university was to form a great centre of thought and learning, which might prove a real inspiration to all coming under its influence. It was not so much what was taught at a university that exerted influence on its *alumni*. What counted incalculably more was that subtle influence of great personalities, which really formed the most valuable part of university education. His Lordship remembered asking one of the brilliant Fellows of Trinity College, Oxford, to mention the men who most had influenced him during his under-graduate days. The Fellow mentioned the names of Thomas Henry Green and Jowett, the former who told him what he could not understand and the latter who

told him nothing. And yet, both those men, Green and Jowett, exerted wonderful influence on the Oxford of their day.

His Lordship next entered on an eloquent plea in the cause of mass education. Much as the work of the Madras University was to be commended, there still remained the fact that some 90 per cent. of the masses of India were illiterate. And the fact that education at the University had to be inevitably imparted in English had tended to create a gap between the educated few and the illiterate masses, a gap which it was a little difficult to bridge. His Lordship thus would most earnestly appeal to all who were members of the University of Madras, wherever they might be, to give to their less fortunate countrymen some share of that knowledge and education which had proved a blessing to themselves.

Lastly, His Lordship expressed his disagreement with the view expressed by the Chairman that there was serious deterioration in the physique of the present day schoolboys. In this opinion, the Chairman had been too pessimistic and there was no real cause for pessimism in the matter. When His Lordship first went to Calcutta, there was only one solitary foot-ball club for students in the city. Sixteen years ago, when he left Calcutta, there were no less than fifty Clubs, all well patronised by the student population, who frequently challenged soldiers' clubs to play them.

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*ST. AUGUSTINE.**

BY MISS E. MACDOUGALL, M.A.

It has been said of St. Augustine that he was "a teacher of wider and more lasting influence than any since the apostles," "incomparably the greatest man whom the Christian Church possessed between St. Paul and Martin Luther." It would be ungrateful to forget our large debt to him, a debt which we can estimate only if we consider the critical days in which he lived, the last years of the supremacy of Rome. It is hard to imagine what would have happened to the Christian Church at that most difficult moment in its development, if the brilliant genius, the deep learning, the intense faith and love, and the passionate devotion of Augustine had not been freely lavished on its service.

Few men have had so much to offer to the service of God as Augustine, who was unquestionably one of the greatest intellects of all time. Among his many pupils and disciples are found some of the finest and maturest minds of all centuries since his own day. Yet his chief service was a spiritual and religious one, and thousands have found in him a guide for the inner life who would be quite incapable of following his logic. His greatest achievement remains that he roused the whole Christian world to a new conviction of an almost forgotten truth, St. Paul's great doctrine of salvation by faith.

All religions may be divided into two classes: the religions which look to God alone for salvation, confessing utter helplessness, and those which to a greater or less extent bid a man trust in himself, assuring him that by earnest purpose and steady effort he can rise to the highest life, looking to God as to a kindly

* A lecture given at the Kellett Institute, November 14, 1915.

spectator and the bestower of ultimate reward. The one religion exclaims: "Who shall deliver me?" the other: "What shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?"

The second method is by far the more congenial to the natural pride and independence of the human spirit; and again and again in the history of Christianity we find it almost eclipsing the offer of free salvation. And then the consciousness of sin grows fainter, the thought of God less dread and real, the claims of holiness less urgent. Then in the providence of God some great man who has himself felt the agony of overmastering temptation, some Luther or Bunyan or Wesley is sent to arouse men from their listless self-satisfaction, to shake their souls with the consciousness of sin and to direct their eyes to the Cross of Christ.

Of such great "Evangelical" teachers, Augustine is perhaps the most important. Never has there been greater need of such a teacher than in the years between his birth and death (354-430 A. D.). About forty years before he was born the world had become Christian by order of the Emperor, and the large influx into the church of men who were pagan in all but name had almost overwhelmed it. The worship of the old gods was forbidden, and either men did not pray at all, or they addressed the same prayers as before to new names. The more earnest transferred into their new religion their philosophic view of the self-sufficing dignity of their moral principles, and a mixture of the earthly and the spiritual took place from which the church has hardly as yet recovered.

Augustine had his own share of pride, and for thirteen years, from the age of nineteen to thirty-two, he strove with the most earnest efforts to live up even to his own standard of right. At the end of that time he threw himself in unspeakable distress on the mercy of God. But when he gave himself at last it was with no reserves, and the rest of his long life was devoted wholly to the exaltation of Christ not as example and friend only but as "the only and sufficient hope of our poor wayward race."

But for us the most important question is: how came Augustine, a pagan and a worldling still at the age of thirty-two, to become one of the greatest Christians in history. Fortunately we have the full answer given by himself in his "Confessions": an account of his conversion written by himself at the age of forty-three. In this book he reviews his life from his birth to his

baptism, and it is characteristic of the writer that the story is addressed to no earthly reader but to God, and takes the form of one long prayer of confession, contrition and thanksgiving. The book is most remarkable for its intensity of feeling, its humility, its strict truthfulness and absence of exaggeration. Its mixture of keen psychological insight and simple happiness renders it curiously fascinating, and the reader feels that the story of a spiritual quest may have more than the absorbing interest of an earthly romance.

Augustine tells us nothing of his life except what is closely connected with the history of his soul's pilgrimage and ultimate arrival, but we are able to supplement his narrative from records made by some of his many devoted friends.

Aurelius Augustinus was born at the little town of Thagaste in North Africa on the 13th November, 354 A. D. He was a Roman citizen. His father Patricius, a poor but respected man, was an unbeliever, his mother was Monica, a Christian. This woman is almost more interesting than her son. She was by far the strongest influence in his life, and it does not seem too much to say that if Monica had not been what she was, Augustine would never have broken through the thorny barrier which lay between him and faith. The one great design of her life was to bring her husband and her son to Christ, and after years of suffering and unfailling prayer on her part, first Patricius, and after many days, Augustine was baptized in her presence. Her deep trouble and anxiety over them both was, however, always relieved by the warm affection which both felt for her.

Patricius would not allow his son to be baptized or brought up as a Christian, but Monica began to teach him almost as soon as he could speak and made the name of Christ so dear to him that, as he says, "my childish heart had drunk it in and deeply treasured it; and whatsoever was without that name, though never so learned, so polished or so true, took not entire hold of me". Never in all his wanderings did he entirely lose the memory of those early talks, and whatever his views he always held in honour the person of Christ. He learnt also to pray for what he wanted, and he records that "though small yet with no small earnestness" he prayed that he might not be beaten at school. But beaten he was, although as he modestly says he "lacked not memory or capacity." He was taught Greek so badly that he never

came to love it, and yet his troubled schooldays give him cause for thankfulness as he looks back "I learnt to delight in truth, I hated to be deceived, had a vigorous memory, was gifted with speech, was soothed by friendship, avoided pain, ignorance and baseness. Thanks be to Thee, my joy and my glory and my confidence, my God, thanks be to Thee for Thy gifts."

When he was about sixteen his father, seeing his extraordinary promise, with great difficulty gathered together enough money to send him to the University of Carthage. Before he left home Monica spoke earnestly with him of the temptations of youth and the beauty of holiness, and he was sufficiently moved to utter one of the most honest of prayers: "Make me good, O Lord, but not yet, O Lord." "For I feared lest Thou shouldst hear me soon and soon cure me."

For a time it seemed as if Monica's fears were to be realized. For Augustine fell headlong into every temptation, "loving" as he says "a vagrant liberty." He was probably no worse than most of the young men of his time, but looking back from the heights which he later attained he can hardly find words to describe his vice, his pride and his wilfulness. "My life being such, was it life, O God?" From other sources we know of his brilliant success in his studies in which he easily outdistanced all competitors, hearing with astonishment that others found difficulty in work which to him was mere play. With the distinctions which were heaped upon him arose the thirst for greater distinctions and indeed there was no place of eminence which seemed too high for him to attain.

"And Thy faithful mercy hovered over me from afar. . . . O Thou Good omnipotent who so carest for every one of us as if Thou caredst for him alone." His father died during these years and Monica came to live with her son and to suffer daily anguish at the sight of his unbridled vice. But a dream brought her comfort and she clung to the words of a Bishop to whom she told of her grief: "It is not possible that the son of those tears should perish."

The first ray of light came before long, and from an unexpected quarter. In his nineteenth year, Augustine in his study of Cicero came upon the "*Hortensius*" a little philosophical treatise now lost, which so deeply impressed him with the desire for goodness that "every vain hope now became worthless to me." From the reading of that book he dates the beginning of

his conversion, his first effort "to search out that, whereof not the finding only, but the very search, was to be preferred to the treasures and kingdoms of the world." After this time he refrained from the grosser vices and strove with ever increasing desire and ever lessening hope for twelve years to lay aside the more refined sins which so easily beset his sensitive and passionate nature.

It would take too long to dwell on all the incidents of that conflict, his contemptuous rejection of the New Testament, "for it seemed to me unworthy to be compared with the stateliness of Cicero," his heart-rendering grief at the loss of his most intimate friend in early manhood, his sudden and fierce determination to leave Africa and go to Rome, for restlessness of spirit made familiar scenes hateful to him, the unworthy trick by which he left Monica sorrowing behind him on the shore as he sailed away, his illness in Rome and his discovery at last of a spiritual guide in St. Ambrose of Milan. All this time he was winning wealth and fame as an orator and teacher of rhetoric, much loved by his students for his personal kindness to them, chosen from many to speak in the presence of the Emperor, but feeling miserable and lonely even when that coveted honour was in his grasp, the centre of a group of enthusiastically admiring friends, but "dragging along the burden of mine own wretchedness, and by dragging, augmenting it."

"But behold, Thou wast close on the steps of Thy fugitive." Augustine accepted a position as Professor of Rhetoric in Milan and there came into contact with Ambrose, the saintly and scholarly Bishop of that city. It was perhaps the first time that he made the acquaintance of a Christian whose mind aroused his admiration and from the Bishop's sermons he learned solutions to many of his intellectual difficulties. He was induced to resume the study of the Bible. Ambrose though he received Augustine with "fatherly and episcopal kindness" gently avoided discussion with him, probably perceiving that the real obstacle to faith lay rather in the pride and wilfulness of this brilliant young orator. But his holiness and happiness quickened Augustine's desire for spiritual rest to a passionate longing.

"And Thou wast at the helm, but very silently." In the thirteenth year of his quest while he and his mother and his friend Alypius were living in Milan, a chance visitor told him of the conversion of one Pontinius, in whose history Augustine saw a mirror of his own. "And while he was speaking Thou, O Lord,

didst turn me round toward myself, taking me from behind my back where I had placed myself, unwilling to observe myself, and set me before my face that I might see how evil I was, how crooked and defiled." In great agitation he fled into the little garden of his house, and flinging himself down under a fig tree fought out the supreme battle of his life. His long-loved sins laying persuasive hands on him "whispered softly 'Dost thou cast us off? from this moment shall we no more be with thee for ever, from this moment shall not this or that be lawful to thee for ever?'" On the other side holiness allured him: "Why standest thou in thyself and so standest not? Cast thyself fearlessly on God, He will receive and will heal thee."

But though his desire was toward holiness he felt that he was "held by former iniquities" and burst into tears of helplessness and bitter contrition. As he lay exhausted by the violence of his emotion a child's voice in a neighbouring garden sang again and again "Take and read." He rose and took up a book which he had lately been studying, St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and opening it at random glanced at these words: "Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ." "No further would I read nor needed I, for instantly at the end of this sentence, by a light as it were of serenity infused into my heart, all the darkness of doubt vanished away."

Augustine tells very touchingly of his mother's joy and of her death which took place a short time after his baptism, as he and she were travelling back to their old home in Africa. He had abruptly ended his brilliant career, giving up his professorship, and was intending to devote his life to quiet and lowly ministrations to his own people. When almost against his will he was made a priest and later Bishop of Hippo in Africa, he remained in this remote and obscure see, living a life simple almost to austerity and devoting most of his time to the spiritual care of his humble flock, preaching to them sermons distinguished by their brevity and simplicity. But by letters he guided the most distinguished men of his Church and his books spread over the world the great doctrine which he had so hardly learned. When the Christian Church was shaken to its foundations by the fall of Rome it was his great book "The City of God" that more than any other utterance, kept faith and hope alive in the world. But perhaps the greatest thing that he did, and it was probably undertaken as an act of penance, was to write his "Confessions" that book in

which as Arthur Symons says "one of the supreme souls of humanity speaks directly to that supreme soul which it has apprehended outside humanity."

Augustine, or as the Middle Ages affectionately called him "Austin", died on the 28th August, 430 A.D. at Hippo which was then being besieged by the Vandals. He had refused to flee from the city, but he had not the pain of surviving its fall. When his end was near he bade farewell to his friends, desiring to be left alone that he might set his thoughts on God, and his last words were of penitence.

All his life seems to be summed up in two of his own sayings: and his tumultuous youth in the words "Thou hast made us for Thyself and our heart is restless till it rest in Thee" and all the deep contentment and devoted toil of his later years in his prayer: "Give what Thou commandest, and command what Thou wilt."

PRINCIPLES OF THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN INDIA.

BY WILLIAM MILLER, D.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

It appears that some discussion is being carried on, or is not unlikely to be carried on, in Madras on the educational provision commonly known as the Conscience Clause. At all events a copy of a pamphlet in which the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri deals with that subject has recently been sent to me with a request for an expression of my views on the questions which his pamphlet raises. The esteem in which the author is held will no doubt secure attention to the line of action he recommends though the time hardly seems opportune for such a discussion. One is apt to think that any amount of attention to matters educational that can be spared from the urgent anxieties and dangers of the hour would be better devoted to practical effort than to an attempt to disturb the foundations of the broad scheme of Indian education, foundations on which a stately edifice has been slowly but not unhopefully rising for more than half a century. However, if there is to be discussion of this question, it seems to be in some sort one's duty to make such contribution

as one can to clear thinking about the issues involved in Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's proposals.

The main thesis of the pamphlet is that no aid from public funds should be given to schools or colleges which make instruction in the Christian (or I suppose in any other) religion, an integral part of the education they afford.

In his defence of this thesis Mr. Srinivasa Sastri shows considerable fairness. Of course it will be readily observed that his pleadings are those of a skilful advocate who emphasises whatever seems favourable to his own case and passes with little notice whatever may be urged against it. There is indeed some room for complaint about the constant recurrence of the term "proselytising" accompanied by the scarcely veiled suggestion that in all they undertake Christian missionaries keep no aim in view but the promotion of the cause they immediately serve. Whatever be its derivation the term "proselytism" and all its cognates have come in ordinary usage to denote a line of action directed towards self-regarding ends and carried on by questionable methods. Now the very essence of Christianity is the sacrifice of self for the good of others; while sympathetic speech, patient love and kindly deeds are the only legitimate weapons in the Christian armoury. No doubt like other men missionaries too often fail to live up to their ideal. There may be instances of this resorting to weapons which they have no right to use. They may be betrayed at times into something too like coercion. They may at times utter "insulting remarks on Hindu religious practices," or indulge in "mockery of Hindu divinities" or otherwise offend legitimate susceptibilities in ways like those with which the pamphlet makes such play. Yet in all fairness they like other men, ought to be judged not so much by their short-comings and failures as by the ideal at which they aim and their success in realising it. Then again it is hard to see what object, beyond that of instilling an initial prejudice, is gained by the long quotations in the pamphlet from what Sir J. C. Grant, Lord Ellenborough and others put on record, some fifty or sixty years ago. When Government made up its mind to ask help from Christian missions in the herculean task of spreading education throughout India the position of those protestors was that any kind of co-operation between Government and such

agencies was fraught with deadly danger. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri on the other hand goes rather out of his way to pass a glowing eulogy on the benefits which missions and missionaries have conferred upon the country. Thus his own eloquence is the best reply to those who foretold that any recognition of Christian agencies by Government or any co-operation with them would spell irreparable ruin. In spite of these irrelevances, and perhaps some others that may be noticed, it is well to say that Mr. Srinivasa Sastri states his case with as much fairness as can reasonably be expected from one who is out in search of arguments to support a foregone conclusion.

So far as I can make out, the following are the main positions on which the pamphlet bases its conclusion. (1) That it is contrary to the steadily avowed policy of religious neutrality for the State to afford aid to an institution which includes religion as an essential part of its educational course. (2) That as a "Conscience Clause" is in force in England it ought logically to be applied in India. (3) That since a mission institution may possibly be unable to exist without some grant in aid and since the bulk of the resources of the State come from Hindus and Muhammadans it is wrong to expend any part of those resources on the preservation of avowedly Christian schools or colleges. (4) That it is destructive of national self-respect and implies moral degradation for Hindu students to attend a school or college in which instruction in the Christian faith is part of the ordinary course. On each of those four propositions it seems desirable to make some remarks.

1. The religious neutrality of the State is held by everyone to be the corner-stone of Indian administration. In matters educational, as in matters of all kinds, action in this principle is an indispensable condition of successful government in India. What exactly does such neutrality mean? As everybody knows this phrase "neutrality" is derived from, and is best illustrated by, the procedure of a nation which remains at peace when some of the nations around it are at war. The neutral nation proclaims that it will take no side in the contest that is going on. If its government interferes in any way with the conduct of one of the belligerents not only does it thereby depart from its neutrality but it is sure to be drawn on step by step until it

becomes one of the combatants itself. Entire absence from interference in the contest on the part of its government is therefore the only safe-guard for the neutrality of a nation. All this was clearly understood when the foundations of the existing scheme of Indian education were laid by the well-known Despatch of 1854. That Despatch invited Christian missions to make such contribution as they could towards accomplishing the enormous work of educating the millions of the Indian peoples. It was clear of course that neither missions nor anyone else could be expected or asked to give any kind of education except that which they held to be the best and healthiest. It was clear also that religious instruction would be an integral part of any contribution made by missions to the building up of the whole education fabric. It was equally clear that if such a fabric was ever to be built up, representatives of the many various Indian creeds and classes must sooner or later be induced to take an effective share in constructing it. In no other way could education become universal. It was obvious therefore that all who helped to make education thus universal must be free to afford it in whatever way they deemed most likely to do good. If the State should interfere with this freedom in any direction its neutrality would be at an end and it would find itself drawn in to share in one way or other in the conflict between the various forms of faith. Accordingly it was laid down in the clearest form of words that could be devised that the attitude of the State towards religion in Education would at all times be absolutely neutral. Mr. Srinvasa Sastri shows commendable candour by placing before his readers some of the exact words in which the founders of the existing scheme of education express their adherence to this principle of absolute religious neutrality. The words which he thus quotes are: "an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the schools assisted". He also quotes the following words concerning representatives of Government:—"In their periodical inspections no notice whatsoever should be taken by them of the religious doctrines which may be taught in any school". Could any form of expression evince more clearly that in all its educational arrangements the State is to hold itself as completely aloof from everything that bears upon religion, as a government

which proclaims neutrality holds aloof from intermeddling in the affairs of the countries that are at war? Readers of the pamphlet may be left to form their own opinion of the success, or otherwise, of the endeavour made in it to twist words like these into a meaning different from their plain one.

Thus such a sentence as the following shows complete misapprehension of what religious neutrality means, and equal misapprehension of the scope of the system of education intended to be based upon it. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri affirms that Hindu and Muhammadan parents are "obliged, by the policy of their Government, to submit their children to be indoctrinated daily in Christianity". Such an affirmation might be truthfully made if it were ever intended by the State that all or even the great mass of the colleges and schools it aided were such that the pupils in them were to be "indoctrinated daily in Christianity". No sane man ever expected or intended that anything like this should be the case. The fundamental idea of the system now so long in force is that in all important centres indigenous private bodies with liberal aid from the State should establish schools and colleges in which parents might have their children trained under such religious influences as they preferred. As soon as that ideal should be realised anywhere there would be no shadow of reason for departing from the attitude of religious neutrality. But, besides this, in order that there might be no need for pupils being subjected to religious influences unpalatable to their parents even for a time Government undertook, though at huge expense, to maintain schools and colleges conducted by officials of its own in which no religious education of any kind should be given. These Government institutions were to be maintained in complete efficiency until the time should come when they might be safely transferred to private bodies which might make whatever arrangements they judged best for the inclusion or non-inclusion of religious instruction in the education they provided. Moreover the Education Commission recommended, and Government accepted the recommendation, that in no case whatever should these purely secular institutions be transferred to Christian missions. Once the plan, thus outlined, had taken full effect Mission colleges and schools would form an almost insignificant portion of the whole educational apparatus. No inducement

would then remain for any parent to send his children to them unless he distinctly desired to do so.

It is true that the system, thus based on strict religious neutrality, has not yet reached complete development. Its progress has been checked by various adverse influences which are so well understood by all interested in questions of the kind that they need not be enumerated here. Prominent among these is the now acknowledged illiberality of the grants made everywhere in aid of all forms of Private Effort. Nevertheless in spite of such defects there has been progress enough to show how easily workable, and how beneficent, the system is. In face of Pachaiyappa's College, the Triplicane High School and the scores of similar institutions that have sprung up even under the cold shade of indifference on the part of those who ought to have eagerly encouraged them, it is absurd to say that the people of the land are unable to take the part assigned to them by the Despatch of 1854. Wherever the provisions of that Despatch have had anything approaching to their right effect it must be plain to all that there has not been even the appearance of departure in favour of Christian missions from the principle of neutrality. That principle was adopted in the hope that the system of relying upon liberally aided private effort for the provision of all needed facilities for ordinary education would be universally acted on. If once in any centre parents and guardians can send pupils to be trained in such religion as they prefer, or in no religion, it becomes inconceivable that anyone should think that the State ought to depart from its neutrality by intermeddling with the freedom of institutions which deem it best to instruct those who come to them in the Christian or any other faith. It may be that at the outset Christian institutions had some advantage over those started by other private bodies in virtue of the greater experience and organising power of those by whom they were conducted. Inequalities and difficulties must occur at the commencement of all plans hitherto untried. Such difficulties disappear as experience is gained and it may be asked what effect has followed from Christian schools and colleges using this advantage if they had it. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri himself shall be the witness on this point. He tells us that Mission schools and colleges have been the pioneer in every

department and every possible development in education. He exclaims: "How invaluable, even if we forgot all other things, are the lessons in organisation, persistence of endeavour and devotion to the cause of the poor that we have learned of the Christian missionary." He tells us that: "He has taught us self-respect and the need of self-help in education as in other things." No one can imagine that Christian schools and colleges could ever have had such profound and beneficent effect as words like these set forth, if they had been restrained by interference from without from giving what they held to be the best and most complete education to all who chose to come to them. With the experience now gained by others, and the hope of more liberal aid to all, any temporary advantage possessed by Mission institutions must pass away. They must henceforward stand or fall in virtue of their intrinsic merits alone. They will depend entirely on the extent to which they are acceptable to the general public in their present form.

Doubtless some difficulty may remain, such as is necessarily incidental to the initiation and transition period of a system which is not yet developed to the full, and whose delayed development is probably regretted by none so much as by wise Christian missionaries. On this still remaining difficulty I mean to make some remarks before I close. Enough however has been said to show that the proposal made by Mr. Srinivasa Sastri would destroy the essential principle of the existing system. If acted on it would powerfully tend to extinguish that spirit of self-help which has been aroused in the Indian communities and which affords the only hope for the universal diffusion of education.

2. It has quite a plausible sound to say that since the educational system in England is provided with a conscience clause it logically follows that the educational system in India should be so provided also. The statement however needs examination. If countries, communities or individual men are ever to find right solutions of their special problems they must unshrinkingly face the facts round them and find out the right way of dealing with these. Mere uncritical imitation of what others do amid different surroundings is sure to result in error or perhaps in grave disaster. To transplant provisions or institutions unthinkingly from one country to another where their whole

environment is different would be as absurd as an attempt to make rice the staple crop of Northern Europe, or to cover with groves of oak trees the plains of Southern India. Accordingly it becomes necessary to understand what the conditions were in which the agitation arose which led to the enactment of the "Conscience Clause" in English schools.

At that time there were not a few important differences between the educational situation in England and that in India to-day. One of the most radical of these was this. In England as regards religion, or rather perhaps as regards the various organisations in which the national religion was embodied, the State did not then, nor does it now, hold by the principle of neutrality. For all practical purpose education was entrusted to representatives of one of these organisations. These representatives were at the same time officials of the State. In all they did they acted with the pressure of State-influence behind them. All other officials were expected to support them in any lines of educational policy they might follow. The policy actually adopted was to establish schools which made it one of their leading aims to impress all pupils with the belief that it was a serious fault to belong to any of the religious organisations except the one favoured by the State. Thus education, backed by the authority of the State, was to be instrumental in weakening and if possible extinguishing all religious associations except the particular one to which education was entrusted. Power, privilege and patronage were to be in the hands of those alone who belong to the one association singled out from all the others.

Such was the educational situation in England at a date not yet far remote. In Ireland it was not exactly but substantially the same. In Scotland matters were on a somewhat different footing as I may have occasion to point out before I close. It is true that considerable change has been taking place. Neither in educational nor other affairs does the State now identify itself quite so closely as before with any one special ecclesiastical organisation. Nevertheless, the effect remains of the procedure adhered to through many bygone generations. In education and many other forms of social life the religious association which the State had so long treated as identical with itself retains its dominance in England generally, and particularly

so in the many regions which modern thought has touched but slightly. This is the reason why the provision termed the "Conscience Clause" has been extended to European schools in India. Partly no doubt that extension is due to mere imitation of the kind of settlement that has for the time been reached in England. Its main ground however is the fact that the religious association so long identical with the State still keeps much of its old domination within the boundaries of the Anglo-Indian community. It was manifest that such unfairness of treatment, or in other words, such absence of religious neutrality could not permanently maintain itself in the face of present-day ideas of equality and freedom. It was a clever stroke of policy when the protest on the educational side against the State exerting its power in favour of one organisation and against all others got itself to be dignified as contention for a *Conscience Clause*.

Hindus may best apprehend what all this amounted to if we imagine an educational arrangement which would be impossible, but not on that account inconceivable, in India. Let us suppose that Government had entrusted the provision of college and schools to some one section of the Hindu population, the Mudelliars or the Chetties, or rather let us say to the Sudras as a whole, since the Anglican Church so long identical with the state included probably as large a proportion of the people of England as the Sudras form of the population of Southern India. Let us suppose that the whole force of Government was exerted in support of the Sudra colleges and schools and suppose farther that the pupils in these belonging to other sections of the population, Brahmans, Panchamas and others, were regularly taught in them that place, privilege and power ought to belong to Sudras alone. The picture may seem to be a wild one yet it is fairly parallel to the arrangements that once prevailed in England, and that even now prevails in it, to a far from negligible extent. Thus the situation in England which led to the demand for a conscience clause was wholly distinct from anything that exists in India. The demand was simply an attack on an obviously assailable portion of the line of defence behind which the privileged section of the community was entrenched. If education in England had been based as it is in India on equal treatment by the State of all religious communities if there had been

no attempt to use it as an instrument by which the weight of state authority might be employed to strengthen one community and to weaken others, some different line of attack on the central citadel of privilege would have been found and followed. The educational troubles in England to which the conscience clause is but a partial corrective arise from the fact that instead of being neutral the State lent all its power and prestige to one of the communities at variance in its midst.

Some may suspect that all this is but a distorted account of how the English State and the English Church, which were at one time for practical purposes the same, employed educational as well as other social agencies. There is an easy method by which Indian readers of English literature may test the fairness of my picture. Macaulay's *Essays* is one of the books most familiar to ordinary readers. Let any one who doubts the fairness of my picture read for himself the paper in which the author reviews the work on Church and State which Gladstone published in his early years. At a maturer stage of life Gladstone, it is true, modified his views enormously but Macaulay's *Essay* gives a fair account of the relations existing between Church and State when the once famous book appeared. The book proposed that these relations should be deepened and extended until State and Church became identical so that through education and by every other means the State might at last crush out of being all embodiments of the Christian religion except its own.

Thus the story of how the conscience clause came to be introduced in England has certainly an important bearing on the question of how education can be best promoted by the State in India. Surely the lesson of that story is that the State should hold aloof from controversy going on between different societies or sections within its bounds, or, in other words, that it should base its action on the principle of strict religious neutrality.

3. The question whether public resources should be used for helping mission institutions to exist, pretty plainly depends on whether such institutions contribute to the public welfare. Whether they do this or not is simply a question of fact. If an institution of any kind whatever can be shown to be a source of public benefit, the question whence the public resources

that help it are derived becomes altogether secondary. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri argues as if individual tax-payers or at all events collective bodies of tax-payers were responsible for the way in which Government may employ every particular portion of the resources placed at its disposal. He seems to believe that there is something illogical in the payment of money largely contributed by adherents of one creed, to adherents of a different creed even in return for public services rendered by the latter. It is hardly necessary to point out that the giving of effect to any principle like this would put an end to stable government. The resources of the State are entrusted to those who are charged with administering its affairs. If administration is to be efficient those in charge of it must be untrammelled judges of how they are to dispense the funds so entrusted to them. If the holders of every particular set of opinions had the right to insist that their contributions to the general fund should always be employed in exact accordance with their views universal confusion must ensue. The only cure for mal-administration is either to change the present holders of office or to persuade them to make a different use of the funds which they administer. Moreover, even if there were anything illogical in funds contributed by adherents of one creed, being applied to the payment of public services rendered by adherents of another a further point would have to be observed. It is not by compliance with formulas of strict theoretic logic, it is by steadily aiming at practically beneficial ends, not seldom by methods of wise compromise, that British liberty has been gained and that British political ideas are now being accepted throughout the world.

Certainly it is open to any citizen of India to argue that missionary educational establishments serve no useful purpose or indeed that when everything is taken into account their existence is hurtful to the country. Those who adopt this point of view are logically consistent in protesting against any fraction of the public resources being spent upon maintaining them. By the high eulogium he passes upon what has been and is being done by missionary education, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has somewhat debarred himself from following this line of argument. Others however may be more consistent than he in following it. They may hold the view expressed long ago so cogently by Lord Ellen-

borough, Sir Alexander Grant and others that for Government to co-operate with missions in any way or for any purpose is a course too dangerous to be thought of. Those who look at matters from this standpoint cannot be and ought not to be debarred from pressing their views on Government. The true test of the validity of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's general proposition is to see how it would work out in some concrete instance. Take the Madras Christian College as a fairly typical case in point. Let it be supposed that College could not be maintained without aid from public funds. Let it also be supposed to be contrary to logic that some portion of the support thus essential for its maintenance should come ultimately from the pockets of Muhammadans and Hindus. Neither of these suppositions is based on fact but for argument's sake they may be made. Then let the question be put whether strict logic is to be adhered to and this particular College be allowed to pass out of existence. I have no doubt that some fair number of Europeans as well as Hindus would reply: "Logic must be preserved, so let the College perish". I have equally little doubt that the great bulk of the intelligent community would recognise in a moment that those who gave that reply were animated by special motives of their own, certainly not by desire for the good of Southern India.

(To be concluded).

HINDU CASTE MARKS.

BY W. RAE SHERRIFFS, M.A., B.SC.

ONE of the most striking things about the Hindu is his caste mark, mention of which is made both in the *Ramayana* and in the *Mahabharata*. It is a very ancient thing and the custom of wearing it has been observed among the Hindus from time immemorial. Even at the present day the orthodox Hindu attaches great importance to his caste mark, though it must be admitted that the average less orthodox individual honours the practice of putting it on, more by the breach than by the observance. An early bath in the morning and the putting on of the

caste mark form an essential part of the daily ablutions of a Hindu and even the Rishis of old, who pooh-poohed the bonds and conventions of society, paid great attention to the caste mark. In short the caste mark forms an integral part of a Hindu's religion and a Hindu must be thus marked before he can take part in any auspicious ceremony. While the marks are being made, prayers are always said to the deity whose mark is being painted. In private worship the individual adorns himself but on certain public occasions the mark is applied by the priest. Thus the caste mark may be said to be the trade mark of the Hindus who alone among living races observe this practice. The custom of painting the forehead and other parts of the body with different figures and emblems is said by Dubois to be unknown elsewhere, though it appears to have been common enough among ancient nations. The caste mark is the same for both Brahmin and non-Brahmin, the former of course being more particular about wearing it. Thus the caste mark alone will not enable a European to distinguish the Brahmin from the non-Brahmin but it will readily show the sect to which the person belongs.

In the year 1800 was published the English edition of an Italian work, entitled *A Voyage to the East Indies* by Fra Paolino da San Bartomoleo, wherein is discussed in chapter VIII the hieroglyphical marks of distinction among the Indians. In 1816 appeared the English translation of the Abbé Dubois' *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies* and as Max Müller remarked in his preface, "as a trustworthy authority on the state of India from 1792 to 1823, the Abbé Dubois' work will always retain its value." In chapter XV of part II of his book the Abbé discusses briefly the different marks with which the Hindus adorn their bodies.

Now both Bartomoleo and Dubois were Roman Catholic missionaries and they were present in South India about the same time, making notes of all they saw around them. Yet on this one point of Hindu caste marks they differ completely in their accounts. Dubois' description being quite in keeping with what we can verify any day in the streets of Madras while Bartomoleo is far out in his reckoning, giving us facts which are quite inconsistent with what is done to-day in South India. These discrepancies

are all the more remarkable when we reflect that Dubois devotes only part of a small unillustrated chapter to describe the caste marks he found in use around him, while on the other hand, Bartomoleo in his work gives a whole chapter to their discussion and also illustrates them with the only plate which his work possesses.

As heiroglyphical marks of distinction he observed among the Indians no less than sixteen distinct types which he enumerates as follows:—(1) *Trishula* or trident which Shiva, Rudra or Mahadeva holds in his hand as a symbol of his power over heaven, earth and hell. Shiva is also known as *Tripurandaga*, the god pervading the three worlds. This mark made in white seems also to have been called *Shula* or *Tirunama*.

(2) *Ciakshu* or the sacred eye of Shiva is the one in the centre of the god's forehead, the eye which sees everything. Hence Shiva is known as *Trilocena*. This eye is painted on the forehead by the Saivites.

(3) *Agni* or *Ti* meaning fire or the sun, which the Saivites worship as a symbol of Shiva.

(4) *Tirumanna* or holy earth. This mark Bartomoleo declares is painted on the forehead or breast in white, yellow or red and is used in all sacred places. The side strokes being white or yellow, while the central mark is always red. He says this mark is used much both by Vaishnavites and Saivites.

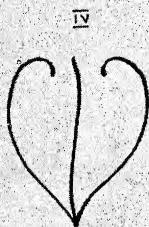
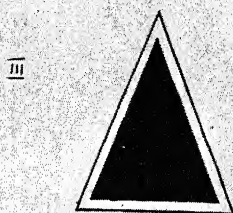
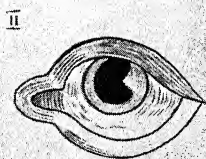
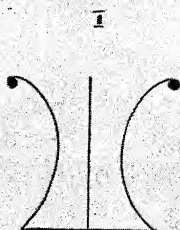
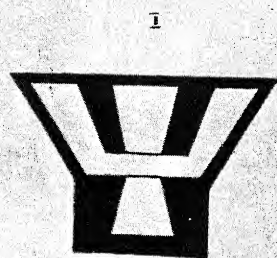
(5) *Tripundara*, the ornament of the three stripes painted with sandalwood and ashes signifying Bhavani, the goddess of Nature with her three sons Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva (earth, water and fire). Some say it represents Vishnu only, as he swam in the waters at the time of the creation.

(6) *Lingam* or Phallus of Shiva, a symbol of the creative power of the sun, worn on neck, arms or forehead.

(7) *Padichandra*, the half-moon, painted on the forehead by Saivites who worship the sun and the moon. The ornamental dot or *Pottu* may be used with this symbol and also with the previous.

(8) *Pattavardhana* signifying growth or increase is a mark of the priesthood, painted in yellow and representing the square pit in which the *Homa* or *Yaga* is burnt.

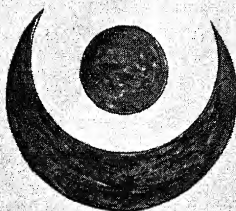
(9) *Vidavardhana* means happiness or domestic felicity and



VI



VII



HINDU CASTE MARKS.
From Bartomoleo.



is a mark made with cow's dung, the emblem of abundance. Vaishnavites make great use of it.

(10) *Gopura* or tower, marked in yellow is dedicated to Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity who like Cybele bears a turret on her head.

(11) *Villa*, the bow, is the weapon of Sri Rama, the young Bacchus who with it conquers Ravana, the king of the night and the leader of giants and monsters.

(12) *Tamara-ila* or *Padma-ila* the calyx and leaf of *Nymphaea* or Lotus, is painted in yellow and signifies water. Vaishnavites are said to be very fond of this symbol.

(13) *Munghi-ila* is the inverted leaf of the Lotus placed in water. It has the same significance as (12) and is also used by Vaishnavites.

(14) *Tamara-motta* is the bulb of the Lotus, painted in yellow and with the same meaning as (12) and (13). Also used by Vaishnavites.

(15) *Pottu* or coloured mark may be red, white or black. In the centre of it is a grain of raw rice dedicated to Lakshmi, the goddess of the fruits of the earth, particularly of corn.

(16) *Chakra* or wheel of Vishnu, characteristic of the Vaishnavites and said to be a symbol of the sun, which opinion is held by Fra Bartolomeo himself.

In striking contrast to the above elaborate account of the caste marks, we find in the pages of Dubois a much simpler description, which agrees very well with what we find around us on every hand to-day. In describing the caste symbols the Abbé remarks. The simplest and most common is the *pottu* which consists of a small circular mark about one inch in diameter placed in the centre of the forehead. It is generally yellow but is sometimes red or black paint mixed with sweet smelling paste, made by rubbing sandalwood on a damp stone. Instead of the *pottu* some paint two or three horizontal lines across their foreheads with the same mixture and others a perpendicular line from the top of the forehead to the nose. Vaishnavite Brahmins and those worshipping Vishnu in particular paint their heads with the *namum*; enthusiastic devotees painting the same design on their shoulders, arms, breast and abdomen; the Bairagis often draw it on their hinder parts, for they go stark naked. Shivites cover the forehead

and other parts of the body or even the whole body with the ashes of cowdung or broad bars may be made over the body. Many Hindus of no particular sect smear their foreheads with ashes. Many marks are painted on the body, the exact meaning of these being often unknown to the person who makes and wears the designs. The *pottu* seems generally to be regarded merely as a beauty mark. A bare forehead is a sign of mourning, fasting or impurity. Women attach less importance than men to this kind of decoration, being satisfied with the *pottu* or single median vertical line on the forehead. Brahmin women especially are very fond of saffron with which they smear every exposed part of the body.

In this enumeration Dubois mentions only the *pottu*, the *namum* and the *vibhutee* as distinct marks and it is these that are in constant use to-day. It may be noted that Dubois does not clearly differentiate between the marks used by Saivites and those employed by Vaishnavites.

At the present day in South India caste marks can be conveniently divided into three kinds (1) the Vaishnavite, (2) the Saivite, (3) other marks used by all Hindus and intended to be beauty marks more than anything else. This last set is a heterogeneous one for the marks of this group are varied and change according to the fashion of the day.

I. The Vaishnavite caste mark is worn by the followers of Vishnu. Among the Brahmins, Vaishnavites bear the title Ayyangar, and Acharyar *cf.* Rama Ayyangar, Ranga Acharyar, etc. and many of the non-Brahmins are also Vaishnavites in the sense that they are followers of Vishnu. This caste mark is the *namum*, also known among Brahmin Vaishnavites as *thiruman*, the sacred or beautiful earth. *Namum* itself signifies name.

There are two kinds of *namum*, the U mark known as the *Vadagalai namum* and the Y mark called the *Thengalai namum*. Of these the *Vadagalai namum* is the more ancient one, the *Thengali namum* coming into existence at a much later date. But there is no essential difference between the two and the *Vadagalai Vaishnavites* and the *Thengalai Vaishnavites* are allowed to intermarry.

The two outer arms of the *namum* are always white in colour

and the central line is red or yellow. This central mark is the important one and must be there. But when a person is in mourning for the death of a near relative he omits the middle stroke and wears only the white outer lines. It is considered fashionable to omit the two white side lines of the *namum* and bear only the single central mark. The *namum* is usually placed on the forehead but according to strict observance every follower of Vishnu should have the mark on twelve different places of his body, one on the forehead and the others on the chest, neck, arms and abdomen. When thus worn the mark is known as the *dwadasa namum*.

Women most frequently adorn themselves with the *pottu* of the red colour called *gulal* or *kunkumum* but they frequently wear the single central red or yellow mark of the *namum*. The *namum* is the emblem of Vaishnavitism and always signifies it. The temples of Vishnu and the houses of Vaishnavites have big *namums* (Vadagalai or Thengalai as the case may be) painted on the doors. Flags, umbrellas, utensils, etc., are also adorned and even the bulls of the Vishnu temples have the scar of the *namum* seared on their bodies. The marriage *tali* of the bride has the holy mark upon it and even a huge *namum* may be made on a sacred hill so that it is visible for many miles around the country side.

The Vaishnavite always has his *namum* but in one instance the Saivite puts this mark on himself. In a Saivite family if a boy happens to fall ill then his parents pray to Srinivasan, the form of Vishnu worshipped at Tirupathi and the healer of all diseases, and take a vow according to which the boy, after recovering from the sickness, on all the Saturdays of the Tamil month *Purattasi*, (Sep. 15th to Oct. 15th) leaves off his Saivite caste mark and puts on the *namum*. Then he takes a *chembu* (brass pot), which is also adorned with the *namum* and a few Tulasi flowers (*Ocimum Sanctum*) round its neck, and wearing a cloth dipped in saffron he goes begging from house to house of his relatives calling "Govinda! Govinda!!" (one of the many names of Vishnu). After going his round he returns home with the rice he has obtained and fasts the whole day. In the evening he visits a temple of Vishnu and worships there. After returning home he cooks the rice he got as alms in the morning and then has his first meal for the day. This begging vow on the name of

Vishnu is to-day observed even in the richest families. But the professional beggars, not to lose their chance, take advantage of this custom during the Saturdays of Purattasi and dressed like those who have taken the vow they easily pass off as such and thus secure more rice than they usually do during the ordinary days of the year.

There is another set of Brahmins—the Raos *cf.* Rama Rao, Krishna Rao, etc., who are also worshippers of Vishnu and are known as Madwas. Their caste mark is not the *namum* but a black dot on the forehead along with impressions of the chank and the chuckram on the temples, chest and upper arms. These impressions are made by rubbing a stamp made of copper in sandalwood paste and then pressing the stamp lightly on the body.

2. The Saivite caste mark is the *vibhutee*, the sacred ashes got by burning cowdung. Every Saivite house has a stock of this *vibhutee* which Shiva himself smeared all over his body. The common practice in applying this mark is to make three parallel lines across the forehead but the shoulders, upper arms, wrists, chest, neck and abdomen may be similarly marked. The *vibhutee* is the recognised mark of the Saivite but it is customary to use sandalwood paste instead of cowdung ashes. The sandalwood may be used alone but also in addition to the *vibhutee*. In the latter case the sandal paste is put on often in the form of a crescent *cf.* the crescent moon on Shiva's head and in other cases it is in the form of a dot. The Mudaliars wear this dot. Goldsmiths and carpenters put on the sandal paste as one stout line across the brow. The Brahmin has the three slender parallel lines across the forehead and he makes the mark by smearing the three strings of his *poonul* (sacred thread) with sandal paste, then holding the strings tight between his hands he presses them against his brow. If a Saivite is in mourning he does not make any mark. Girls and married women wear the red dot (*gula*) on the forehead. Widows are not allowed to have the *gula* or saffron but they are permitted to make the *vibhutee* just like the men.

(3) Other caste marks. These constitute a wide and varied group and are used by Brahmins as well as by non-Brahmins, by Vaishnavites as well as by Saivites. The most popular mark to-

day, especially among students, is undoubtedly the *chandu* or *sandu* which is a small black dot on the middle of the brow. This dot is made by charring rice. The smaller the dot the more fashionable it is. Some wear a single dot, others two dots, one immediately above the other, the upper one being the larger. In other cases the upper mark is much larger and pointed so that the two together resemble the *Agni* or *Ti* mentioned by Bartomoleo. Young children very often are decorated with additional black dots which are placed on the cheeks and chin.

Javvadu is a black scented stuff resembling civet. It is a favourite with dandies and dancing girls and is used to join the eyebrows so as to give the appearance of the person having married brows, which is a sign of great beauty. A black dot of the same material is then put on the forehead.

Gujili pottu is much used by young girls. *Gujili*=bazaar and *pottu*=dot, and is a small round piece of thin glass usually black in colour with a golden rim. This little piece is simply stuck on the forehead in place of the *chandu*. It is very cheap, about thirty being sold for one anna, and is obtainable in all bazaars near Hindu temples. *Gujili pottu* are also for sale resembling the *chandu* in the form of the *Agni* or *Ti*.

These *chandu*, *javvadu* or *gujili pottu* form an important item in the toilet of any Hindu who is careful of his personal appearance. They are considered not only to enhance greatly the personal beauty and charm of the wearer but also they are strongly believed to keep off the evil eye.

Last but not least comes the green tatooing marks of which the non-Brahmin Hindus are so fond. Among the lower grades of the non-Brahmin Hindus there is hardly a single woman who has not got at least one such mark somewhere on her body. The forehead, elbow, lower arm, fingers, ankle, foot and toes are the favourite parts for such adornment. On the forehead the mark is usually a dot or a thin central line in the middle placed vertically over the top of the nose. On fingers or toes the mark is usually a ring. Elsewhere any design can be employed. Tatooing is not unknown among the Brahmins, the women being fonder of it than the men. But with the Brahmins tatooing is rarely done anywhere else than on the forehead, the mark being the usual dot or line. The colour is always green and those

marks have the advantage of being indelible. At the same time it is well to remember that the current belief about them is that they avert pollution and evil spirits from the possessor.

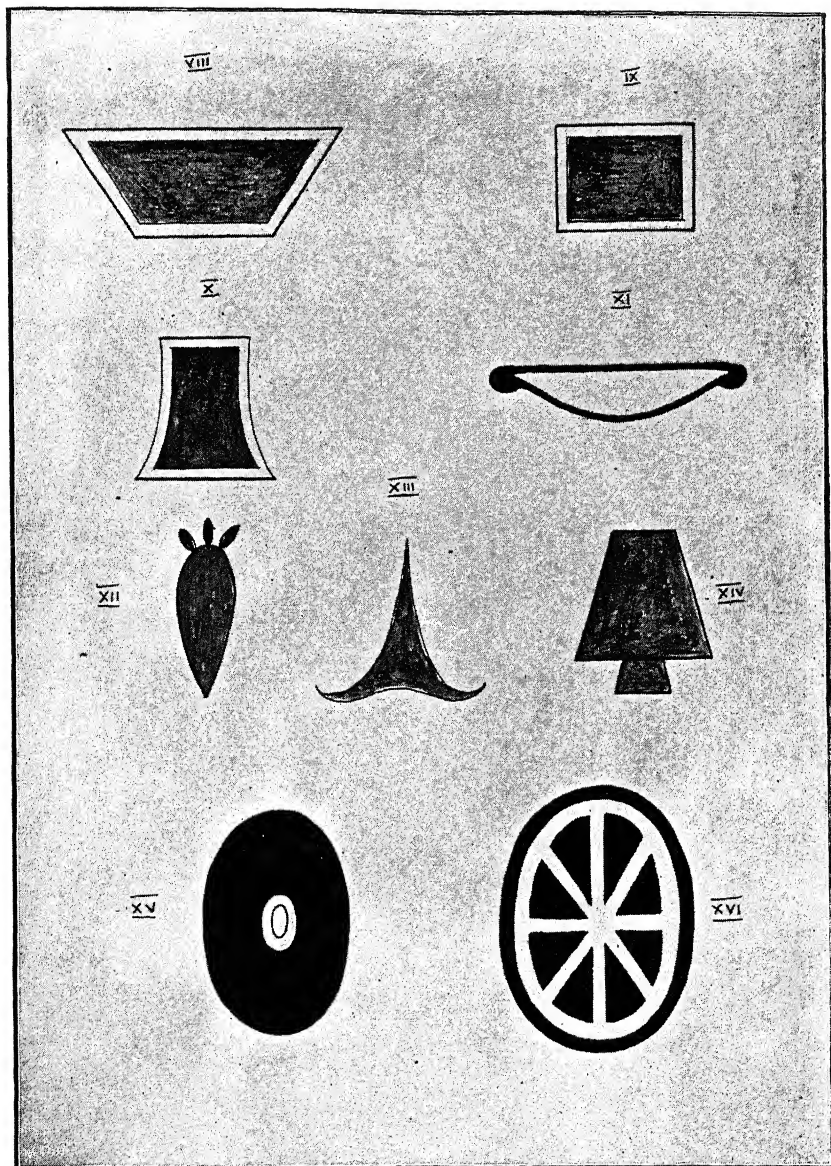
Among marks intended as beauty marks there is the eye rendered fish-like in shape by painting it with a black stuff called *mai*. Girls and young married women usually follow this custom and *Meenakshi* (fish-eyed) is a common Tamil name for a girl.

One curious custom obtains still and is followed both by Muhammadan and by Hindu women and that is the habit of staining the fingers especially a deep red colour. In order to effect this a shrub, *Lawsonia alba*, one of the Lythraceæ is commonly grown and its leaves are used in the process. They are gathered and ground into a paste which is then applied to the ends of the digits and to the palms and to the soles. This is done before retiring for the night and the paste is left on during the hours of the night. When morning comes the dry paste is washed off and the underlying parts are now seen to be stained a fine red colour which lasts for a few weeks and is considered a mark of great beauty by the Hindus. The women are especially fond of it and young girls are often most particular about this and are frequently known to keep awake all night lest they should happen to rub off the paste in their sleep and thus spoil the fine effect. This mark forms one of the important items during the *Vālaikappu* or bangling ceremony when the prospective mother is carrying her first child.

The custom of wearing these red marks is a time honoured one for mention of it occurs in the *Ramayana* where we read of Sita having had these marks. Widows needless to say are forbidden them absolutely.

Bartomoleo's sixteen different kinds of sacred marks are so elaborate compared with the simple enumeration found to-day and also given by Dubois that it is worth while trying to find out how many of the sixteen are in use at the present time. It seems to us very likely that these different caste marks, as given by Bartomoleo, may be accounted for as follows :—

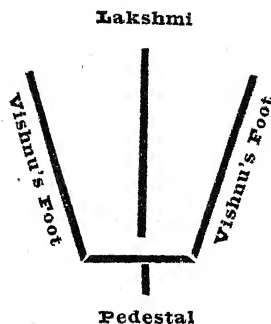
(1) *Trishula* or *Shula* has no connection whatsoever with the *Shula* of Shiva, though it resembles it to a great extent. His *Trishula* is simply the *Thengalai namum* while his *Shula*



HINDU CASTE MARKS.
From Bartomoleo.



is the *Vadagalai namum* of the Vaishnavites. The general plan of the *namum* seems to be as represented below—



Both the Y mark and the U mark are called *namum* or *Tirunama* (sacred name) for the custom is that while putting these marks on their bodies the Vaishnavites utter the many names of Vishnu.

(2) The symbol of the sacred eye is not used anywhere.

(3) *Agni* or *Ti* are very commonly worn by Saivites in certain parts of South India *cf.* South Arcot and are made in red with *gulal*, the pyramid not being often seen. Certain Madwas use the mark of the flame made in black.

(4) is known in Sanscrit as *Yoni*, the female external genitals and this mark is used by certain Brahmins in North India who worship Parvati, the mother of all living. It is made of sandal paste and is worn only by Saivites. (Parvati = Bhavani.)

(5) is the caste mark of the Saivites, the *vibhutee*, made with Sandal paste or ashes, with or without the dot or *pottu*.

(6) The *Lingam* is worn by Saivites only, not as a painted mark but made of gold or silver and hung round the neck or tied round the upper arm.

(7) The crescent is used as a rule alone without the pedestal or without the *pottu*. The yellow stuff is called *gopi*.

(8) is used by the Saivite priests alone and is yellow.

(9) unknown.

(10) *Gopuram* seems to be worn solely by Pandarams who are wandering Saivite mendicants. The reference to Lakshmi is certainly wrong.

(11) The bow is painted with sandal paste on the abdomen and is used by a few Madwas who seem to be a very plastic body, freely using different marks.

(12, 13, 14,) not known to be in use anywhere.

(15) *Pottu*, description correct but is put on by Saivites only. Here again the reference to Lakshmi is wrong for she is worshipped by the Vaishnavites only. The mark is made of gulal (red), sandal (white) or chandu (black) and in the middle of the dot are stuck a few grains of rice dipped in saffron. The priests bestow the grains along with their blessing.

(16) *Chuckram* is used by the Madwas only and is of sandal paste. It is placed on the temples, chest, abdomen and on the fore-arms.

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

AS we write at the beginning of March what is probably the fiercest struggle of the war is proceeding in the neighbourhood of Verdun. So far the French admit a retirement of about three miles, and a loss of five thousand prisoners, but they claim that the German losses have been terrific. The dead alone are computed at 30,000 to 40,000. This doubtless is an unverifiable conjecture, but there is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of the surmise. It is generally believed that the present thrust is an attempt to repeat on the Western front the tactics that drove the Russians back in the Eastern theatre. If that is so the attempt has so far failed. The allies welcome an offensive on the part of Germany. The hotter the war the sooner the peace.

WHEN Professor Karve first promulgated his idea of a Women's University, we are afraid we did not take him seriously. We find now we were mistaken. He has undertaken a tour through India to promulgate his scheme, and has recently advocated it in Madras. We do not doubt that in the present condition of Indian thought, in the present restlessness, anything that appeals to nationalism will command a measure of support, whether it is fundamentally sound or not. We are glad therefore to call the attention of our readers to a

thoughtful criticism of the scheme which appeared in a recent issue of the *Indian Social Reformer*, part of which we quote below. We are in entire agreement with Professor Karve's desire to promote women's education. Nothing that he has said on this subject has been said too strongly. But to call the scheme that he adumbrates a university is to play with language. Call it a school if you will, or an Institute or even a college, for there are scores of institutions that arrogate to themselves the name of college, that are really schools. But let us not lower the name of university, even though it is qualified by an epithet and styled a Women's University. Colleges for women we distinctly advocate, but colleges affiliated to existing Universities. Modify the present curricula should experience find that necessary. Encourage the study of physiology, hygiene, domestic economy and music, where subjects such as these seem desirable. They are already for the most part optional subjects in the present schools in Madras. But do not devise a scheme which would lead the women of the country to feel that they are intellectually inferior to their brothers.

"THE first question" says the *Indian Social Reformer* "that one is inclined to ask is, why is the professor so anxious to annex the name of University to his project? We give the reply in his own words: 'Many of those that at the present day rush to the University portals for Matriculation,' he told the National Social Conference, 'will be glad, I dare say, to join the new institutions provided only that at the completion of the course there is a similar examination and a similar distinction or public recognition of their educational status. It is the educational stamp that attracts girls to the University examinations to-day and not so much the benefits of the education received.' But it is not only the girls to whom the distinguished professor imputed this hankering for outward distinctions. In another part of his address, he said: 'Parents are sure to postpone marriage of their daughters for a year or two if an educational distinction is near at hand for her.' In other words, the institution is to be called university and not school or college merely because, otherwise, the foolish girls, and their parents who have not got the excuse of youth for the folly, will not be attracted to it. We cannot regard this as a valid educational reason. The term 'university' has acquired a certain international significance, and every university must possess it if it is to be recognised as a unit in the comity of the world's universities. India has so far been free from the type of self-styled Universities in some western countries, from which one can obtain a doctor's degree in arts, science or any other faculty by the value payable post. Mr. Karve's proposed institution may be called by any other name. But if

it is to be known as a university, it must have very many more constituents than a scratch senate and a schedule of degrees, which are all that the published scheme provides. Let it not be supposed that we are making much of a name. One of the most crying educational needs of the time is that the connotation of the term university should be maintained at the highest level if higher education in India is not to become a mere name. If you lower the standard of a university for women to-day, you will be very much tempted to do the same to-morrow for men also. It is of prime importance, therefore, to scrutinise jealously any proposal which is likely to have the effect of debasing the educational currency. If we are to use terms in violent disregard of their accepted meaning, merely to humour the vanity of girls and their parents, we can suggest a far more inexpensive scheme than Professor Karve's. Let every household, on payment of a small annual subscription, be treated as an 'affiliated' college, and degrees conferred on its female members on their husbands' certifying that they possess sufficient education to satisfy their (the husbands') requirements. The husband is the best judge of the functions which his wife has to fulfil in the domestic and social economy, and the conferring of degrees on the certificate of husbands to the fact that their wives are educated to their satisfaction, is calculated to give effect more completely to one of the two underlying principles of Professor Karve's scheme.

That brings us to what we have called the social philosophy of the scheme. 'It is based,' said the learned Professor in his National Social Conference address, 'upon the recognition of two principles. (1) That the most natural and, therefore, efficient medium of instruction is the learner's mother-tongue, (2) And secondly that women as a class have different functions to fulfil in the social economy from those of men.' We are not at present considering the first principle, which is sound enough, though its application may require to be adjusted to circumstances in countries situated as India is at present. It is the second principle which constitutes the social philosophy of the scheme. In a later passage of his address, the eminent Professor elaborates it thus: 'We must recognize that both national and social economy require that women should occupy a station of their own distinct from that of men. That they are as integral a part of the social organism as men is beyond question, but that the office they have to fill is different, though equal—perhaps greater—in importance, is equally true. If men and women, therefore, are to be fitted by education to bear their own respective shares in the preservation, development and evolution towards perfection of the whole community, they must be brought up on two different lines. The differentiation in the educational

courses must correspond in time and nature approximately to the differentiation in their conscious individuality.' The Professor, perhaps, feared that he had gone too far, for he immediately added: 'This does not imply, let me assure you, that the two lines of education should be absolutely independent of each other and mutually exclusive. For after all, whether men or women, they are members of mankind and as such they are at bottom one. In social functions, in life's responsibilities and in spheres of work they may differ; but in spirit, in humanity, they are one. As far, therefore, as the development and unfolding of their common human nature is concerned, their education must take a common form and shape,' and so on. But notwithstanding all this need for correlation, the fact remains that the scheme is based on the principle that women as a class have different functions to fulfil in the social economy from those of men, and that, therefore, they should have a different education. We must say, with all respect to Professor Karve, that he is repeating a common prejudice and that, in fact, his whole scheme is the outcome of that prejudice. When the eminent Professor speaks of different functions and of educating women to fulfil them, what are the functions he is thinking of? Is he thinking of social or is he thinking of natural functions? If the former, have all men and all classes of men identical functions in life? Are we going to have separate universities on the basis of occupation? Are we going to have a university for the depressed classes? If it is natural functions that Professor Karve has in view, does he seriously believe that any education in a university is needed to teach women to fulfil them? Nature never leaves the due performance of the functions she designs for any individual or species, depending on the provision of teaching in a university, men's or women's? Most of our girls, we are told, are destined for marriage. Are not most of our boys, also, destined for it? Why should a man like Professor Karve base a scheme on the acceptance of the degrading idea that marriage is and must necessarily be the extinguisher of all the large number of functions which woman, by virtue of her humanity, has in common with men? After all, proportionately how much of the life of normal human beings—and not of the morbidly sexual ones—do sexual functions take up? The social philosophy underlying this scheme is a retrograde one. It is only a little better than that of Manu and of the modern neurotic in mortal dread of the Suffragette. Nobody denies that females have a few natural functions which males have not, but this difference is not peculiar to human beings, and is no argument for a separate university. There are no sex distinctions in philosophy and science. A special university for women to enable them to fulfil the functions which society at present assigns to them, will prove to be a potent instrument for

perpetuating the present position of woman which Mr. Karve described accurately in his address to the National Social Conference. We do not think the scheme will succeed: it certainly does not deserve to succeed. What it may do is to lead to divided counsels, and to further postponement of progress along the lines that are ready to hand, on the ground that public opinion is not ripe for action. We can only hope that the diversion created by Professor Karve's scheme will be over by the time that the war comes to an end, when Government may be expected to do something."

IN an article devoted to a review of what has been accomplished by existing Universities in India *United India and Native States* writes as follows: Doubtless many other causes have been at work, but no thoughtful observer can doubt that the Universities have had a large share in producing the beneficent results enumerated.

"In spite of all disadvantages, within sixty years we have made a progress which is simply miraculous. The homely inhabitants of distant villages and remote corners of the land have learned to appreciate the benefits conferred on them by a benign Government. They have learned that their grievances will be attended to, and truth and justice held up, by a Government whose law is no respecter of persons. They have understood that the tax is paid by them for their protection and not to add to the luxury of the tax collectors. They have begun to realize that village officials cannot tyrannize over them with impunity. They go to law courts where the Bench and the Bar are adorned by University men whose uprightness and honesty have displaced the avarice and cunning of those who warped the scales of justice and oppressed the weak and the poor. They live in houses with larger doors and windows and higher roofs and wider rooms, understanding the importance of light and ventilation. They know that the fruits in their gardens and the corn in their fields are quite secure from the depredations of the thief and the robber, and that the harder they work in them, the longer they can enjoy the right of tenancy. They believe that epidemics can be prevented and health improved and sustained through the observance of certain laws of nature hitherto unknown to them. They have commenced to see that village banks are more paying than the banks which their women carry about them and that Co-operative Credit Societies are safer than the relentless sowcar and the exacting money-lender."

ALL who are anxious to see local industries developed will be disappointed with the conclusions reached by Mr. Marsden the dyeing expert, after careful experiments with various dyestuffs. In his report

to the Government issued last month, Mr. Marsden says that the results of his investigation are definite and have convinced him that the indigenous materials are incapable of meeting the demands which have been created by the developments in the manufacture of synthetic colours. The Indian public and dyers have become so accustomed to synthetic dyes that only the impossibility of obtaining these would afford any hope of the use of the indigenous materials. The synthetic dyes set the standard and the indigenous dye materials with their dull shade and with few exceptions, general lack of fastness will find no favour with the Indian public.

IN the address of the Dewan of Travancore to the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly we note with pleasure the statement that the Government are devoting special attention to the encouragement of private agencies in the field of education. The annual rate of grant per institution rose from Rs. 190 to Rs. 218, "The Government recognise the desirability of leaving secondary education in a very large measure to voluntary effort and will afford every encouragement to private agencies in the direction of opening more secondary schools". This declaration is in accordance with the principles of education so frequently laid down by the Government of India.

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

Outlines of Industrial History. By Edward Cressy, (Macmillan & Co., 1915, Price 3s. 6d.)

THE most striking novelty of this particular attempt to produce a satisfactory brief summary of English Industrial History is that fifty-four pages are devoted to the whole history of civilisation up to the year 1700, and the remainder of the book to the development of industry and its social consequences in the last two centuries. A very difficult task is thus undertaken by the writer in the first part of his book. It may be doubted if any competent historian could be induced to attempt such a task; and it is no easier for a writer whose previous studies have evidently been purely in the field of more recent history. We cannot say that Mr. Cressy has had any success in the preliminary part of his book. In some cases his failure is no greater than might fairly be expected. For instance on page 40 we have "The Merchant Adventurers had traded singly, and were only united for the purposes of securing concessions and crushing competition." This is obviously

a very bad and misleading account of the type of organisation represented by the Merchant Adventurers ; but it would not be possible to give a satisfactory account in no greater space than the author probably felt he had available. Again we have inaccuracies in detail, such as might naturally be expected. For instance, we read page 43 that Sir Francis Drake in 1591 brought water to Plymouth from the source of the Meavy on Sheep's Tor, and that work was carried out in the face of natural difficulties only. There is here a nice little collection of errors. The source of the Meavy is not on Sheep's Tor. The intake of water was not at the source of the river, but about midway in its course. It was not Sir Francis Drake that brought the water to Plymouth, but the Plymouth Corporation ; and there were political as well as natural difficulties in carrying out the work, one being the expected opposition of Sir Francis Drake himself, who was however induced by the Corporation by the payment of a sum of £300 to forego his own opposition and to ward off that in other quarters. The whole story is given in the late Mr. R. N. Worth's *History of Plymouth*, but it is pardonable in our author not to have consulted that work, and to have reproduced the current myth. Similarly we may pardon the rash and probably incorrect statement on page 4 that flocks and herds were reared before the beginning of agriculture. Mr. Cressy *may* have been aware of the controversy on the question whether the agricultural life began before or after the pastoral, and for the sake of clearness and brevity have thought it best to express his own opinion without reference to the case for the contrary one. On the other hand, he may not have known that such a controversy existed.

Such excuses as these however cannot be found for a number of vital historical blunders in the most elementary and fundamental facts of the Industrial History of the Middle Ages and Tudor Period. We have the extraordinary doctrine propounded that enclosure became necessary at the time of the Black Death in order to provide for the isolation of the best breeds of sheep and cattle from the common herd,—as though the manorial tenants of the fourteenth century, or their lords, had grasped the principles of scientific sheep and cattle breeding, which were discovered by Bakewell and his colleagues in the eighteenth century. We have the statement that "Enclosures still went on, though to a diminishing extent, after 1500." It was about 1500 that the movement of enclosure for sheep rearing became vigorous. Similarly the whole Tudor legislation from 1489 to 1597 for the purposes of preventing rural depopulation and the diminution of tillage is entirely misrepresented by our author's phrase "Some attempt was made to put a stop to the practice in the reign of Henry VII and again in the reign of Henry VIII." With Mr. Tawney's well-known work on the

subject available, such blunders as these are inexcusable. On the allied subject of the consolidation of holdings again we are told that this "continued well into the seventeenth century." Even if Mr. A. H. Johnson's book on the 'Disappearance of the Small Landowner' were not available, the suggestion that consolidation of holdings did not take place in the 18th and 19th centuries would still be extraordinary. But perhaps the worst example of inaccuracy is to be found in the account on page 37 of the development of the system of apprenticeship and of the legislation in relation to it. We read, "When a man found that he could sell more yarn than his family could spin or weave, he took in apprentices, and the wages and other conditions of employment of these were minutely regulated by an Act in 1563—an Act which remained in force until 1802, and was then only repealed so far as pauper children were concerned." It must be only a slip when Mr. Cressy wrote about a man's family weaving something for the man to sell as yarn! but apart from this there is here displayed complete ignorance of the whole Apprenticeship System, the part played in its enforcement by the Act of 1563 and the series of steps taken in the 18th century to limit the force of that Act. The final repeal of the Apprenticeship Act in 1814 is ignored; and nothing could be more misleading than to represent Sir Robert Peel's Act of 1802 for the protection of the pauper apprentices employed in the cotton spinning mills as a partial repeal of the Elizabethan Act. Now this is a fundamental matter. Like the enclosure question, and the question of consolidation of holdings, it belongs to the very elements of industrial history. The writer who cannot be fairly accurate on such points as these has no business to write the Industrial history of the period at all. It is to be hoped, in the unlikely event of a second edition, of the book being reached, that the first three chapters will be either omitted or entirely rewritten. Of the remainder of the book, the part dealing with the industrial history of the last two hundred years, we can only say that though much better than the first part, it is not good enough to justify us in recommending the whole volume for use in schools or colleges.

GILBERT SLATER.

The Orient Pearls: Indian Folklore. By Shovona Devi. Macmillan and Co., Ltd. Price 2s. 6d. nett.

READERS of the Magazine will welcome this volume of folk tales by Miss Devi, who is the niece of Rabindranath Tagore. The stories have been for the most part collected by the authoress from illiterate village folk, and she owes not a few of them 'to a blind man with a retentive memory, and a great capacity for telling a story.' We could

have wished that the publishers had seen fit to have the volume illustrated by an Indian artist, for it would have added greatly to the attractiveness of what is sure to be a very popular book.

LITERARY NOTES.

A NOTABLE product of Indian scholarship is Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy's work on *The Orāons of Chōtā Nāgpur* (Ranchi: 10s. 6d. nett), to which Dr. A. C. Haddon contributes an introduction. We trust that the book will be accorded the reception it well deserves, and the supreme compliment of emulation.

A VERY timely publication is *The Balkans* (Clarendon Press, 5s. nett), an account of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Rumania and Turkey, by a group of writers of whom the best known is probably Mr. D. G. Hogarth. Its aim is indicated by a sentence in his preface: "If we have not been able to write about the Near East...altogether *sine ira et studio*, we have tried to remember that each of its peoples has a case." Their sane, yet sympathetic, presentation of that case reflects the greatest credit on the authors, and on the English conception of scholarship.

A VIVID presentation of what the War really means to those who are actually fighting is given by a volume of short stories, *The Lieutenant and Others*, by "Sapper" (Hodder and Stoughton, 1s. nett). It may help to bring home to some of us what others are bearing that we may live in peace.

MESSRS. MACMILLAN are issuing in pamphlet form Mr. Kipling's invaluable articles on *The Fringes of the Fleet*. We heartily commend them to all who wish to know how the German "blockade" is being circumvented by the British Navy.

STUDENTS and teachers of history have often had to deplore our defect, in comparison with the Germans, in the matter of atlases. The great historical atlas edited by Mr. Lane Poole is admirable; but it is too bulky for casual use, too costly for most private purses. We have had nothing to compare with Putzger's *Historischer Schul-Atlas*—to name only one German example. The Oxford University Press has done something to remove the reproach in *An Historical Atlas of Modern Europe from 1789 to 1914* (3s. 6d. net). The fact that Mr. C. Grant Robertson is responsible for the historical material, and Mr. J. G. Bartholomew for the cartography, is a sufficient guarantee of its excellence.

THE Poet Laureate has produced what will probably rank as one of the most remarkable anthologies ever made. It is called *The Spirit of Man* (Longmans, 5s. nett), and is deliberately intended to hearten and uplift those who feel the burden of the War. Wide in range, including translations from Hebrew, Greek, Latin and many modern languages, as well as passages in French, it achieves, like a cunning mosaic, the author's design of displaying the scope of human personality by the selections from many ages and climes which he has brought together.

A LITTLE KNOWN country and people are revealed to us in *Finland and the Finns*, by Arthur Reade (Methuen, 10s. 6d. nett). With many conditions of primitive life hardly yet left behind, the Finns are nevertheless one of the most cultivated races of Europe, whose distinctive contribution the historian of civilisation must note attentively. This attractive book may help to make them more widely known.

THAT vigorous and stimulating writer, Prof. Wm. Ridgeway, has made a fresh contribution to the study of the origins of the Greek drama, *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* (Cambridge University Press, 15s. nett). It is of the more interest to us, as a large part of the mass of evidence which he so suggestively gathers in support of his contentions is drawn from India.

MR. A. CLUTTON-BROCK, whose articles in *The Times Literary Supplement* at the beginning of the War made so profound an impression, has published a remarkable satire in verse, called *Simpson's Choice* (Omega Workshops, 12s. 6d. nett). It represents a man awaking after death to find everything just the same—a moral indicated by Browning in *Easter-Day*, that this world is hell enough for those who are merely content with this world.

MADRAS readers will note with interest the favourable review given by *The Athenaeum* to Prof. Patrick Geddes' *Cities in Evolution* (Williams and Norgate, 7s. 6d. nett), certainly one of the most stimulating and original contributions to the science of "town-planning"—which, if not strictly invented in recent years has only of late received a distinctive name.

THE twelfth volume of the *Epigraphia Indica* contains a note on the 'Tirukkalittattai Inscription of Sundara Chola' by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, B.A., M.R.A.S., whose work is well known to readers of the *Magazine*. Mr. Subrahmanyam has made an attempt to re-arrange

the Chola pedigree given by Professor Hultzsh and his conclusions have already met with the approbation of an expert on the subject, like Rao Sahib H. Krishnasastri.

SCIENCE NOTES.

PROF. BOTTOMLEY of King's College, London, has been attempting for some time past to prepare from peat a new fertiliser. The agriculturists and horticulturalists, not omitting the general public of Great Britain have been awaiting the results with interest. Farmyard manure is constantly increasing in price, while decreasing in quantity, and artificial fertilisers really are merely excellent auxiliaries. In his little book "The Spirit of the Soil" Mr. G. D. Knox briefly recounts the story of bacterised peat as a fertiliser.

CERTAIN aerobic bacteria liberate from peat large quantities of humates which are soluble and are doubly serviceable to plants because they themselves are a source of food for plants and they also act as a culture-medium in which nitrogen-fixing bacteria multiply rapidly. It is largely to this nitrogen content that Prof. Bottomley originally attributed the fertilising powers of bacterised peat. Many and severe tests have been carried out at Kew and these show in a striking manner that the addition of bacterised peat to a potting compost causes a great increase in growth and vigour, though only about 10 per cent. of the compost is humogen, *i.e.* the bacterised peat. This percentage in tons per acre is so great that the fertiliser cannot be applied to field crops with success.

FOLLOWING up the suggestion that the special powers of bacterised peat are to be found elsewhere than in the nitrogen content, Prof. Bottomley now claims to have isolated from the peat special stimulators of growth which he has named auximones, which in the language of Mr. Knox are the spirit of the soil. Prof. Keeble, criticising the claims of Prof. Bottomley, considers that the evidence for the auximones is not strong enough as yet to bear the burden. Fresh trials will have to be made before both bacterised peat and the auximones successfully demonstrate the claims made for them.

SINCE the battle of Agincourt in 1415 and even before that date dysentery has been the constant companion of all campaigns and, in the words of Sir William Osler, has been more destructive to our armies than powder and shot. In the present war the disease has

prevailed both on the eastern and western fronts. In Gallipoli within a few months 78,000 men were invalidated largely on its account.

THERE are two kinds of dysentery (1) amoebic which is practically tropical, the cause of which is a protozoon *Entamoeba histolytica*, and (2) bacillary which is world wide in its extent and which is apt to occur in epidemics, thus differing from the amoebic variety. For the bacillary type various bacilli are known and have been isolated. For the treatment of the amoebic type of the disease emetine is used. It is practically a specific for the amoebic variety, while for the bacillary form anti-dysentery serum is found to be very successful.

ANIMAL phosphorescence is a most interesting and absorbing subject to the zoologist. Especially important from this point of view are the insects, among which the coleoptera (beetles) have almost a monopoly of light-emission. Among these the glow worms and the fireflies are known to all. In the Lampyridae (glow worms and fireflies) the luminous organs, when present, generally are found in both sexes and are placed near the end of the abdomen, light being shown ventrally. In the common European glowworm the adult female practically alone is luminescent: the male has the organs and does emit light but only for a very short time after reaching maturity. Even the eggs, larvae and pupae are the possessors of photogenic organs, the whole egg glowing faintly, though no definite organs of light have been made out as yet.

LUCIOLA the common firefly of Europe is very well known especially in Northern Italy. Only the males fly, just as in the case of the glowworm. The female glowworm is wingless but the female firefly has wings but never uses them, remaining on the ground among grass and flashing her light at regular intervals in order to attract the males who fly overhead.

Both these common forms pale into insignificance when compared with the "railway" larva of Brazil and the Argentine. Its head glows brightly with a red light while along each side of the body a row of yellow or green lights flash more constantly. This supposed larva turned out to be the mature but degenerate and completely larviform female of a beetle. The female is really a degenerate adult and not a paedogenic larva as has been suggested.

THE cause of the phosphorescence both in plants and in animals has lately been made out by Dubois, who holds that it is the result of an oxidising zymase upon an organic proteid in the presence of water. In the case of luminous insects the proteid which he calls luciferine,

is contained as granules in the photogenic organ; while the zymase, called luciferase, is contained in the blood. The zymase has been replaced experimentally by a chemical oxidising agent *cf.* $K MnO_4$, $Pb O_2$ or H_2O_2 . The control of the light seems to be done by the insect opening or shutting the large spiracles which admit air to the tracheae which so plentifully supply the luminous organs.

CENTRAL AMERICA lies between the North and South Americas and by some it is considered to form a transition area between the Nearctic and the Neotropical zoogeographical regions of the world. The total number of Mammalian species is 181, of which at least 100 are Neotropical while not more than 60 are Nearctic. It thus follows that Central America along with South America should form the whole Neotropical region. From the distribution of the reptiles and amphibians Dr. Günther considered it advisable to make Central America a transition area *i.e.*, one in which typical Nearctic and Neotropical forms are both found. Mr. C. Tate Regan however from his work on the fishes of this area has no hesitation in placing it in the Neotropical region.

The War and After is a little volume just written by Sir Oliver Lodge in which he discusses the past, the present and the future, of which the last is by far the most interesting part. As a reviewer in *Nature* remarks "Sir Oliver Lodge is clearly one of those who were well acquainted with the lovable, friendly and homely past aspects of the majority of our present foes and lulled by these recollections he has failed to notice that the modern German has but little resemblance to his fore-fathers." Sir Oliver has the firm belief that after the war madness will depart and leave us with the kindly Germans of his early recollections. "An enormous amount of what they are committing just now" he says "has nothing to do with their soul." But "what they are committing" shows us that they might as well have no soul at all. Prussia is not alone to blame; the Bavarians in 1870 having a very bad reputation, while the criminal statistics of Germany before the outbreak of hostilities were a sufficient indication of the type of foe with whom we had to deal.

THE latest news about the famous Piltdown skull of *Eoanthropus dawsoni* is that jawbone and skull don't belong to the same individual! Mr. Gerrit S. Miller, who has been making casts of the original remains, has concluded that the skull is human while the jawbone is that of an extinct chimpanzee. If this be so then the name proposed by him for that chimpanzee is *Pan vetus*. We await with interest the next development regarding this remarkable skull.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE February number of the *Contemporary Review* opens with two articles on 'Military Compulsion' by two members of Parliament. Mr. Ellis J. Griffith deals with the question from the point of view of a thorough-going supporter of the Military Service Act. When the war broke out, it was obvious to many that there were two matters that called for immediate attention, *viz.*, national organisation and personal service. In effect these constitute one problem, *viz.*, how to organise the state so that every citizen may perform the duty for which he or she is best fitted. This means the organisation of the state for many and separate purposes, such as (1) obtaining men for the Army and the Navy, (2) obtaining equipment and munitions for both these services, (3) providing the means of carrying on the internal trade of the nation, (4) manufacturing goods for export, and (5) fulfilling the commitments entered into with the nation's allies. The real need of the nation is the adjustment of these separate but interdependent functions so that its contribution to the cause of the Allies may be the maximum possible. There are two ways of accomplishing this, says Mr. Ellis Griffith. One is by voluntary effort, and the other by the introduction of state control. In Mr. Ellis Griffith's view the first of these methods can never give the desirable and essential co-ordination of military and industrial functions. The supreme need at the beginning of the war was not merely, perhaps not mainly, a large army but the one adjustment of all the power and strength of the country for the prosecution of the war. This the voluntary method, which as the Prime Minister said, operates in a haphazard, capricious, and, to some extent, unjust way between different classes, and even between individuals, failed to secure. Hence the necessity for the Military Service Act.

In justification of the Act Mr. Ellis Griffith recalls a declaration made by Lord Haldane to the effect that the common law of the country requires every subject of the realm to assist the Sovereign in repelling invasion and in the defence of the realm; and points out that in substance Britain is defending the realm as truly on the fields of France as if invasion had actually taken place. Advocates of the voluntary system, he says, seem to forget that every citizen of a state sacrifices a certain measure of liberty in order to obtain a certain measure of safety; that the basis of society is the use of force in the interests of the community as a whole. This is recognised in time of

peace, and it is just as applicable to a time of war. But even if the advocates of the voluntary system were right in their contention, Mr. Ellis Griffith maintains, it is better for the citizens of a country to lose individual liberty for a season than to sacrifice national liberty.

Mr. W. Llewelyn Williams deals with military compulsion from quite a different standpoint. With the introduction into Parliament of the Military Service Bill—the first conscriptionist measure ever introduced—national unity, Mr. Llewelyn Williams says, became a thing of the past. The greater part of his article is an attempt to prove that the voluntary system had not failed. The Derby scheme was designed to ascertain the number of men, married or unmarried, of forty years of age or under, who were prepared to offer their services to the country; but the purpose of the scheme was destroyed when under Mr. Asquith's pledge it became a question as to how many unmarried men enlisted or attested and how many married men were willing to attest under the protection of the pledge. The distinction between married and unmarried which was thus set up was unreal and illogical, Mr. Llewelyn Williams says; it does not obtain in any conscriptionist country; and it was scoffed at by conscriptionists themselves, though they were willing to benefit by it. He characterises the Military Service Act as trumpery and limited in its scope; but, he says, the real question is whether it is the thin end of the wedge—the first step towards industrial conscription.

The Bishop of Winchester deals with the question whether the clergy of military age should leave their work and take their part with their fellows in the ranks. Many of the younger clergy, he says, have longed to be off and have a hand in the hard and dangerous work in which so many of their fellow-citizens are engaged. And at first sight, there is a great deal to be said for their being allowed to go. But in his own opinion there is a great deal more to be said on the other side. True judgment in the matter depends on how the real value of spiritual forces and spiritual work is estimated. If the Church is to do in the coming days its mingled work of thought, duty, encouragement, sympathy, nurture, and evangelisation, there is need at home for every ounce of energy which those of the clergy not appointed to military chaplaincies can put into their work. The nation may easily suffer spiritual damage that will far outweigh any material gain derived from enlistment of the clergy. The Bishop goes into some detail as to the reasons why ordained men should continue in the work for which they were ordained, and in conclusion gives expression to the hope that those who differ from him will recognise that if the clergy hold back from the fighting line it is not because they are craven or unpatriotic.

Dr. Ronald Burrows writes on 'Philhellenism in England and France.' Those who stand for Philhellenism, he says, have done what they could since the Balkan war of 1912 to guide and correct the public opinion of England and France regarding Greece. They find, however, that they have a work to do which they have hitherto somewhat neglected, and that is to explain the meaning and the importance of that public opinion to the Greek world. Philhellenism in England and France was largely bound up with the personality of Venizelos; and it was taken for granted by Philhellenes that Greece had put herself in his hands in order to fulfil the great Hellenic ideal of the recreation of a Hellenic kingdom coextensive with the boundaries of the race. It was a great shock to them, therefore, to find last year that there were influences in Greece that counted besides Venizelos. Greece, Dr. Burrows says, is on the brink of a volcano, and she does not know it. Any danger there may be of a German or Bulgarian invasion is as nothing to the danger that would overwhelm Greece if England and France were to judge her traitor. The article under review was cabled to Greece at a critical moment in the recent negotiations, and was published, with slight omissions, in the *Patris*, the leading Venizelist organ.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

WHILE the February number of this Review is not so full of war articles as some of its predecessors, those which it contains are of very great interest. Dr. Shadwell in this and the preceding number, with which we were not able to deal last month, has two articles on *The only Way to lasting Peace* and *Victory and the Alternative*. The two articles can be conveniently dealt with together. Dr. Shadwell is impelled to write by the talk not only in irresponsible quarters, but in Parliament, about an economic barrier against German commerce after the War is over. He first sets out to prove that such action, even if it were in itself desirable, is hardly possible. Its ostensible aim is so to cripple Germany so that she cannot recover sufficiently to attack Europe again. Dr. Shadwell feels strongly that this conception is utterly wrong in itself, besides being futile. Its futility is due to the impossibility of preventing Germany from manufacturing what she pleases, plus the impossibility of preventing anyone else from buying what they want to buy; a Government can make this difficult and expensive, but they cannot make it impossible. If people wish to buy German goods, they will do so, and the Germans are quite clever enough to be able to make others wish to buy their goods.

But the idea of an economic war after the military one is over, is in itself wrong. It will lead inevitably to increased bitterness and to 'incidents' out of which another war, or series of wars, will spring, so

that there will be no end to the struggle. We cannot prevent Germany from one day recovering from the crippling effects of this war, and we ourselves will also be crippled. Dr. Shadwell contends that the Germans will recover more quickly than we shall, because they are more thrifty, more industrious, less prone to quarrels between labour and capital, and used to a lower, cheaper, standard of living. Be this as it may, they will certainly one day recover, and if we have made their recovery more difficult, we shall have to face a war of revenge, in which we may not be so favourably situated as we are now.

But the overwhelming objection to Dr. Shadwell's mind against an economic war is that it postulates an unsuccessful military war. Its object is to keep Germany from attacking her neighbours, which is precisely the object of the military war. It has the additional disadvantage that it cannot be permanently successful. There is, however, another plea put forward for such action being taken, namely that it is to be a mark of disapproval of German methods and principles, and is to continue for only so long as Germany remains in her present frame of mind. It surely is at least doubtful whether an economic war can produce such a change in German opinion, if a military war has failed to do so. Surely Germans will hate us all the more, not learn to love us by being left out in the cold.

Dr. Shadwell's next point needs to be driven home wherever his words can be made to reach; unless Germany changes her mind, we cannot make peace with her, to transfer the war from the province of arms to that of commerce is in the highest degree dangerous to ourselves, and we gain nothing but the temptation to be off our guard. We must therefore abandon all idea of negotiating a peace with Germany until she has changed her mind. By change of mind we all mean the abandonment of her belief that she has a mission to dominate and coerce the whole world by whatever means seem most effective. Germany must give up the idea that she alone is civilized and is therefore a law unto herself.

Dr. Shadwell points out that this can only be done by smashing those idols in which she now trusts. Prove to Germany that her system of government, her theory of international politics, her system of finance, and her army are not the best, and there is some hope that she will change them. This cannot be done by an economic war, it must be done by an irretrievable defeat in the field, a defeat so stupendous that it cannot be disguised. The British blockade is helping to this end, but it does not touch the idol of the army, that must be defeated at whatever cost and the war must be carried on until the Germans turn against themselves, then there will be no need of an economic war.

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE *Fortnightly Review* for January begins with an article by Dr. Dillon on British administration with the title 'Our Nearest and Dearest Enemies'. His criticism is that, "if we really desire the ends, we must resolutely employ efficacious means".

In the first place we have been slow to recognise that Germany's militarism must impose on us a like system, though not necessarily a like temper. Maximilian Harden has catalogued our mistakes. We should for instance, have secured the Dardanelles before the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* got in. Another blunder was to suppose that Venizelos could reconstitute the Balkan League; the signatory of the treaty of Bucharest was about the last person to whom that task should have been entrusted. Then steps should have been taken to keep the hypnotic power of the Germans over the Kings of Greece, Bulgaria and Rumania from becoming fixed. A demonstration at Constantinople and a counter to the German propaganda in the press were the means indicated.

Venizelos expected sacrifices from Serbia that he had no right to expect; but the Allies should have been firm and have settled the matter one way or other. In March, 1915 the German-Austrian-Bulgarian plan of campaign against Serbia was already drafted, revised and approved in Berlin. An offer was made to Britain by the King of the Hellenes in September or October, 1914, to help Serbia if support were guaranteed by Britain. The guarantee was given; and then the offer was thrown away.

Then discussions began with Bulgaria. The Balkan powers behaved badly, but the Allies might have expected as much and they had every reason to expect treachery from Bulgaria, but apparently they did not. In February another opportunity came of getting the help of Greece, in an attack on the Dardanelles, but Constantine wisely decided against it as certain to fail.

Then a new Greek Government offered to invade Thrace, and out of regard for Bulgaria the proposal was not refused but actually left unanswered. Thereafter an illness of King Constantine delayed things for a time. A military council held at Sofia in early summer decided that the Central Empires were bound to win. Then once more the Allies tried to buy Bulgaria off. The Bulgarians were at last allowed practically all their demands by Serbia; but King Ferdinand was not in earnest. Bulgaria mobilised; Serbia resolved to invade it, but was discouraged by the Allies. This proved serious, as it prevented Serbian retirement on Salonika; that is the Serbian story, but Dr. Dillon's local inquiries show that Serbia had not sufficient strength for such an attack. The Allies were depending on Greece, and if the

Serbs had been in greater strength in the south, Greece would have been more likely to move. Venizelos understood that the King had given his permission for the landing and apparently for co-operation. The King on second thoughts decided to withdraw it, but Venizelos had already made the arrangement. But when the Allied troops landed they were already too late, say, by three weeks.

Dr. Dillon concludes :—One may hope, therefore, that before it is too late the consciousness of gigantic power which is stirring the nation into quicker life may shape its thoughts and deeds in noble harmony, and move it to create a new system of governance worthy of the British race.

THE next article, by Archibald Hurd, is called 'British Commerce in War-time ; the Abuse of Sea-power'. He points out what is surely sufficiently obvious, that the continuance at a very high level of the import trade of Britain makes the raising of money for Government purposes difficult. The price of commodities has risen : the index number given by the *Statist* for June, 1914 was 81'2, for October, 1915, 110'0.

Mr. Hurd's fear is that the nation is left so impoverished that it is unable to bear the cost of an adequate navy in face of increasing competition.

MR. GEOFFREY PYKE gives an interesting, if somewhat disjunct, account of the chief features of Denmark's position in "the European system", in its psychological, politico-diplomatic, and military aspects.

Denmark has had forty-eight years of peace, and its wealth is remarkably evenly distributed. Scandinavians normally have little interest in *Weltpolitik*.

Immediately on the outbreak of war, Germany sent a peremptory demand that the Danes should mine the Great and Little Belts and the Sound ; failing this, she would do it herself. For Denmark to do it would be a breach of well-established custom, so she informed Britain, who gave her permission : indeed Britain could not do otherwise, as she was not in a position to force Denmark's hand.

Denmark and Norway are very closely connected ; but Sweden is not so friendly ; Sweden, for instance, is inclined to be hostile to Russia as Denmark is to Germany. But the Danes cannot afford to have as neighbour a Germany yearning for revenge. She had many causes for fear. Sweden's hostility to Russia might upset the situation, and Britain might repeat her high handed act of 1807. Copenhagen dominates the politics of Denmark. The Danish Government, feeling more keenly the pressure of German influence, were a little out of

harmony with the people. Yet the people subjected themselves to a complete censorship.

Denmark realises that it is seapower and not military force which will tell as far she is concerned. The German fleet is perfectly correct in avoiding battle, and Nelson under similar circumstances did the same. If Britain develops a fleet twice the strength of the German fleet, we might force the Sound and so secure the command of the seas in the Baltic, by joining the Russians. Mr. Pyke says (we do not quite follow) that this the Germans are bound to prevent and their way of doing so would be to seize Copenhagen.

MR. FRANCIS GUBBLE'S 'Leaves from a Ruhleben Notebook' is very interesting. At first things were very depressing, but they improved gradually. The story went that both the commandants insisted that the prisoners should not be deprived of their right of smoking. The merchants were the slowest in taking heart, as they had been more thoroughly deprived of occupation than professional men and sportsmen. The scholars were busy: "they analysed the German character; they expounded the teaching of Treitschke to those who were unacquainted with the works of that philosopher, and showed how the whole trend of German thought had led up to the sacking of Louvain and the sinking of the *Lusitania*. They also discussed the German genius for discovering 'substitutes' for this, that, and the other necessary of life; and one of them—a Professor of Deutsche Kultur whom I used to chaff for having taken the trouble to specialise in such a subject—promised me that the first lecture which he delivered when he got back to his seat of learning should bear the title of 'Kulturersatz'. And, if I am any judge of men, that particular professor may be relied upon to rule it in". Ruhleben became a place of learning with primary, secondary and university education. One coloured gentleman was found among the G's at a roll-call though his name was Martin. "Well, Martin doesn't begin with a G, does it"? "I don't know, sah. I've only learnt as far as F, sah". The sportsmen were equally zealous.

Later, various social organizations were started. The camp got a cinematograph and ran its own kitchen, canteen and dry-goods store. A club, "The summer house", and a rather exclusive one, was started, and others followed.

Yet, after all, life in Ruhleben was in many cases very trying, and it was only the English habit of making the best of a bad job that kept up the spirits.

MR. ARTHUR WAUGH contributes a discriminating survey of Stephen Phillip's work. His life can be shortly told. He was the son of an

eminent divine, was educated at Stratford-on-Avon and Peterborough, abandoned cramming in preparation for the Civil Service for the stage, where he did not distinguish himself, the ghost in *Hamlet* being his best performance. Next he took a post in an army tutor's, and while there published "Marpessa", "Eremus", and "Christ in Hades". Then his plays were sufficient to give him a livelihood; *Herod* was produced in 1900 and *Paolo and Francesca* in 1902. *Ulysses* and *Nero* followed. Success spoiled his workmanship, and Mr. Waugh does not consider his subsequent work worthy of being named.

Phillips began to write at a fortunate time. Tennyson's influence long kept things stagnant, and Swinburne's and Morris's revolts had spent their force. He was not of their line, but a descendant of Marlowe; he was fond of rhetoric. He had no lyric impulse, his best work was in blank verse and the heroic couplet. His ear was not sensitive. The liberties he took in prosody do not seem so strange now as they did at first, but the matter is not yet settled. In subject he represents a tradition from the romanticists to realists like Masfield. Yet what gave him his popularity was his perception of a dramatic situation, his knowledge of how to use it to the full, largely gained on the stage and the strong emotion expressed, which promised something more living than Tennyson or Swinburne could give. It may have been merely the external machinery that he understood—in the interpretation and interplay of character the plays of Tennyson and Browning are better, yet that gave him a hearing and *Paolo and Francesca* is full of beauty and of beautiful lines. This, his first play, Mr. Waugh considers his best. His rhetoric degenerated into exaggeration and over-decoration.

MR. JULIUS M. PRICE, war artist to the *Illustrated London News*, describes what he saw on the Italian front. He considers the Italians of to-day better in physique and more sober in disposition than their fathers. He expects Gorizia to fall in the near future and the road to Trieste will then be open.

MR. CHARLES DAWBARN describes M. Briand's Cabinet and its problems. M. Briand began as a struggling barrister in a provincial town, and came to Paris as the organizer of a Socialist group; meanwhile he was acquiring great skill in oratory and debate. A speech on a strike riot gave him his start. His next opportunity was in connection with the measure for separating Church and State, when he took charge of the bill rescuing it from the partisans on both sides. Then, when he came to office as Premier, he broke a strike which threatened the postal and railway systems by calling up the

strikers as reservists; a bold stroke for a Socialist. He is displaying the same courage and decision in insisting that France and Britain should act as a unit against the common foe.

M. CAMBON has the curious title of General Secretary to the Foreign Office. He has had a varied training as prefect and ambassador; in diplomacy he is both well-informed and able.

General Gallieni pacified Madagascar with a good combination of promptness in the use both of force and of remedial measures. On returning he distinguished himself in manœuvres, and as Governor of Paris, he had the courage to fling an extemporised army in taxi-cabs and motor-buses against the German flank; the battle of the Marne is still a puzzle to us, but his action was one of the factors in that victory.

The other figures are less noteworthy; Admiral Locaze at the ministry of marine, M. Ribot as finance minister, M. Thomas as Under-Secretary for war in charge of munitions.

The pressing problem is how to continue the life of the country under war conditions and M. Briand is inclined to refer this to groups of departments.

COLLEGE NOTES.

THE Prize Distribution which could not be held as usual on the day following the Convocation, owing to delay in the arrival of prize books, was held on the 10th December. The prizes were given away by Surgeon-General Bannerman, while the customary anniversary address was delivered by Mr. Meston and the events of the year were reviewed for the benefit of the students by Dr. Skinner. Mr. Meston's address appeared in the January number of this Magazine; Dr. Skinner's review of events is embodied in the fuller and more formal Report of the College Council for 1915.

After recording the furlough and return from furlough of Mr. Moffat and Mr. Hogg, the Report speaks of Mr. Henderson who went on furlough in April last:—

AFTER he arrived at home, he applied to the Governing Board for leave to take up work in connexion with the army; and, leave having been granted, he joined the Royal Garrison Artillery with a commission as lieutenant. He maintains his connexion with the College; the arrangement being that, after the conclusion of the war, he shall complete his furlough, and thereafter return to work in Madras. He is now with his battery in France; and it is the earnest hope of all his

friends in the College that he will be brought safely through the war, and in due time resume his place among them.

Further changes in the staff are recorded thus :—

In November, Mr. Templeton, who joined the College in 1913 as a representative of the Church of Scotland on the staff, was granted leave on medical certificate, and returned home. His departure was deeply regretted. The College lost in him one who had shown himself possessed of eminent qualifications for his appointed work, and one who, during his short period of service, had endeared himself in a remarkable degree to the students with whom he came in contact. His connexion with the College has not yet formally terminated. But it has been decided that he shall not return; and the Council would take this opportunity of placing on record their appreciation of his services, their sympathy with him in his illness, and their hope that he will be speedily restored to health, and be spared for many years of useful work in the Church at home.

The place of Mr. Templeton as Superintendent of the School was taken by Mr. Angus. Mr. Angus, who is a distinguished graduate of Edinburgh University, joined the staff at the beginning of the year as temporary professor of Physics and Mathematics. He acted as professor of Physics in place of Mr. Moffat from the beginning of the Long Term; and the original arrangement was that he should similarly act during the Short Term of 1916 for Mr. Ross, when the latter should be on furlough. But on the emergence of the difficulty caused by Mr. Templeton's departure, Mr. Ross agreed to forego his furlough, and Mr. Angus, in consequence, was appointed to the charge of the School. The short period that elapsed between his appointment to the School and Mr. Moffat's return was satisfactorily provided for in the Science Department of the College by extra work most readily undertaken by the Lecturers and Demonstrator.

Mr. Chinnatambi Pillai, Assistant Professor of Mathematics, resigned in July, on his appointment as Professor of Mathematics in Pachaiyappa's College. Mr. Chinnatambi Pillai had been on the staff of the College for twenty-five years. He was an accomplished and successful teacher, conscientious in the discharge of his duties, and a man to whom his colleagues could always look for loyal and helpful co-operation.

Mr. Chinnatambi Pillai's place on the staff was filled by the appointment of Mr. A. Narasingh Rau, B.A. (Honours), a former student of the College, as a Lecturer in Mathematics. A vacancy was caused by the resignation in July of Mr. P. John Varugis, M.A., who was appointed to act as Lecturer in Philosophy in place of Mr. K. C. Chacko, M.A., when the latter was obliged by illness to relinquish his work in the College. Mr. Chacko felt himself so far recovered as to be able to resume work, and he was accordingly welcomed back to his old post. Mr. T. L. Venkataraman, B.A., was appointed in July to the tutorship in History which had been vacant since the resignation of Mr. Poonen, and at the same time Mr. K. Sanjiva Kamath, B.A., was appointed a tutor in English in place of Mr. H. S. Nanjundiah, B.A. (Honours), resigned. Mr. R. Krishnamurthi, M.A., tutor in English, and

Mr. S. Jagadisan, M.A., tutor in History, resigned in October, and were succeeded by Mr. John A. Muliyl, B.A. and Mr. E. V. Sundara Reddi, B.A. (Honours), respectively.

ATTENDANCE in the College may be judged from the average number on the roll and the average percentage of absentees.

The average number on the roll in the second or Short Term of 1914-15 was 837, 108 in the Honours classes, and 729 in the ordinary classes; and in the first or Long Term of 1915-16, 853, 116 in the Honours classes, and 737 in the ordinary classes. The average percentage of absentees was 7.1 or 7.9 in the Honours classes, and 6.3 in the ordinary classes.

The results achieved by the College in the University examinations were as follows:—

The College sent up 196 candidates for the Intermediate Examination, namely, thirty-five in Group I, forty-one in Group II, and 120 in Group III. Of these seventy-eight passed, twenty-two in Group I, six in the first class; six in Group II, two in the first class; and fifty in Group III, twelve in the first class. Sixteen 'distinctions' were obtained, two in Mathematics, one in Physics, two in Chemistry, three in Ancient History, five in Logic, and three in Languages.

For the ordinary B. A. Degree Examination, 183 candidates appeared from the College in English, and 196 in the various Sciences. Of the 183 who appeared in English, 116 passed, two in the first class. Of the 196 who appeared in Science, eleven belonged to Group I (Mathematics), of whom five passed; twenty-five to Group II (Physical Science), of whom twenty passed, one in the first class; seven to Group III (Natural Science), of whom six passed; thirty-four to Group IV (Mental and Moral Science), of whom thirty-one passed; and 119 to Group V (History), of whom ninety-six passed.

In connexion with the B.A. (Honours) Degree Examination, fifty-three candidates appeared from the College for the Preliminary Examination in English, and forty-two passed. For the Final Examination, thirty-three appeared; one in Mathematics, three in Zoology, two in Philosophy, fifteen in History, and twelve in English. Of these, two passed in Zoology, one in the second and one in the third class; two in Philosophy, one in the first and one in the second class; eleven in History, three in the second and eight in the third class; and nine in English, two in the second and seven in the third class. Of the nine who failed, eight were declared qualified for the ordinary degree. Mr. M. Seshadri, as having passed in the first class in Philosophy, was awarded the Samuel Satyanadhan Gold Medal by the University.

At the M.A. Degree Examination held under the Transitory Regulations, candidates for which take the same papers as candidates for the Honours Degree Examination, three former graduates from the College passed, one in Zoology, one in Philosophy, and one in History.

At the Peter Cator Higher Grade Examination students of the College obtained the first two prizes in the first class, being the only candidates placed in the first class; while five others obtained certificates of merit in the second class.

COMING to Finance, the income under the three heads of fees, Home Grant and Government Grant was as follows :—

The fees in the College amounted to Rs. 79,209-12-0, as compared with Rs. 77,542-14-0 in the previous year. Library and athletic fees paid by students amounted to Rs. 1,702, so that the total fee income of the College (as distinct from the School) was Rs. 80,911-12-0. This sum exceeds the fee income of last year by Rs. 1,713-14-0.

The grant from the Home Churches and Missionary Societies for the year realized Rs. 47,800-3-7, an amount practically indential with the sum of Rs. 47,665-15-3 received in 1914.

During the year there were received from Government two instalments of the teaching grant amounting to Rs. 30,000, and a grant of Rs. 3,697 for scientific apparatus and for books. For these grants the Council desires to express its thanks to Government.

The ordinary working expenses of School and College combined amounted in 1915 to the sum of Rs. 1,84,320-2-3, an amount which would have been greater but for the fact that several of the orders for the science department could not be executed owing to the difficulty which the home firms found in exporting chemicals.

By means of what was received from fees, from the contributing bodies, and from miscellaneous sources, the management met rupees 1,50,623 of this amount, while the balance of Rs. 33,697 was received from Government.

REVIEWING the financial situation the Report proceeds to observe :—

In the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the Council looked forward to 1916 with some apprehension. It felt that further reliance on a fee income which was already yielding Rs. 1,10,466. was to be deprecated ; and it realized that sooner or later the rigid economy practised in 1915 would have to be paid for by increased outlay. At the same time while it recognised the inadequacy of Government Grants made to the College it was unwilling to embarrass Government by any representation at the present time. Five weeks after the beginning of 1916, the apprehension of the Council was considerably relieved. Intimation was received that Government had been pleased to sanction for the official year 1915-16 the full amount of the teaching grant of the previous year and an additional sum of Rs. 5,000, thus bringing the amount of the grant for the year up to Rs. 39,500. Government states that it cannot guarantee the continuance of the additional amount. The Council would tender its grateful thanks for the grant which has been sanctioned, and would express the earnest hope that Government may see its way not to lessen the amount. The work which the College is doing, including, as it does, provision for Honours Classes which cannot from their very nature be remunerative, and inter-collegiate lectures with the Presidency College in English and Philosophy which obviate duplication of classes in these subjects, seems to the Council to afford good ground for very generous treatment of the College at the hands of Government.

Another reason for claiming generous treatment at the hands of Government is that, during the year all Muhammadan and Uriya students of the College, and all students belonging to the backward classes enumerated in the Grant-in-Aid Code have received their education at half the standard rate of fees. In this way the College has foregone the sum of Rs. 3,190, for the calendar year. The Council recognizes that this is a considerable contribution which the College makes from its funds towards the advancement of classes that are regarded as educationally backward. Whether it can continue to extend, without aid from Government, this privilege to all students of these communities is a matter which is under consideration.

THUS much about the ordinary working expenses of the College. But it will be remembered the College had undertaken the structure of a new chemical laboratory, which was completed in August last. The total cost of providing this addition to the chemistry department of the College was Rs. 43,276, made up as follows:—cost of site, Rs. 22,000, architect's fee, Rs. 4,015, lawyer's fees, Rs. 537, and cost of building, Rs. 16,724. Towards this expenditure the Government has contributed, as mentioned in last year's Report, the sum of Rs. 11,212. The Council requested Government to reconsider this grant and to be pleased to sanction an additional amount, but the request was not acceded to. A request for a grant towards its equipment has also been refused. The construction of the laboratory was undertaken by the College because the University Inspection Commission of 1910 reported that additional accommodation for the chemistry department was required. The Council regrets that its endeavour to comply with the terms of that report has not met with more practical sympathy from Government. It was intended that the new laboratory should be opened for work in July of the present year, but lack of funds renders that impossible.

A considerable amount of the management's annual contribution has to be used in ways that will enable the College to expand and take advantage of the opportunities that lie open to it. During the year the College has spent (in addition of the sum of Rs. 16,724, which the building of the new laboratory cost), the sum of Rs. 9,110 for the purchase of a property adjacent to the College. At present the College is unable to take up the property and use it for College purposes. The New Buildings, Apparatus and Equipment Account began the year with a debit balance of Rs. 16,316-6-7, and closed with a deficit of Rs. 26,503-3-2. What has been done, and is still being done, by this fund is of the highest value to the College, and the Council would gladly welcome the means whereby its usefulness might be more satisfactorily extended.

This is distinctly a hint, if it is not also an invitation, to some public benefactor among the influential men of Southern India (not excluding the alumni of the College) to show in a practical manner his appreciation of the important work which the College is doing for the young men of the country. Who knows that amidst of the din of multifarious voices this appeal may not reach the heart of some

thoughtful Indian who seeks a fertile soil for depositing his seed-money in ?

In the meantime the College is not without benefactors of its own :—

The Council desires to express its grateful thanks for the following gifts received in the course of the year. Dr. Alexander Miller presented the College with Government securities to the value of Rs. 9,000 for the endowment of mathematical studentships. These studentships, which are named the Cambridge Studentships, are to be awarded to students of Branch I of the B.A. (Honours) degree course, on conditions similar to those of the studentships already established. A legacy of £54-6-6 was received from the late Mrs. Margaret Robson of Kelso. It was resolved to invest the sum and to use the interest in such ways as the Senatus should decide from time to time to help towards the training of Indian Christian teachers who are in the employment of the College. The College Day Association handed over to the College Government securities to the value of Rs. 400 for the endowment of the Cooper Prize. This prize has hitherto been awarded from year to year by the College Day Association. It is a satisfaction to the Council that there is now an adequate endowment for the award of the prize established in memory of one who was so greatly respected a professor of the College as was Dr. Cooper. To former students of the College who have during the year contributed to the Special Fund for the purpose of helping poor students to pay their fees, the Council desires to convey its thanks and to express its great appreciation of the gifts thus received.

In the previous Report reference was made to an arrangement whereby the College Hall was thrown open to the students of the College every evening from 7 to 9 o'clock for purposes of study. This arrangement was continued throughout last year.

The attendance was satisfactory, averaging about seventy every evening. The advantages of the arrangement were enhanced after the Long Vacation, when the General and Consulting Libraries, and the Reading Room, were transferred to the old Science rooms adjacent to the Hall, and it became possible to allow those reading in the Hall to make use at the same time of the Consulting Library. That this arrangement has supplied a real need is shown by the fact that on an average forty volumes were consulted every evening. The work of superintendence is undertaken by the members of the College staff, Indian and European.

THE Council desires to thank Dr. Miller for his gift to the College of seven hundred and seventeen volumes from his library at Eachinkadu Bungalow, Yercaud. These form an exceedingly valuable addition to the various libraries to which they have been distributed. Of them, one hundred and seventy-three have been set apart to form the nucleus of a Professors' Library, which, it is hoped, will be considerably increased in the near future.

THE Council is not able to report any extension of Hostel accommodation and of the concomitant Hostel control over the lives of moffusil students in Madras. No progress was made with the proposed Hostel at College Park, but up to the end of the year no reply had been received from Government to the application for a grant-in-aid which had been submitted by the College in October, 1914. The communication which has since been received is under the consideration of the Council.

However, the five College Hostels, with an occasional fluctuation in one of them, remained full throughout the year. Mr. Crawford took Mr. Henderson's place as Superintendent of the Fenn Hostel, and Mr. Angus succeeded Mr. Templeton in Caithness Hall. The managers remained the same as in the previous year. This is as it should be, for steadiness in the management is the best guarantee of effective control. A beginning was made in the introduction of electric light. The common rooms and verandahs of the Fenn Hostel are now lit by electricity, the cost of the installation having been met from Hostel funds.

THE War has been not far from the thoughts of staff and students. In response to a suggestion made at the end of the year, the students of the College subscribed after the beginning of the current year a sum of Rs. 700 as a contribution to the War Fund. This sum was made up to Rs. 1,000 by members of the staff, Indian and European, and forwarded to the Treasurer of the Fund, as a New Year Gift expressive of the sympathy felt by all belonging to the College with the sufferings produced by the War and the Cause for which the Allies are contending. The following letter of acknowledgment has been received :—

SPENCER'S BUILDINGS,
Madras, 29th February, 1916.

THE BURSAR,
MADRAS CHRISTIAN COLLEGE,
Esplanade, Madras.

DEAR SIR,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. 230 of 24th inst. with cheque for Rs. 1,050, being the amount of the New Year offering to the Madras War Fund. Will you kindly convey to the Principal and Staff of the Madras Christian College my thanks on behalf of the Fund for this contribution, and request the Principal in his turn to convey to the students also my appreciation. It is very practical evidence of the interest taken in current events by them, and that they realize that they too have their share of responsibility in bringing this world wide War to a successful conclusion.

Yours faithfully,

J. H. THONGER,
Honorary Treasurer.

It is not only money which the alumni of the College have contributed to the War. The Manager of the Fenn Hostel supplies us with the following Note regarding those who have once been under his care but are now doing duty amidst perils of the war :—

Sometime ago we had occasion to make reference to the opportunity taken by Mr. F. W. Henderson of his furlough to take a commission in the army and to proceed to the fighting line in France. It may interest our readers to know that a few members of the Fenn Memorial Hostel, of which he was the Superintendent when he left Madras, have also had the same privilege.

Mr. V. M. Thaver (of Tinnevely) who was a member of the Hostel for over three years during his course in the Medical College and entered the Civil Medical Service on passing out, offered his services to the Army Medical Corp towards the end of 1914; and he is at present with the Frontier Army. Mr. Anderson Iswariah, B.A., M.B. and C.M., another old member of the Fenn Hostel, succeeded in getting the commission of a Lieutenant in the I.M.S. and went to Mesopotamia. He was present with his regiment at Ctesiphon at the time of the battle fought there, and when we last heard of him he was at the Base Hospital at or near Kut-el-Amara. Mr. P. Poonooze enlisted in the 75th Carnatic Infantry in April, 1915, while a member of the Hostel and Student of the First Class. After a course of seven months at Baroda, he has appointed a Havildar, and when he wrote last he was at Aden on his way with his regiment to the front. Of a large number of Malabar Christians who volunteered to service in the army some have already proceeded to the front, and among those who are under training awaiting orders, are two old members of the Fenn Hostel, Messrs. P. V. Kallat and Edward Kallat, B.A., both attached to "D" Company of Malabar Volunteer Rifles. Mr. C. C. Itticheriah, B.A., who had gone to serve on the medical staff of the Hospital Ship *Madras* had to return in April last to complete his Medical course.

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*UNTIL I WENT INTO THE SANCTUARY.**

BY THE REV. JAMES IVERACH, D.D., ABERDEEN

Until I went into the Sanctuary: then understood I their end. Psalm 73: 17.

THIS psalmist had been in deep waters, and had only just escaped from a feeling of ruin and despair. Looking out at life from a certain standpoint, and measuring its interests with certain measures, he had found his mental and moral world falling into ruins before him. He came to question and to doubt the goodness and the knowledge of God, and to doubt the value of innocence and truth, nay, of all moral values whatsoever. The inequalities of life, the apparent prosperity of those who disregarded all moral values, and the sorrows of the innocent all led him to put forward all that is recorded in the earlier part of the psalm. Still he had a persuasion that God knows, that God is good, and that God cares for men. But he could not arrive at this conclusion as long as he looked at things from the point of view of sense and time. That was the point of view, he tells us, of a beast, which does not look before and after, and looks only at the present. This tended to be his own view until he went into the sanctuary and learned to look at the life from an eternal standpoint. After he went into the sanctuary, and had entered into sympathy with God, he learnt that God had been in all his life, though he had not known it, that God was in his present life, and he was assured that God would be in all his

* The closing Lecture of Session 1915-16, at Aberdeen United Free Church College.

future. So with passionate conviction he asserts, "God is good to Israel."

This and similar passages of Scripture have haunted me throughout this war, and especially through these late months. Why has this war been let loose upon the nations? How is it that carnage, the slaughter, the killing of men on so awful a scale, the misery of the non-combatants, and all the horrors on which we may not dilate, have come upon the suffering world? Does God know? Or is there knowledge with the Most High? Is there any value in innocency? and is the moral life, seeing how its maxims are disregarded, of any abiding value? One kind of answer we might give if we assume the point of view of the psalmist before he went into the sanctuary. That answer would be the answer of a beast, which could not reflect, and which could only measure the value of things in the scales of time. Another answer can be given if we enter into the sanctuary of God, learn something of God's meaning, and enter in a measure into sympathy with God's purpose.

All the nations may be guilty, but not in equal measure. May it not be that God's meaning in the permission of this present war is to teach the nations not to forget God, and not to shape their lives and conduct without reference to those ideals which He values more than outward prosperity or physical strength? As we look back over the history of the past hundred years we can notice a growing absorption on the part of all nations, and specially on the part of the most cultured nations, in those pursuits which have for their end the conquest of nature, and of harnessing the forces of nature to the service of man. It is a great record, and a record on which men never tire in their contemplation of it. Nor is it our purpose to belittle that record, nor to speak in disparaging terms of the great endeavour which has been so triumphant during the past century. No doubt this endeavour has been present to man ever since man has lived on the earth. Its history has been a long one, and he has fought with nature and sought to overcome it since he first began to win food and shelter and other goods from his environment. Age after age the endeavour to control nature has proceeded, and in a faster ratio of late years. This great work of science, and this absorption in its pursuit has not

been without effect on its votaries. It may be briefly said that if man, by science, has learnt in a measure to control nature, on the other hand nature, by yielding to science, has captured man, and harnessed him to her service. It is not uninstrusive that eminent men of science, whose services have been of the highest order to science, have reluctantly confessed that they have ceased to have any interest in anything that does not immediately tell on the advance of science. It is of interest to all men to follow what experts tell us of the constitution of matter, of the kinetic theory of gases, of the principles which have enabled men to have wireless telegraphy, and so on, but it is time to pause and reflect when we see men making themselves mere instruments to find out what are those facts and laws of nature which enable them to control her action, and to yield her secrets to the service of man. There are many martyrs of science, and perhaps this is the greatest of all sacrifices made to science. Minds who thus make themselves instruments for the advancement of science have lost something which is distinctively human. These minds are directed outwards, and are always looking at the external world, and they tend to measure the whole of reality by the aspects of reality presented to them by the external world, and by the categories which they have used in the endeavour to master it. Thus with increasing frequency as science has made progress, and the conquest of nature became more and more complete, beautiful and impressive pictures of the glory of science, and of the beneficence of science, are painted. The scientific conception of the world meets us in a hundred writers, and they tell us of the universe into which the researches of the great physicists and mathematicians have led us, the conception of a universe consisting of matter and ether in ceaseless motion—a universe to which all events, the smallest and the greatest alike, are to be regarded as phases in the motion of matter and ether, resulting from or altogether caused by, the preceding phases of the motion of matter and ether according to rigid unchanging laws, laws discernible, discoverable, and in part already discovered by the application of scientific method to the study of phenomena. Nothing is exempted from the sweep of this universal method, and all is included in its tremendous sweep. Living beings, no less than

inorganic matter, are to be explained ultimately by matter and motion. The panegyrist of science in rhythmical periods chant the glory of this great conception, and in the hands of philosophers like Herbert Spencer it has expanded into a philosophy of the universe. They also prophesy that the outline thus sketched is being filled in and in the process of the years it will organise the whole field of human experience, and completely rule the thought and the action of men.

I am unable in the short space of one hour to give proofs and illustrations of this bent of mind. Nor is it necessary. At present the idea of science is urgent and pressing. We are called on to organise, to discipline ourselves, to use all the resources of science in order to have in hand such resources as to make us strong and victorious. Chemists tell us that it is the science needed most at present, and physicists claim to be listened to, and the other sciences are not backward in calling attention to their services and claims. Nor do I deny that they are doing splendid service, and that they have a right to press their claims. In the present distress many things may be tolerated, because they are forced on us, and we are compelled to live on the lower planes, and to use material categories to meet material dangers. But, after all, it is well to remember that the universe is more than matter and ether and their motions. For one thing, the scientific conception of the world is one that has its range only within space and time. It does not speculate about origins, and it does not dream about final states when the system of forces at present in action have worked themselves out, and a monotone sounds through a dead universe. However great may be the extension of our view of the universe and however deep may be our knowledge of its connectedness, I feel that in the great conception there is no room for an order of existence which is intimately known to me. I am aware of another order of existence when I go into the sanctuary of my own inner life. I have an immediate experience of sensations and ideas, of pains and pleasures of emotions and strivings and ideals which I can never by any effort of mine translate into the language dominated by the notion of physical causation. There is no provision in the conceptual scheme of science for the experience which belongs to the inner life. Not only so, but, if

we allow the scientific conception of the world to rule us, if for the sake of intellectual curiosity, or for the sake of controlling the world, we bend all our energies to accomplish these ends, we lose by the very process many things which form the highest possession of humanity. Our minds may become machines for devising ways of observation and experiment, and for grinding out general laws and principles which will serve for the purposes referred to above. The result of this process is that man makes himself a mere instrument and is no longer an end in himself. Still further other men also become mere instruments, and are regarded as means for working out general laws, and tend to become mere units in great schemes of organisation. We need not be surprised that minds dominated by this pre-occupation are generally determinists in philosophy, and utilitarian in ethics. No doubt it will take all the time of humanity to discover the real ongoing of nature, and many parts of nature lie beyond the control of man. So that form of activity must continue to work on during the ages to come. But need it have the exclusive predominance which it has exerted for the last century? Is there not something to be learned when we pass into the sanctuary of our lives? Are there not values to be found there which cannot be counted or weighed, which cannot be measured as material things are measured? I look again at this great theory and at this absorbing pre-occupation of mind, and I see that it has other consequences. Wherever I meet it, whether in the sphere of the physical in the chemical or in the economic world, I find that it tends to regard men as mere instruments, as mere elements in a combination, or as links in a chain. The individual withers and the group is more and more. Along with this tendency there goes the other fact that the standards of living are unconsciously changed, and instead of the old moral ideals we lay stress mainly on efficiency. Not that I am disposed to under-rate efficiency in any department of human action. It is well to think out efficiently all the conditions of a proposed course of action; it is well to put our strength of thought and will and feeling into the work we may have to do. But it is well also to think out the cost of such a purpose and aim. Is man to make himself simply a thinking machine for the purpose of understanding nature with a view to the mastery of it? Is it well

that all his strength should be devoted to experimenting on the properties of things, and of combining and recombining in order to make nature carry out his purpose?

It is the old question as to what is the best use that can be made of a man, and we are disposed to give the old answer, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose himself?" What shall it profit a man to understand all about the law of gravitation, the conservation of energy, the theory of chemical values, and the law of the evolution of life, if he has made these and other matters of knowledge the master of his life? Efficiency in various directions can only be obtained at the sacrifice of fulness of life in other directions. And the issue is as to the measurement of values. That there is a value in moral life we may, without argument, affirm. But exclusive devotion to the understanding and control of nature reacts on moral values in a most disastrous fashion. I have not space to instance these ways. But one remembers the value of a life. One remembers that Kant has written—"Always use the humanity in thine own person and in the person of others as an end, and never as a means." And even Hegel once said—"Be a person and regard others as persons." We may accept the ethical maxims as true, and disregard their source for the moment. But our contention is that the devotion to science which we have described is really for the scientific man to make himself a means and not an end. His interest in the moral life slackens, and he tends to degenerate into a means for the promotion of scientific knowledge and for the control of nature. Apart, however, from the effect that is wrought on himself in order that he may be efficient, there is the effect produced on all others whom he uses for the accomplishment of his end. He has ceased to seek the organisation of men for the making of men, and he has framed organisations merely for the using of men. Nor is this limited to organisations directed towards the understanding and the control of nature, it is the tendency of all organisations which bind men together for ends which do not regard men in their individual moral worth. This attenuates men into aspects, and it takes into consideration only those aspects which are relevant to the purpose in hand. The social relation in general tends to be limited to those aspects

which bring men into immediate contact with one another. But there is something of value outside of these relations which masters and workmen, merchant and customer, and so on, hold to one another, and these outside relations are the more important. But our modern civilisation with its commerce and traffic, with its army of business men, with its national and international relationships, tends to lose sight of these moral and spiritual verities, which after all comprise the larger part of human life. The higher values which belong to efficiency and organisation—and I do not undervalue them—are, all of them, finite and temporal in their nature, and not one of them has the note of eternity in them. For a man to live in them is for him to place himself in the attitude from which the psalmist was delivered when he went into the sanctuary.

My plea to-day is that we should enter into the sanctuary of our own lives and ask ourselves what are the permanent eternal values, values which shall have an endurance beyond the present life? I would persuade myself to enter into the kingdom of moral and spiritual values, and to note their worth for me as an eternal subject. I would ask myself to see how these values are acted on by the notion of intellectual and physical efficiency. And I would seek to understand how those graces which Christianity has laid stress on, which I need not enumerate, are influenced by this notion of efficiency. At the basis of it is the old notion of self-assertion, the old rule of the weakest to the wall, of the race to the swift, and the victory to the strong. I do not say that we and our Allies have forgotten the Christian ideal, or that we have yielded to the spirit which seems to rule the world to-day. We still seek to retain our ideals, even when we are compelled for the sake of them to mass ourselves together and to make ourselves as efficient as we can. But in some respects this attitude has been forced on us. We still respect the freedom of man and have a high idea of the worth of the individual. But there have been some tendencies in our civilisation that led towards the result of making men to be mere instruments in merely temporal pursuits. But while we were, as it were, halting between two opinions, while some were calling on us to sacrifice all to efficiency, and others were setting forth in sermons, treatises, in art, poetry

and philosophy the eternal values, and contending for the value of the spiritual life, suddenly we were confronted with the might of a people who had left all compromises out of sight, and who had come to disregard moral values as old-fashioned and without power, and efficiency as the sole aim of national life. We have often been called on in German literature, specially in the literature of science and philosophy to admire the thoroughness of German toil, their disinterested drudgery which ransacked all the stores of history for the illumination of the subject under investigation. They ransacked the past so thoroughly as to leave their successors but little to do. None of us can forget our debt to them in almost all departments of investigation. Their results were valuable, though they often seemed to write with a spade. We do not look to them for elevation of style, or for beauty of exposition. But as day-labourers in the field of thought they were valuable hodmen. But even in this manner of working a change has gradually passed over them, and modified their outlook. Old ideals which had a home with them up to the rise of the German Empire seemed to pass slowly and lingeringly into the background. Their ideal philosophy of the State became vulgarised. There was something winning in the teaching of Kant and Hegel on the State. But in the hands of more recent thinkers the doctrine of the State has become common and vulgar. It has become a synonym for power. It has been set in the highest place, above all other power seen or unseen. Men are to live for the State, to serve it without reserve, to find their highest ideals in it. Power, irresponsible power, power from which there can be no appeal, power which had nothing beyond it, or above it, became the creed of Germany, and this power was directed always towards efficiency. Efficiency, not in the moral or spiritual sphere, but efficiency directed towards the control of the world. The ruling powers set themselves first to control their subjects, and then to use their subjects for the control of the world. They trained and educated their people for this end. They taught the children in the schools this form of patriotism. No dissentient voice arose from their pulpits, and their universities continued this strain of teaching, until we see the whole people drilled, organised, and moulded into a form which had power always in view. If you

told them that this habit of mind was unchristian they calmly answered that Christianity was irrelevant to the life of a nation. So for nearly fifty years this steady pressure has been exerted on the German mind, until we have the result we see to-day. It is a very curious psychological position which we see. The German nation has been so drilled that their emotions, passions, and sentiments seem to respond to the word of command. They hate, they love, they fear and are courageous as they are told. Never was there a people so drilled, and never was there a people who had their emotional nature so organised as to respond to every order from the All-Highest, as they name the Emperor.

Along with this there went a colossal self-esteem. They called themselves the people of Kultur, and their Kultur they esteemed so highly that they were prepared to force it on other peoples. Read Houston Chamberlain in 'The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century' if you are desirous of learning what the Germans think of themselves. But my main contention is that the German nation shows to the world what a nation becomes when it sacrifices everything to physical efficiency, which discards all ideals, Christian or ethical, which do not fall in with this conception of organised efficiency. The interest of Germany, the right of Germany to a place in the sun, the polishing of the shining armour which she has put on, the right to force her Kultur on other peoples, these are some of the convictions of which they thoroughly persuaded themselves. It is not needful for me to describe their frightfulness in war, their unscrupulous ferocity, their lying, their cruelty, and their disregard of all the chivalries, and of the honour which even belligerents of old observed, for this is but a part of their doctrine of the State, and of their will to power. It is not without significance that we have this exhibition even in this twentieth century of Christianity. In it we may see the legitimate conclusion of many tendencies at work among ourselves. We are not without guilt in this matter too. We have not scrupled to treat men as if they were machines. Our political economy professedly taught us to buy in the cheapest and to sell in the dearest market. Happily political economy has ceased to teach this in its former drastic manner, and universal selfishness is not the sole presupposition of its postulates. But on that I cannot dwell. To me brooding

over all these things, and feeling deeply all the horror and despair they are fitted to engender, it became a necessity to enter into the sanctuary, not merely of my own inner life, but into the sanctuary of God. Is there knowledge with the Most High? Does God care for men? It seems to me that God guides the course of the world and the history of men by counsel. He does not treat them as mere instruments nor as if they were stones. I think that I can read in history that He permits men to work out to their consequences courses of action which He does not approve of. He has allowed men often in past history to see the error of their ways, and the imperfection of their ideals, by allowing things to run to their consequences. Then when His judgments are in the earth the nations learn righteousness. So it seems to me as if God allowed the more recent ideals of men to work themselves out to their consequences. These ideals were partly ours, though only in a partial manner. They had come to full and unreserved power in Germany. Suddenly we as a nation found ourselves at the parting of the ways. On the one hand we might imitate the thorough-going efficiency of the Germans, and place in the background our moral and spiritual ideals and scramble for our place in the sun. On the one side were these great moral traditions of the past, fidelity to our pledged word, and attachment to our great inheritance from the past, and on the other hand the certainty of all that was involved in the stern arbitrament of war. We had a faint conception of what we risked in war with a Power so organised and efficient as Germany is. We know it better now. Our accumulated wealth has been encroached on. The working power of our nation is engaged in the preparation of munitions of war. The highest and the best of our manhood at home and in our dominions are fighting on the battlefield, and offering up their lives in the service of their motherland. Now at the parting of the way we set our faces grimly and we deliberately say it is well, we would not have it otherwise. For the moral and spiritual ideals have gripped us with their strong hand, and we feel that sacrifice of wealth, of life, and of all earthly things is amply justified. It is worth while to make the sacrifices for the sake of the future. It is worth while also for us to acknowledge our own share in the events and tendencies which have led to this

great catastrophe. We also had forgotten how precious men are in the sight of God, and we have used them as mere instruments. True, we have not allowed this tendency to master us. But the tendency was there. And now by the sacrifices we have made and are making and must continue to make, we are learning that God cares, and that God is interested in the welfare of men.

May we not hope that the nations who survive this cataclysm will consider their ways and know why God contended with them, our own nation and also all the nations of the earth? Have we not forgotten God, and forgotten also those things which are most precious to Him? My own earnest hope and prayer is that the nation may come to Christ and learn of Him what is the meaning and the worth of life. And what are the meaning and the worth of men? We have allowed ourselves to think of ourselves and our fellow-men as if we were only inhabitants of this planet, as if we had no interests beyond the present life and beyond the world in which we live to-day. We have thus been led to reckon success, visible and tangible success, in the fulfilment of earthly purpose as if it represented the only worthy idea of success. But to-day the sorrow at the loss of these brave, rich young human lives, whose bodies lie in the Dardanelles, or in Flanders, or elsewhere on our far-flung battle line, lead us to think that for them there is work elsewhere in God's world. Eternity has come very near to us all, and has led us to a new valuation of values. What is lacking, or rather what was lacking, in our pre-war attitude was, it seems to me, just this note of eternity—the absence of a vivid feeling of God's presence in the life of a man. We were thinking almost exclusively, when we gave ourselves leisure from the daily task, of social problems, of the inequalities of human lots, of the miseries of men arising from the struggle of existence; and men the highest and the best of men, were striving to find remedies for such miseries. And I rejoice in such work.

But I have observed that the strong insistence of such problems and the necessity of dealing with them has led men away from the problem of the eternal destiny of man, and from the need of making some provision for man's eternal welfare. I have noted an absence of the eternal note in our modern preaching. I have noted also that preachers too often forget that Christianity is a religion of redemption, and sin and forgiveness are dealt with

less thoroughly than of old. But on this I do not dwell, but I should like, ere I close, just to say this, that Christ has made life and immortality luminous, so luminous that they shine on our daily life and daily work ; and it is simply wilful blindness on our part if we refuse the thought of them to have a practical influence on our walk and conversation. If I shall live on for ever, and if this life is a preparation for another and a larger life, what is the kind of gain which I can win in the present life, which I can take with me into that larger life? Not efficiency in the physical world, not the gain of success which can be measured in space and time, but that inner wealth of thought and life, that kind of quality of character and endowment over which time has no power, and which is as much at home in the other world as it ought to be here. To me the lesson of the war lies in the comparative estimate of values which it has forced me to take. And from the stricken battlefield the voice of our brave fellows seems to call to me to think of the eternal values which they died to conserve, and to call to me, who am too old to fight, to do all that in me lies to set forth those eternal values for which they died. For they did not fight for power, nor for gain, nor for advantage, but they fought for truth, for righteousness, for fairness, for the right of weaker nations to live, and for the sake of making a place for men to live, so that their lives might be continued eternally without any hindrance to God's eternal purpose.

THE SPIRIT OF MODERN LITERATURE.

BY P. R. KRISHNASWAMI, B.A. (HONS.)

"MODERN LITERATURE" is a term of wide scope. Some date it from the sixteenth century when men's thoughts were quickened to new life after the lethargy of the Middle Ages. But in a narrower application of the term it would indicate the body of literature produced within recent times, within the age in which our own lives are cast. The writers of English literary history have not yet marked out a later epoch than that of the Romantic Revival and we shall not be wrong if we view the most recent tendencies in English literature as a continuation or as the extreme developments of the principles governing the period of the Romantic Revival.

In a sense modern literature is the greatest of all literatures. To use a familiar paradox the youngest of our writers are also of the oldest race of writers on earth. The present has the advantage of the accumulated experience of the past and if we believe in an absolute theory of evolution applied to literature, modern literature should embody in itself the best principles and features of all the past ages rejecting all that was unworthy in them.

Literature is an index to the character and strength of a nation. An enquiry into the principles and general characteristics of the literature produced within our own times is also an examination of the springs of national life.

As a preliminary we might review the condition of literature as a profession at the present day. The "readers" of publishing firms are not inaccessible to new authors and for the most part act fairly (though they are bound to take into account considerations of topical importance) and there is not much chance of a talented author's being neglected by the public and condemned to starvation. Patronage has long been dead and authors live in these days with much greater independence than ever before. But we are not to overlook the well recognised principle that literature unlike other professions cannot tolerate mediocrity. A man must have the power to attract the reading public or he must give up literature as a profession.

A factor to be reckoned with in the consideration of literature as a profession is the professional critic. Students of literature are familiar with the Edinburgh critics of the early part of the nineteenth century. The establishment of the periodical reviews was an event with important consequences in the history of literature. Still it was not an unmixed blessing. The vagaries of reviewers like Jeffreys are well-known. The judgments passed on Carlyle and Keats have become a literary curiosity to illustrate the abuse of the reviewer's art. An author's chance of success might be mined by the judgments of reviewers. At the present day, however, bigotry is not the vice of the critic. On the other hand one notes in some journals disproportionate praise bestowed on works which do not deserve public attention. It is also well-known that there is a constant relation between the editorial writings of a journal and its advertising department; and laudatory notices of books published by the proprietors are not always to be taken at their face value. But it is gratifying to see a journal like the *Literary Supplement* of the "Times" displaying sobriety and balance in appraising the publications of the time. On the whole then, the tyrannies of the reviewer are but few at the present day and it is the pride of modern days that we live in the age of a republic of letters. Time was when the seer of the epic constituted a monarchy in letters. Time was when literature pertained only to coteries of writers and was read only by a limited circle of readers, when literature was oligarchical. But now literature is truly republican, and there has never been an academy of letters in England to exercise a censorial authority on the world of literature.

But in one aspect the work of the literary critic to-day is not in the highest interests of literature. Readers of literature at the present day must own to a feeling of uneasiness caused by a perusal of the mass of critical writings issuing from the universities, displaying what may be called the statistical method of criticism. Every age suffers from its own forms of superstition and at the present day we witness the vulgarities of superstition making inroads into the precincts of literary criticism. The most elaborate treatises of writers enjoying the greatest reputation in the literary world have been directed towards the elucidation of the ordinary facts in the lives of literary celebrities which cannot be said to possess

any real literary value. Mr. Austin Dobson has been long rummaging in the manuscripts, letters, and pictures of the eighteenth century, and the light thrown by him on eighteenth century writers is not commensurate with the labour expended. Sir Sidney Lee may be instanced as an illustration of labour spent on Shakespearean studies which have not in any proportionate degree advanced the study of Shakespeare in the real literary sense. Mr. A. C. Bradley's studies in Shakespeare may be taken as an example of what we regard as the correct critical method. Apart from the superstition of local associations and the unessential details of biography of literary celebrities, we have a specious form of criticism in the laboured volumes of certain writers who, lacking real literary insight, try to remedy the defect by mere industry. They can count the number of rhymes in a poem or prepare a table of the metrical variations in it. Sometimes the investigation is purely philological and not of material importance even philologically. This ideal of statistical criticism may be traced to some extent in the Americans and Germans.

The aesthetic aspect of literature—not to speak of the ethical aspect of it, which, however, may be said to be merged in it—which is the essential aspect also, is always hard to analyse and systematise, and it is gratifying to note that many recent writers have been engaged in elucidating what will be conceded to be the laws of literary criticism.

Passing on to the principal departments of modern literature the province of poetry will demand our consideration first. We are proud of modern poetry because it is free from meretricious ornament, and false imagery, and ingenious conceits, all of which prevailed in the old schools of poetry. We despise the poetry of the eighteenth century for its want of sublimity, for its commonplace sentiment and unconscious vulgarity. The early poets of the nineteenth century exemplified a high seriousness which has since been embodied in the ideals of modern poetry. By high seriousness is implied no contempt of the ordinary facts of life in themselves but we expect that these when embodied in poetry should have such a universality of significance as will sustain the dignity of literary creation. Modern poetry puts to shame the coarseness of preceding ages.

It is commonly asked whether poetry is decaying or progressing at the present day. The immense volume of prose issuing

from the press should not blind us to the richness of modern literature even in its variety of form. It is said that a writer can think or write originally so little in these days that poetry is well nigh an impossible art. Even according to Matthew Arnold :

Though the Muse be gone away,
Though she move not earth to-day,
Souls erewhile who caught her word,
Ah! still harp on what they heard.

To believe in the impossibility of original thinking is to show lamentable lack of imagination. To think that the treasure of human ideas and feelings has been exhausted is to indulge in a childish idea. We have within recent times the poetic witchery of Swinburne, the splendid blank verse of Stephen Phillips, and the dignified poetry of William Watson. It is another familiar question how far science has influenced or retarded the growth of poetry. It is a mistake to conceive of poetry as so wholly dependent on the play of extravagant imagination that the touch of science will destroy the fabric of poetic art. On the other hand it is pleasing to observe what new realms of fancy and feeling have been opened up with the progress of science. "The Fairy Tales of Science" are frequently embodied in Tennyson's poetry. In *Locksley Hall* are the prophetic lines

Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain'd a ghastly dew
From the nation's airy navies grappling in the central blue.

It is not only the marvels of science that have been fruitful in their influence on poetic fancy; science has stood as well for a great ideal of life. The following lines are from "The Night Express" by Cosmo Monkhouse :

O, 'tis a race sublime!
I, neck and neck with Time,—
I, with my thews of iron and heart of fire,—
Run without pause for breath,
While all the earth beneath
Shakes with the shocks of my tremendous ire.

Lines like these are suggestive of a heroic poem commemorating some martial glory. It is an irony of time that with the perfection of the engines of destruction in war there is no more scope for the grandeur of the physical deeds of man to be glorified in poetry. But the "Night Express" is significant in its concluding stanza:

Why for so brief a length
 Dowered with such might strength?
 Man is my God—I seek not to divine;
 At his command I stir,
 I, his stern messenger;—
 Does he his duty well as I do mine?

Mention may be made here of just another note of modern poetry. We are all familiar with the cry for civic liberty which so often found glorious expression in the poetic work of the early romanticists. The French Revolution kindled the hearts of poets, and names like Byron and Shelley are names to conjure with in the interests of civic freedom. The cry of freedom was caught up again and again in British poetry during the nineteenth century when sympathy was aroused by the struggles of European nations. But there is later than this an aspect of English poetry which cannot at all be applauded. It is the Jingo spirit in modern English poetry. "This voice sang us free," says Mr. Watson of Wordsworth. Mr. A. G. Gardiner adds that it may be said of Kipling that "this voice sang us captive." Mr. Kipling is no apostle of the coming millennium on earth. The patriotism of Tennyson had its exalted limits and the poet who was proud of an ideal form of monarchy in his own country was yet fervently dreaming of the "Parliament of man and the federation of the world." But Mr. Kipling expresses an almost childish delight in the pomp of empire and is superficially complacent.* We have another note of ridiculous imperialism in the poetry of Mr. William Watson himself. He tells us somewhere that if England should fall any day it would result in the less glory to God and the less Truth in the world. We are told that according to the creed of the Germans, God is a humble follower of the German armies on whom the disgrace will fall if all is not well with the arms of Germany. Mr. Watson comes very near such a view in a few of his poems. But in justice to Mr. Watson it may be said that such specimens are but few in his work, while it is full of a cry of generous liberty for the nations on earth. For poetry of pure patriotism Mr. Henry Newbolt takes the highest place in modern English poetry.

Passing on to the most prominent branch of literature at the present day—prose fiction—we notice the changed ideals in the

* Mr. Krishnaswami has overlooked another important aspect of Mr. Kipling's work.—*Ed.*

art. As to the question why the novel has come to be the most prominent form of literature at the present day, it forms an interesting subject for investigation and an answer is not difficult to obtain if one observes the evolution of the forms of the creative literary art. The minstrel songs of one period are superseded by the more elaborate art of the prose romance of another. The prose romance yields in its turn to the more realistic form—the drama, while the limitations placed on the dramatist lead again to the cultivation and popularity of the novel which may be said to embody in itself the qualities of every other form of literature.

In the modern novel, action and romance have largely given place to realism and psychological interest. Though it is realistic, its artistic side has been so far developed that one is frequently disappointed in trying to discover an absolute picture of life. Time was when English readers were treated to novels like "David Copperfield" or "Nicholas Nickleby", to the novels of George Eliot or those of Thackeray, in all of which the vital problem of life, the struggle for existence amidst civilised humanity, received prominent treatment. But there has been a tendency in later years to take up only the highest class of society for the pictures of life embodied in the novel or the drama. The talk of the fashionable drawing room monopolises modern creative art. Meredith's characters are mostly of the upper class. The hero of "Evan Harrington," is a tailor but the eccentric philanthropy of Mr. Tom Cogglesby easily removes the struggle for life, and the rest is merely the artistic shaping of character with deeds not far removed from the lightness of the drawing room. The plays of Oscar Wilde are all of the drawing rooms of English peeresses and peers, and Wilde's characters never speak the prose of the world. The dash of the motor-car is a necessary feature of the modern story as Mr. Wells's books will testify. The most fashionable hotels must also appear in the modern drama as exemplified in Mr. Shaw's plays.

It may also be pointed out that modern authors generally lose sight of the elementary feelings and passions of man and harp on subtle aspects of sentiment and emotion. In this connection we must recognise the peculiarly individual character of some modern writers. Modern artists are wonderfully egotistic and write continually about themselves. It is well known that the fop with his brilliant paradox and callous view of morals who

figures so frequently in Wilde's plays is Wilde himself. The architect who figures in Mr. Hardy's "A Pair of Blue Eyes" cannot but remind us of Mr. Hardy himself who was in his younger days an architect by profession. In "The Wife of Sir Isaac Harman", one of Mr. Wells's most recent novels, the male counterpart of the heroine is a writer of novels! The hero of Strindberg the Swedish's dramatist's "There are Crimes and Crimes" is a playwright with all the morbid sensations towards woman that characterised Strindberg himself.

Modern authors are frequently of morbid minds and their feelings are of the abnormal type. Egotism is after all a delightful quality. The reader is continually taken into confidence and allowed to observe the innermost workings of the author's mind and he is gratified by this trust. But this egotism and individuality render it impossible that they should be representative of the people at large. Because men like Wells and Shaw write continually of the unhappiness of marriage we are not to conclude that the majority of marriages in England are unhappy. An author whose work does not go beyond himself cannot be said to be the greatest master of his art. The greatest creators have risen above the limited and peculiar facts of their lives. Shakespeare is such a consummate master of his art that he never betrays his own person in his plays. Still it is pleasing to note among the group of living writers a poet like Masfield whose work has far surpassed the narrow sphere of the personal experiences of modern life. "Dauber" and the "Everlasting Mercy" are recognised as the best of his work but a reference may be made here to a poem of low life by him, the "Widow of the Bye Street", which is an example of the work of a school which endeavours to make the sordid facts of life subserve their art.

The modern drama is chiefly in prose. There is no romance and no story in much of the modern drama. Its interest, as the interest of the modern novel, is purely psychological, and lies in unravelling the inner processes of the mind. The admirer of Shakespeare experiences a new sensation in the dramas of Ibsen. He finds matter that is thought-provoking while he was merely excited by the plays of Shakespeare. (Perhaps we may say, "So much the worse for the reader.") A special achievement of the modern drama is the brilliant dialogue that occurs so abundantly in it. The reader of Oscar Wilde marvels at the sparkling dialogue of his plays. The brilliancy it is true has been called

shallow. It is a legitimate question to ask if characters in real life talk as brilliantly as they do in the pages of Wilde or Shaw. They hardly do. In the drama as in fiction we perceive a gradual specialisation of art which has detached it from actual life.

A dominant note in modern literature has been a protest against the conventions and tyrannies of society. Even in Tennyson we read :

Cursed be the social wants that sin against the strength of youth.
Cursed be the social lies that warp us from the living truth.

A key to the modern protest against social tyrannies may be found in the conception of woman in modern art. The poets of the Romantic Revival had recognised in woman the dignified helpmate of man. Her life was complementary to man's, her virtue lay in her fulfilling the secondary part she owed him. An advanced and also a healthy and robust ideal of woman is visible in the novels of George Meredith. Meredith's heroines are of the open air, are never carried away by sentiment, are eminently sober and serve even to steady the men. But the latest development in the ideals of woman can be sought for only in the plays of Ibsen. The "New Woman" is a special quality of Ibsen's creative art. His "Doll's House" is the story of a loving wife, the mother of children, who, when she discovers that her husband treated her only as a doll and did not give her credit for an independent discretion in the world, deserts his home. "The Lady from the Sea" harps on the same ideal of liberty in another form. The wife of an excellent man, of some consideration in society, meets a certain sailor to whom she had unwittingly plighted her troth in early youth. She feels a romantic yearning to fulfil her early vow and chafes at the restraint imposed upon her by her husband. The husband, however, out of a generous impulse, relaxes his authority and gives his wife absolute freedom to choose for herself. The moment this sense of liberty comes over her she is disillusioned about the sailor to whom she had rashly been affianced in her childhood, and becoming conscious of the full worth of her husband returns to him. Bernard Shaw, the avowed disciple of Ibsen, has repeatedly striven to point out the iniquity of the double code of morality which permits the worst rake among men to occupy a secured and honored place in society while the woman that is guilty of the slightest moral weakness is consigned to the deepest abyss of shame. But the ideal of free love so fervently pictured by

modern artists has been ably attacked by Mr. Chesterton who calls the term a black and white contradiction. No lover has, as he says, ever been free. "It is in the nature of love to bind itself and the institution of marriage merely paid the average man the compliment of taking him at his word."

In prose the greatest achievement is the perfecting of the most flexible, powerful and direct instrument of expression. It has been said that there is no "oratory" in these days in Parliament. At the same time the command held over the house by a leader like Mr. Asquith is unquestioned. This is the spirit of modern prose. It is the best medium for exposition.

Modern literature has been tending to recede more and more from the average life of humanity, and seems likely to suffer in the range of its appeal by embodying only the abnormalities of individuals that are brilliant enough to charm the dilettante, and this detachment of literature from real life will lessen the usefulness of the written thing to the nation at large.

During the present war the genius of Tyrtæus is most in requisition, but after the war literature is bound to suffer a decided change. The most beautiful things in the world are after all the fact of the simple life, the pure life and the strong life. The lesson of the war will be to direct literature to become the expression of a longing for all these noble ideals. One would wish with Matthew Arnold that:

Time may restore us in his course,
Goethe's sage mind and Byron's force;
But where will Europe's latter hour
Again find Wordsworth's healing power?

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE IDEA OF A GENTLEMAN.

BY K. C. MACARTNEY, M.A.

THE fact of change and development in the meanings of words can scarcely need emphasis, it is as certain as the changes in pronunciation, and should form an equally important part of the studies of the philologist. Were it to do so more generally than is now the case, the science of philology would certainly become the most popular, because the most humane, of all sciences. Until some one shall arise with the necessary knowledge of history, philology, etymology, and human nature, the student who is perplexed by the obvious differences between the ancient and modern, the technical and lay uses of many words, must abandon himself to despair, or, which is little better, to the guidance of amateurs hardly less uninitiated than himself. Should the present article effect nothing else, it may perhaps show that some investigation into the change and development of the meanings of words should be speedily attempted, if only to save the unwary from the expositions of quacks and charlatans in the science.

We have chosen for our experiment a word in constant use, but one which has certainly changed its popular meaning in the course of time, or perhaps it would be more accurate to describe it as having added to the original meaning fresh ideas which have greatly modified it, if they have not smothered it altogether. William Camden defined a gentleman as a member of the lesser nobility, the College of Herald's define him as a person entitled to use armorial bearing, but there are very many persons possessing neither of these qualifications who would be highly incensed, and with perfect justice, were we to say to them "Sirs, you are not gentlemen." It is clear, then, that the general popular use of the word has considerably changed its meaning since the days of the antiquary Camden, and even the Garter King-at-Arms himself would not restrict it to its technical meaning, except upon technical occasions.

At the present time the refusal of the title "Gentleman" suggests to the popular mind something like moral delinquency or incompleteness. The lack may be in external qualities of action

and address, or in qualities of the mind, or of the heart, but there is always the suggestion that the lack, whatever it may be, is the fault of the individual himself, constituting a barrier to his free social intercourse with others whose right to the title is undisputed.

So far we have been negative in our description. If, however, we were asked to define what a gentleman is, rather than what he is not, we might describe him as a person embodying in a high degree those characteristics which to any age seem to be most desirable. It is partly owing to the change of ideals from ancient to modern times that the dominant meaning of the word has changed so much. But there is also about words a certain tenacious quality which seems to prevent them from losing altogether a meaning which they once possessed, although that meaning may become added to and overlaid by subsequent "derived" meanings. Now, if our description of a gentleman as the ideal character of any age be correct, and if we be correct also in asserting the power of a word to retain old meanings while it acquires new ones, we may expect to discover many traces of bygone ideals in this particular word, so that the word itself and the ideas which it connotes may throw a valuable light on the social and ethical development of the English people.

While the word "gentleman," meaning a person of distinguished or noble birth, came into England from France towards the close of the Middle Ages the Northern peoples did not have to wait until then for their conception of an ideal character. Their heroes were all of a definite type. Beowulf, Sigurd, Grettir differ slightly in circumstances, but they all possess physical strength and physical courage in a superlative degree. These are the heroic virtues of a barbarous age, from them followed a third quality, capacity for leadership, that is leadership in war, organizing and driving power, and the power to deal with sudden emergencies. All these are distinctively military qualities—capacity to lead is always enhanced by the right to lead, which in all societies, ancient as well as modern, is associated with the hereditary principle, so that before the term "gentleman" was known to the Northern peoples the idea of noble birth formed part of their ideal hero. In civil life, they demanded that their hero should be open-handed and generous. Frequently, as in the cases of Beowulf and Grettir, he was in his youth moody and phlegmatic and

only showed his real nature in a crisis. In company, at feasts or in the presence of women, he was reserved and shy until warmed with wine when he became boastful. The spirit of romance prompted the Northern peoples to picture their heroes as outlaws or exiles, but this is not the case with all of them.

Thus in the North of Europe the conception of the hero was of a man of action, to be relied upon in emergencies, while in peace time he remained quietly at home or sought suitable military employment in foreign lands, but who never troubled himself with the government of his country. His virtues were personal and military, the virtues of an early civilization. In the South, however, where city life was in early ages far more common than in the North, and where the conquests of Rome through many generations gradually brought together under one government widely different races living in three continents, the ideal character was bound to differ considerably from that of the North. What this ideal was is sufficiently indicated by a considerable group of words in the English language such as *civil*, *urbane*, *polite*, *polished*, and the like. All these words indicate the external differences of the townsman from the rustic. They cannot without some violence be divorced from the manner with which an act is accompanied, in fact they have in certain periods of the language all suggested something formal; even insincere. In course of time, they have lost, or are in process of losing, any suggestion of this kind, but they still refer to the manner in which an act is performed rather than to the motive which prompted it.

Here then, we have strong evidence that to the city-dwellers of the South the ideal virtues were far more social than was the case in the North. Obedience to, and respect for the laws, affability to one's neighbours, subordination of the inclinations of the individual to the good of the whole body and the rights of others, are the virtues which we find making men famous in the history of the Roman Republic, and their absence never failed to make a man odious. Even after the corruption of the Republic, it was worth while to pay respect to these dead virtues, and it may be this fact which has caused the names of them in our language to sound a little hollow and insincere.

Thus there were in the ancient world, at least two varieties of ideal character with strongly contrasted qualities. The

Northern type had at one time been honoured in the South, but when warfare ceased to be the normal condition of Southern Europe, and it was brought into close contact with the wealth and luxury of Egypt and Asia Minor and the civic traditions of Greece, what had before seemed to be degenerate effeminacy, gradually became the ideal characteristics of the race.

The civic virtues which were rapidly becoming formalized and without real meaning, were unexpectedly revived and vitalized by the genius of Christianity which not only gave to them a new motive, but a new power. The Christian Church is a Society and the distinctive virtues which she stresses are bound to be the civic virtues. This may not have been at once apparent, but the strong control claimed by the Church over the social action of the individual, together with her presentation of all social obligations in a new and more intimate light, replacing the idea of the state by that of the family, were bound to produce this effect. The Christian virtues of love, forbearance, self-sacrifice, self-restraint, pity, courtesy, are all social virtues, so that the effect of Christianity was to create stronger motives for the exercise of these virtues, thus giving a decisive advantage to the civic conception of the ideal character. If this argument need further support, we appeal once more to the evidence of the language. That Christianity continued as it began to spread from the great centres of population to the less populous countryside, is shown clearly by the two words which denoted the non-Christian world to the Church, *pagan* and *heathen*. Both these words denote the dwellers on the uplands away from the cities and therefore outside the main stream of civilization. It may be argued that the terms were used metaphorically of those outside the City of God, but the historical facts of the advance of Christianity strongly suggest that the words were originally used in their literal sense, though no doubt they acquired later a slight metaphorical colouring.

While the idea of heredity clearly finds a place in the most primitive conception of the ideal character, it is not so obviously necessary to what we may call the civic conception, still less does it appear to be in keeping with that conception as modified by Christianity. Yet the growth of settled institutions seems to have led to the emphasis of this idea. The Roman Republic in spite of changes in its constitution always respected the Patrician order, and the Roman People were always powerfully influenced

in favour of any candidate for office who could appeal to the services rendered to the State by his ancestors. Christianity also, with the strong emphasis laid by it upon Divine Providence, tended to inculcate the greatest respect for the holders of authority as well as for authority in the abstract. When rulers became Christian and were consecrated to their office by the Church, their persons became sacred, and something of their sanctity and dignity was shared by the officials under them. This respect for the holders of offices was naturally increased by the gradual extensive application of the idea that the most capable person to fill a great position was a man whose father had held the same or a similar post. So that though the civic conception of an ideal character does not necessarily postulate the notion of distinguished parentage, it does not oppose, and indeed countenances it.

In the fifth century the Roman Empire in the West finally broke up into separate states whose rulers were warrior tribesmen possessing and admiring those primitive personal and military virtues which constituted the old ideal character. They came, however, under the sway of Christianity, so that the new ideal was made up of a fusion of the old barbarian virtues with those which are distinctively Christian. How incongruous this fusion sometimes was may be easily seen by any one who cares to study even so late a work as Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*. Arthur himself, though the first of the three Christian Worthies of the world, is a very strange mixture, and many of his knights are even more strange in their behaviour, so that the good Sir Thomas has constantly to remind us that Christianity was but imperfectly understood in those far-off times. The truth is that in these old stories we can see the attempt being made to amalgamate two ideals which are at some points diametrically opposed to one another.

What then is the ideal character of the middle age? Primarily a knight, a soldier in a position of authority, to which he has almost always been born, but for which he has had to prove his fitness. But the true knight is more than a soldier. To some extent, varying from the absolute completeness of the Religious Orders to the merest formal vows of the heir to a throne, he is "in religion," that is he is bound by vows to break which involves something like sacrilege. He is in his own person a fusion of the two ideals of the warrior and the church man. The most complete knight is he who forsaking brethren

and wife and children and lands dedicates his sword to the service of the Cross sets out to do his part to found the kingdom of Jerusalem and rescue the Holy Places. Next to such an one comes the true knight errant of romance, the Galahad-Percival character who goes through the world on some high religious quest, doing good with a strong hand by the way. In theory this world of chivalry obliterated class distinctions; it did so, however, only by obliterating all classes below those of knight and priest, and even a king, like a bishop among priests, was only a knight with added authority and dignity. Still the true knight, though he lived in the imaginations of men more than in the real world, only remained true so long as his conduct was guided by the moral code of Christianity. The true knight was the courteous protector of all ladies, the champion of the weak and oppressed, because he was the soldier of Christ. In the ideals of chivalry, beneath much which is quite unworthy of the high ideal of knighthood, and behind much which is merely conventional or formal, we begin to perceive the recognition of a new moral element in the ideal character, not superseding the old, but suffusing it. The soldier noble is no longer the complete man, unless he possesses in some degree the virtues of the Christian.

While there was this great good in the ideal of chivalry, there was so much in it of unreality and make-believe that it could scarcely ever be more than a beautiful dream, and the attempts to translate it into action were certain to concentrate upon the outward trappings rather than the ideal itself. Even Spenser makes it abundantly clear that chivalry was to him a dream for the well-born alone. He tells us that only such persons can hope to ride *perfectly*, and the promptings to courage and humanity in the breast of one of his savage woodlanders he can explain only by supposing him to be of gentle birth. Another fact tending in the same direction was the early established custom of knighting the sons, or at least the eldest sons, of knights, thus transforming what had been an order into a class. These knights were very largely landholders under some great noble, or the king, so that gradually the idea of landed property came to be associated with them. Thus they came to be men of wealth and substance whose interests were bound up with those of the higher nobility.

The Renaissance in the fifteenth century and the Reformation in the sixteenth each contributed something to the overthrow of the old chivalric ideal. The Renaissance partly by its attitude to religion and still more by its worship of learning, struck at the heart of the religious-military conception of the ideal character. Once more the centre of influence shifted from the country seats of the nobles and the knights to the centres of foreign trade and new ideas in the towns. Men of learning and of affairs, scholarly lawyers and bishops received respect because of their learning; a new class of people were growing up depending not on their birth but their parts for their fame, men like Wolsey, Latimer, Erasmus, Spenser, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson. Throughout the Middle Ages the Church had always been a means by which men might rise from the lowest orders to the highest position in the State, but outside the ranks of the clergy such advancement was practically impossible. But from the sixteenth century onwards learning became a stepping-stone to advancement, especially scholarship and knowledge of the law.

While the Renaissance was thus undermining the aristocracy of birth by setting up one of talents, the Reformation burst upon Europe with its insistence on moral qualities. Of this side of the development of the ideal character Spenser is the most complete example. While his definition of the word as "a noble person" leaves no doubt that he insisted upon the nation of birth, still it is clear from the plan of the *Faerie Queene* that he felt that moral qualities were necessary. This Elizabethan age produced not only the first treatises definitely intended to impress upon gentlemen the necessity of moral virtue and intellectual attainment as the natural supports to their rank, but also the first pattern of the new ideal in the person of Sir Philip Sidney. He seems to have been one of those rare individuals against whom envy and slander dared not raise their heads. Nothing in his writings which have come down to us justifies the extravagant reputation which he possessed in his own day, but this is not to be wondered at as his reputation rests upon his personal character. But he combined in himself all that seemed most desirable to his contemporaries. His birth was exalted, his tastes literary, his poetry is still read with pleasure and his prose without distaste as a critic he reflected the opinions of his time and expressed them without acrimony; his

scholarship was respectable if not profound, and far exceeded the average attainment of men of his rank in his own day or in ours. As a soldier he was more gallant than successful, but he possessed in the highest degree the personal qualities of courage, generosity and courtesy. With all this he was a kind of standard or rallying point for the moderate men among the reforming party in religion. He was in fact what others have since been in title with much less reason, the first gentleman of his age.

One immediate result of these changing ideas which began to make itself felt long before the changes were complete, was the notion that a man could be a gentleman by profession as well as by birth. Certain occupations which had before seemed to be the special preserve of nobility of birth, now were thrown open by royal favour or necessity to the nobility of intellect. This was notably the case with the services of the Crown which came more and more to demand men of intelligence. We notice the term "gentleman" first coming into general use in connection with certain Court offices, and the King's officers in his Navy and Army receive the title of "Gentleman" on their commissions. By a very natural extension of the term those who were qualified by their intellectual attainments to hold such offices assumed, and were by courtesy allowed to use, the title of gentleman. Thus those Elizabethan dramatists who had proceeded M. A. at one or other of the Universities proudly wrote after their names "Gent." of them all, a mere handful only could have upheld their claim on any but academic grounds. Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, not being Masters of Arts, had to obtain a patent from the College of Heralds before they could use the title. It is worth while noticing that the "learned professions" of Law and Divinity also claimed this title for their practitioners. It has always been admitted in Divinity, but in Law a curious distinction was made between the members of the Bar and the attorneys or, as we should now say, solicitors.

At this stage we find three distinct classes of individuals all entitled by custom to be called "gentlemen"; the old hereditary landed class, the men of learning and education, and the clergy, barristers and servants of the Crown. While these qualifications seem definite enough, a moment's reflection will show that they must produce endless anomalies which will lead to an ever widening extension of the term. We will suppose that a seventeenth century merchant has two sons. He is anxious that one

of them shall carry on his business, while he is prepared to make use of his wealth to advance the social position of the other. We will suppose that the elder elects to follow his father's calling, while the second buys a commission in the Army. The second son is now undoubtedly entitled to write himself "gentleman", which neither his father nor brother may do. However, the elder son marries the heiress of a gentleman in the neighbouring county; by courtesy he is styled "gentleman", which he may convert into a title of right by becoming member of Parliament for the division wherein his wife's estate is situated. Now he is a gentleman though a merchant, while his father is not. This example is no mere fancy one, it is representative of what actually occurred again and again during that period.

The fact is that there had grown up new conditions of life while the Renaissance and the Reformation were working themselves out. Discovery, science, and later invention, had altered the old social values in what we would now call a democratic direction. The value of trade had increased enormously, and with it the importance of the towns, not as the seat of government, but as the store-houses of wealth. When agriculture had been the chief source of wealth, the landowners had proportionately great power, and with power went social position; in the same way, when trade became more important, the social position of the merchant was enhanced. The result of this has been that a new aristocracy of wealth has been added to the old aristocracy of birth, and the aristocracies of intellect and profession. These are the main divisions into which we may classify what we will call, for the sake of convenience only, a gentleman by position. It should be noted, however, that the technical distinctions of the College of Heralds would not acknowledge all these divisions. The scruples of that learned body may, however, be overcome easily enough by certain formalities, the most important of which is the payment of a fee.

The revolutionary and democratic spirit of the last century profoundly affected the use and connotation of the term "gentleman." In England all titles of honour have long tended to be applied more and more widely. For example, upon solemn and ceremonial occasions all judges and bishops are addressed as "My Lord" whether they are Lords Justices or Lords Spiritual or not, the wives of knights have long since abandoned the title "Madams" or "Dame" prefixed to their

Christian name for the more high-sounding "Lady" prefixed to the surname. As it has been with these more exalted titles of honour, so the one we are considering has been so widely applied, that the refusal of it to any individual is tantamount to an insult. At the same time the restricted technical use together with some faint memory of its older meanings has preserved for it a fairly definite ideal of conduct while blurring the notion of position. It is for this reason that its refusal is considered insulting.

Once more the term embodies the ideal character of our age in the popular mind. The spread of learning, the growth of science, the greater distribution of wealth, together with the revolutionary and democratic tendencies of the last three generations, have combined to thrust into the background the notion of birth as essential to a gentleman. Men have come to see that the traditional restraints which were the valuable elements in the idea can be obtained in other ways. For example high moral principles and a good understanding will carry a man far. If to these be added *esprit-de-corps* inspired by a school, a university, a college, a profession or a service, a man is a gentleman in the modern sense, because he behaves as one. Natural genius and the possession of social gifts may supply the defect of this latter quality of *esprit-de-corps*, but the want of the other two can only be made up in appearance by simulating them, and sooner or later the deceit is bound to break down.

It will be noticed that while the characteristics of a gentleman are personal, their expression is almost always social. It is this fact which tends to place undue emphasis upon the external expression of the character, courtesy in address, ease in deportment, a scrupulous observance of the conventions of polite society, a careful articulation of words and phrases, the careful suppression of all that is individual or distinctive to such a degree as to render a man conspicuous or his associates uncomfortable. Perhaps the one idea which expresses all this most completely is the divine gift of tact.

It is this external behaviour, which we call good manners, that forms the popular idea of a gentleman at the present day. Instinctively men have felt that this social quality depends largely upon tradition, so that the idea of heredity is never divorced entirely from the idea of a gentleman even in the

popular mind. Men have come to see, however, that this tradition of birth, which is really only one form of *esprit-de-corps*, can be replaced by others in men of goodwill, while without that goodwill it is not sufficient to keep a man from breaches of those very conventions and courtesies which are the outward expression of a gentleman.

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

THE attitude of the most weighty section of the American people is perhaps most fitly expressed by the following utterance in a recent number of the *Outlook*. Towards the end of April, President Wilson appeared before Congress assembled in joint session to read in person his address reviewing the situation of the controversy between Germany and the United States as to Submarine Warfare. The occasion was impressive and memorable and the galleries were crowded. The President in the speech now widely known reviewed the history of Germany's unlawful action on the seas and concluded with the weighty declaration that "unless the Imperial German Government should now *immediately* declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the Government of the German Empire altogether." Never before had the President spoken with such clearness and gravity and his words were welcomed by the large majority of the American people who were smarting under the humiliation of repeated warnings to Germany repeatedly ignored. Now, says the *Outlook*, "under such circumstances what ought the American people to do? Before they do anything else they should make clear to themselves what the issue between them and the German government is. First, it is an issue of the rights of American citizens as against a policy of deliberate murder. Second, it is an issue of the rights of neutral nations on the high seas, rights of which the United States is the most powerful defender. Third, it is an issue of the rights of non-combatants as against the resurgence of savagery in war. Fourth, it is an issue of the maintenance of international law as against a militarism which acts on the assumption that treaties are scraps of paper and that necessity knows no law. Fifth, it is an issue of the liberties of all peoples, the German people as well as the French or English or Russian or Belgian people, German-American as well as any other Americans. If once this nation is drawn into the war, it cannot withdraw simply when

submarines cease their activities. This nation must then take its part in sustaining the whole fabric of civilization which the German Government is imperilling. Clearly perceiving this issue the American people should prepare themselves for any step that the carrying out of the President's plan may involve, one of five results may follow the President's note to Germany :—(1) Germany may acquiesce, alter her whole submarine policy, and thus admit that her philosophy of war is unjustifiable. There is no ground to hope for such an admission. (2) The President may enter into another discussion with Germany, as he did after his 'strict accountability', and *Lusitania* notes. A course so inconsistent with the present ultimatum is not to be considered. (3) Germany may refuse to assent to the demands of the United States, whereupon a diplomatic rupture will follow. (4) Germany may regard this diplomatic rupture as a *casus belli* and declare war on us. (5) Germany may ignore the United States altogether, persist in her submarine policy and continue to destroy the lives of Americans and other neutrals. Our Government would then have to consider whether self-respect and human rights compelled us to declare war on Germany. For these reasons we believe a breaking of diplomatic relations is inevitable ; whether war follows depends wholly on Germany." Which of the five results thus outlined will prove to be the actual result has yet to be determined, but it is practically certain that no protest from America will materially alter Germany's policy.

THE action of America will depend in large measure on the party that prevails in the coming election. President Wilson's strength lies in the want of union in the Republican party. There are various possible candidates in the field, but as yet hardly a consensus of opinion. The following from the *Times* Washington correspondent shows that the probability is that Roosevelt will be the next Republican candidate* :—

"Unless all political signs fail, Theodore Roosevelt will be the Republican candidate for the American Presidency in opposition to Dr. Woodrow Wilson at the coming November elections. It has taken a miracle in American politics to unite Mr. Roosevelt to the politicians who drove him away from the Republican party four years ago, but the miracle has happened, writes Mr. J. W. T. Mason from New York.

Mr. Roosevelt has returned to the good graces of some of the most powerful Republican party managers, and to-day the prophets are almost unanimous that when the Republican nominating convention meets at Chicago during the first fortnight in June, nobody will seriously be in the running for the Convention's gift except the Colonel.

* Since the above was written, news from America has shown that the *Times*' Correspondent was over-confident in his prognostication.—*Editor, Madras Christian College Magazine.*

The Republicans have been considering several candidates for the past-six months, but one after the other has failed. Mr. Roosevelt's popularity has always been evident, but the Republicans have been afraid of his independence, and have not wanted to accept him unless conditions were so to develop as to make the Rough Rider an almost certain victor in the race for the White House. As far as the future can be foreseen, the muddle which the Washington Administration has made over the Mexican business will prove to be the final episode that will cause Mr. Roosevelt to be Republican Presidential candidate.

The ex-President has been predicting the very confusion that has resulted from the military operations in Mexico, and it is now unquestionable that the people of the United States are becoming seriously concerned about the nation's military inefficiency. Despite the normal disapproval of militarism there is a widespread feeling that proper precautions have not been taken to guard the United States against attack, and coupled with this growing conviction is a feeling that the present Administration is not strong enough nor decisive enough to right the wrong.

If Mr. Roosevelt is accepted by the Republicans it will be on a straight platform calling for heroic action by the American people. No effort is being made by him to obtain the nomination by a strategic concealment of his views. He is now busy issuing statements to the nation at large declaring that if the people want him to lead the Republican campaign they must be prepared for the stern consequences of his election to the Presidency. The Colonel's platform contains but a single plank. It declares for America first, last, and all the time, and for no other country. It asserts that every American is entitled to have his full rights defended by his Government regardless of the cost, and it defies the world to do so much as lay a finger weight on the balance against America's just claims for consideration under international law."

We call the attention of our readers to the June issue of *Young Men of India*, which is a special Army Department number. We have already more than once commended the work of the Y. M. C. A. in the war. It is impossible to speak too highly of it. Testimonies from general officers commanding the forces abound. The Madras Branch is at the present moment seeking to raise a lakh, and we most earnestly hope the aim may be realised. Y.M.C.A. secretaries, both British and American, have given themselves ungrudgingly to the work of assisting the troops, and have done much to ameliorate the hard conditions of the soldier's life on active service.

EVENTS move quickly in these days. Since we wrote last the Sinn Fein movement has broken out in rebellion and has been rapidly crushed, not however, without sad loss. It is pitiful that, when Britain has been straining every nerve to do justice to Ireland, and more than justice, and at the period of her greatest struggle, men and women should be found in thousands ready to side with our German enemies. Doubtless many were ignorant and misguided, but not a few were men and women of culture. It is impossible to predict the aberrations of human folly. Success was absolutely impossible. The

rebellion was bound to fail, yet the leaders pinned their faith to the promises of Germany, and made their foolhardy attempt. We are indebted to the *Madras Mail* for the following quotation on Sinn Feinism from the *Daily Telegraph* :—

"The Sinn Fein movement, which in its wartime phases had led to the trouble in Dublin, was, says the *Daily Telegraph*, inaugurated about sixteen or eighteen years ago. It was an offshoot of the Gaelic League movement. Sinn Fein has no direct connection with the Gaelic League organisation, although a number of its adherents are members of the Gaelic League, which itself is a non-political body. 'The words Sinn (pronounced Shinn) Fein' in the Gaelic language mean "ourselves," Sinn being the word for 'we' and Fein an emphatic particle meaning "self."

As originally preached, the doctrine of Sinn Fein was one of self-reliance, and this principle commended itself to many persons in Ireland, who thought that too much dependence was being placed on the British Parliament to improve the conditions of the country in respect to government and economics. As later developed by those who made themselves prominent in the movement, the gospel of Sinn Fein assumed a more materialistic aspect than in its original sphere, and it became concerned with what was conceived to be its natural development in absolute indifference to and contempt for the interests of outside countries. It is a fundamental creed with the Sinn Feiners that the Parliamentary movement had demoralised the people of Ireland, and that before any progress could be made along Sinn Fein lines, it was essential that the Irish party should be broken up.

For several years the major portion of the Sinn Fein efforts was directed into this channel, and, although the cult of Sinn Fein appealed to the imagination of certain sections of the community, it never really caught on with the masses, and where the people were not indifferent, they preferred in nine cases out of ten to support the Irish party. From time to time, however, the Sinn Fein movement has made itself awkward for the Irish party. The first occasion when any sort of impetus was given to the movement was when the country was disappointed at the fiasco produced by the rejection in 1907 of the Irish Council Bill—a devolutionary measure of which Sir Antony (now Lord) MacDonnell was the principal author. It is no secret that the Irish leaders of the party were originally favourably disposed towards the measure, but the Sinn Feiners were potent amongst the influences which "gingered" the Convention held in Dublin under the auspices of the Nationalist party into refusing to accept the Bill.

The next fillip given to the movement was when the establishment of Sir Edward Carson's Ulster Volunteers pointed the way to Sinn Feiners to a new field of action, and, it is due to them that the rival force of volunteers was set on foot by the Nationalists. At the outset the Irish party sternly discounted the idea of the foundation of Nationalist Volunteers, believing that constitutional rather than armed methods held the field; but when the new Irish Volunteer movement became too widespread and strong to be ignored, Mr. Redmond's party determined to capture it and had little difficulty in doing so.

Then a schism set in with great suddenness. The section of the volunteers who passed over to the control of the Irish party became known as the National Volunteers. The original founders of the force, rebelling against the control of the Irish party which produced a moderating influence upon that body, started

a section of volunteers on their own account, who were known as the Irish Volunteers, and these are the men who seem to be behind the trouble in the Irish capital. Dublin is their stronghold—in other parts of Ireland they are of much less account than in the Irish metropolis.

The war gave a new scope to the activities of this extreme section of Volunteers. From the beginning of hostilities, it became their avowed object to put into practical effect the old maxim, "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity", which since the revival of Liberalism in 1906, and the reinstatement of Home Rule in the forefront of politics, had become discredited in the ranks of the Nationalist masses. The Sinn Fein party has been very strenuous in its propaganda work in the opposition to recruiting and generally 'agin' the Government. If it has come out strongly on the pro-German side, it is not because Sinn Fein has any love of the Germans, but purely and simply with the ultimate idea of bringing into being its ideal of an Irish Republic under Sinn Fein control.

A considerable number of young men in Dublin, chiefly, strange to say, drawn from the Civil Service classes, have rallied round the Sinn Fein movement and, still more curious, there has been a certain leavening of men from the North of Ireland, whom one would naturally expect to find in the opposite camp. In this connection it may be mentioned that Sir Roger Casement, a native of Co. Antrim who is now imprisoned in London, took an active part in organising the Nationalist Volunteers before they came under the dominance of the Irish party, afterwards continuing his work in the ranks of the Sinn Fein section of the Volunteers.

It is difficult to suggest the actual development of the active rebellion which has now broken out, as the inner history of the Irish parties is scarcely known to themselves. But the Sinn Feiners, under their organising leader, O'Rahilly, and their military adviser, Colonel Moore, have during the last three years attained to a position and a political strength that has proved more than once highly inconvenient to the Redmonites. Mr. Redmond was wise in assuming control of the Nationalist Volunteers. He did so in order to keep the growing and restless movement out of the hands of men like Casement and Moore. But it was a difficult force to control, and from the first Mr. Redmond's acquiescence in the exclusion even of the Four Counties of Ulster from the operation of Home Rule was denounced by Sinn Feiners as treason to Ireland. Many clergy and politicians took up a non-committal attitude towards this "All Ireland for the Irish" battle-cry—the clergy because they were desirous of maintaining their influence over their flocks; the politicians because they were anxious to avoid anything in the nature of a critical dispute in view of the future of the Home Rule movement.

How far the Gaelic League, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and other nominally pacific organisations have been kept informed or have approved of the schemes of the extremists we shall probably know when the inevitable recriminations begin."

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

Anthology of Verse for Indian Schools. Edward J. Thompson. (Macmillan & Co. Price Re. 1.)

IN the preface to this book, the author states that during several years of teaching experience in an Indian school he has used various anthologies but has found them all to be unsuitable. His experience is probably identical with that of most teachers and all will welcome the effort made to remedy the present defect. The selection in the above-mentioned book is "intended only for the two top classes of a high school" and contains poems which are classified as Narrative, Humorous, Elegiac, Epigrammatic, Moral and Reflective, Religious, Patriotic, Sonnets, etc. The narrative poems have appeared in most anthologies before and do not require any special comment. Under the title of Humorous Poems there appear eight selections only one of which is already known to most Indian teachers namely, *John Gilpin*. The others deservedly find a place here. There are eleven poems grouped under the heading 'Verses about Children', written by authors such as Canton, Blake, Stevenson and Hood. These hardly come within the scope of the book as most of them are generally studied in the lower forms. Epigrams occupy three pages of the book and six of them are translations from the Bengali of Sir Rabindranath Tagore. A noteworthy feature of the anthology is the inclusion of Religious and Patriotic Poems, with regard to which the author remarks that the new generation in India, renowned for its patriotism, will be glad to learn that the English are also patriotic. The religious poems are characterised as "noble in feeling and theistic in tone, which could cause offence to no serious man, whatever his creed" selections have been made from the writings of Dr. Watts, Bishop Ken, Cardinal Newman, Keble, Tennyson and others. Amongst the Patriotic Poems are Kipling's '*A Song of the English*', Newbolt's '*The Only Son*', Tagore's '*The Poet's Dream*', Symonds '*A Vista*.' Several other poems which have probably never appeared before in any school anthology in India are grouped together under the heading of prose poems. Here are included Psalms from the Bible. Matthew Arnold's translation of St. Francis' *Canticle of the Creatures* and three extracts from Tagore's *Gitanjali*.

The selections on the whole are admirable and ought to prove of great help to headmasters and teachers who frequently have difficulty in making a choice of a suitable text-book. A few useful notes have been

added, sufficient to enable pupils to know how to search for more detailed information when it is required.

R. W. ROSS.

LITERARY NOTES.

WE referred in a previous note to a very striking indictment of Prussianism, written by a German author who has the courage of his convictions. The book has now been published in English, under the title, *Because I am a German*. It is published by Constable, at 2s. 6d. nett.

MR. WELLS'S anticipations of the future can always be counted on to stimulate interest, if they do not always carry conviction. Under the title, *What is Coming?* he has now issued a forecast of things after the War (Cassell, 6s. nett).

PROBABLY most of our readers are already familiar with the name of Mr. Stephen Graham, one of the most attractive and enthusiastic of the English authors who can write about Russia and the Russians with first-hand knowledge. *Through Russian Central Asia* (Cassell, 16s. nett) gives a graphic account of those semi-desolate lands of history which have passed under the Russian flag, and which are to-day being steadily re-populated by the prolific Slav race.

THE increasing attention given to all that concerns our Russian allies is manifest in every periodical of the day. *Inter alia*, we note the copious correspondence in recent issues of the *Times Literary Supplement* on the transliteration of Russian names. We do not propose to enter the controversy; but the adoption of some uniform standard is greatly to be desired. Some of the correspondents, however, fail to distinguish between transliteration, in the strict sense, and the reproduction of Russian sounds in English characters—a very different process. Indian names in English works afford many examples of a similar confusion.

THOSE interested in the possibilities of South America should look out for *Through South America's Southland* (Appleton, 15s. nett). It is an account of the great tour popularly associated with the name of ex-President Roosevelt; but the author, Father J. A. Zahm, who was largely responsible for the inception and execution of the tour, writes independently, and has little to say about "the Colonel." He

is, in fact, a first-hand authority on South America, and a practised explorer of the continent.

PROF. LOUNSBURY has published a noteworthy volume on Tennyson, which should help the reader not only to take the measure of the poet himself but also of the criticism to which he was subjected—a study which will not prepossess the student in favour of contemporary literary criticism. The book is published in England by Milford, at 10s. 6d. nett, and bears the title *The Life and Times of Tennyson*. It should be noted, however, that the volume is really restricted to the years from 1809 to 1850.

THE death of Prof. Napier, of Oxford, removes a pillar of the scientific study of English in that University. Retiring and modest he made little claim on public attention; but it is largely by his devoted energy and thoroughness that the “English School” at Oxford has won so high a place in English studies.

SCIENCE NOTES.

WHILE the War has put an end to much scientific work, there is some that it has encouraged. Meteorological prediction is necessary if our airmen are to have a fair chance, and even in war-time it is necessary to revise our theories for “it is of the highest importance that meteorologists who have to advise the men of action upon practical questions should approach the consideration of those questions without the bias which necessarily attaches to an erroneous fundamental principle of long standing.” In these words, in a lecture delivered at the Royal Institution, Sir Napier Shaw alludes to the tacit assumption of ordinary meteorology that surface conditions and, in particular, surface temperatures, determine the motions of the whole atmosphere. In this lecture he shows that better results are to be had from a contrary hypothesis; that the stratosphere, that is the atmosphere from about nine kilometres upwards, formerly called the isothermal layer, governs the whole convection, the disturber of the troposphere, or lower air, having little effect here.

IN the stratosphere, there is little variation of temperature vertically; so little that it may be neglected. Isotherms are therefore isobars, and winds are everywhere proportional to pressure-gradients, that is to temperature-gradients. Outside the equatorial region the rotation of

the earth secures that the pressure-gradient is a compensation for a kind of centrifugal force, that is the winds are along, not perpendicular to, the isobars, keeping high pressure or low temperature on the right. This idea he calls "strophic balance."

HE proceeds to test this theory by numerical applications and gets surprising agreement. He gets, for instance, the conclusion that in the central region of an anticyclone the winds must be light. He concludes also that the troposphere has little influence in determining the distribution of surface pressure; that winds in the stratosphere may rapidly fall off in the troposphere and can be used to calculate horizontal temperature gradients. The most interesting results to us would be applications to the theory of cyclonic movements but this he dismisses very briefly. A circulation at the base of the stratosphere has only a limited extension upwards, but it is likely to extend downwards to the ground.

IT has been discovered that many apple-trees, including such well-known ones as Cox's Orange Pippin, are completely or nearly self-sterile. Accordingly other varieties have to be planted beside them. This is even more frequently the case with pears. The physiology of the matter has scarcely been touched, but it is known that the absence of a particular kind of sugar from the surface of the stigma may prevent a pollen tube from growing. There is room for much work of importance both to science and to agriculture in this domain.

IT has been found that an aeroplane has to be built for a particular purpose and we have now for land warfare four main types. We have aeroplanes for scouting, which we may take as the normal type. Then there are artillery observation aeroplanes; these are somewhat slow and require the protection of the battle planes which light and rise rapidly. The remaining class is that of the bomb-droppers of which the features are large size and large lifting capacity.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE May number of the *Contemporary Review* opens with an article entitled 'Commercial Supremacy after the War', by Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett. Referring to the discussions that have been going on for some time on the question of trade conditions after the war, Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett says that they are too much coloured by the antagonism that now prevails. It is being too much taken for granted that the present temperament of the nations will continue after the war and that when the war has ceased in a military sense it will continue to be carried on commercially in every neutral market of the world. But can it be seriously contended that after the war German-made goods are to be shut out of the markets of the world? Such a condition would stimulate animosity, blight the reformation of German character, almost justify the nation in the renewal of military preparations, and open up a vista of further war. To hold out as a threat to Germany that if she persists in forming commercial combinations distinctly hostile to the *entente* nations their governments will meet combination by combination is in Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett's opinion war, which is always intended to be pressed to a conclusion in order to obtain a result. In negotiating a military peace we shall have to take into account the disturbing element of commercial rivalry and provide against it as part of the terms of the settlement. In future we shall not be able to separate altogether political from commercial questions in regard to the component parts of the Empire; but that is different from committing ourselves to any one commercial system for the whole Empire. Whatever is done the position of the United Kingdom, which is the heart of the Empire and the bond which unites the Dominions, must be safeguarded.

In order to obviate the difficulties with which we were confronted at the beginning of the war Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett says we do not need to dislocate our trade relations with other countries or to close our ports against them. What we require to do is to organise our trade on a national basis. Individuals, in whose hands trade has been left in the past, have not the means at their disposal for determining over-production or under-production. The future Minister of Commerce will have to satisfy himself that somewhere in the Empire we are raising raw material and are competent to provide every thing which is ancillary to our leading manufactures. The Government will have to see to it that we do not as in the past concentrate

too much upon a few great trades and neglect those subordinate industries which have their use and place in a national scheme. The Dominions must be allowed to settle their own commercial problems in their own way.

After the war the labour problem will demand very serious attention. At present we are at 'a half-way position' in the relationship of labour and capital. To go back is neither possible nor desirable, and unless the present position, which is not altogether satisfactory to anyone, is to be accepted, legal sanction must be given to further organisation. In Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett's opinion the nation could not carry on if trade were organised on a socialist or syndicalist basis. It must go into business on a national scale. He suggests the nationalisation of the railways and of establishments engaged in engineering and shipbuilding. The nation "should probably also take over the working of at least the most valuable of the collieries and oil deposits." In any case it must make sure that a sufficient supply of labour and capital is available within the United Kingdom. For some time to come there will be need for hard work and frugal living, but in Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett's opinion there is a good time coming for Great Britain if she will only have patience.

Mr. Harold Spender contributes a spirited defence of the Coalition Government. He holds that what he calls the 'ferocities of the Press, are entirely out of tune with the mood of the nation, which, however anxious and perturbed it may be, is always gravely just and serious in its attitude towards its public men. It is fair to ask how far the Coalition have been responsible for such errors as are confessed and undeniable in the conduct of the war, and, if they are responsible, how far such responsibility reveals qualities that portend danger to the State. On the other hand it is also just to ask how far the errors that have been made are inevitable accompaniments of new and unexplored experiences—of difficulties without parallel in the history of the world. Again, may it not be that the Coalition, while making mistakes, have by foresight and skill avoided other mistakes immeasurably greater? Or again, is it fair to charge the Government with all the mistakes that have been made and acquit those who have had the actual conduct of the war? Among other things for which the Coalition has been blamed is the failure in the supply of munitions which took place more than a year ago. This is an amazing instance of the shortness of political memories. For it was precisely to retrieve this failure that the Coalition was formed, and the solution of the munitions problem has been perhaps its greatest triumph. In regard to the attitude of the Coalition towards conscription it has been accurately that of the nation itself. In this matter, no other

Government could have gone so far towards a settlement on right lines as the Coalition at the time of writing had succeeded in doing. The peculiar strength of the Coalition is that it is always open to conviction and enlargement. The true precedent for the Coalition of 1915 he finds in the Coalition of 1757 when the elder Pitt combined with Newcastle and the elder Fox.

M. J. L. de Lanessan, former Governor of Indo-China, and former Minister of Marine, contributes an interesting article on the 'Entente Cordiale' between Great Britain and France. History proves that the Entente Cordiale between these two nations has often been a great blessing to humanity. But never during the whole course of history has the beneficial effect of their union been more clearly demonstrated than at the present time. The two nations should always have been united in bonds of friendship, but their peoples, like those of all the rest of Europe, were during many centuries thrown against each other by the ambitions of their governments. Since the end of the fifteenth century, however, only two periods of their history have been disturbed by long and important wars. These were the period of Louis XIV and the period commencing with the revolt of the United States and ending with the downfall of Napoleon. In each of these periods Great Britain's policy was to prevent the hegemony of Europe from falling into the hands of an individual. And that is what France and Great Britain are together fighting to prevent now.

M. de Lanessan calls attention to the fact that every time that friendship has been established between France and Great Britain, the result has been material and moral advantage not only to themselves but also to other peoples. And if after the present terrible war, the small nations enjoy their autonomy and liberty, they will owe it in a great measure to the Franco-British Entente Cordiale. For the establishment of the Entente he gives the chief credit to King Edward VII and President Faure. But the work of the cementing the bond which these two men created has been greatly facilitated by the megalomania and the disloyalty of Germany. As regards the future, M. de Lanessan is of opinion that France and Great Britain will of all nations have the least cause for disturbing the peace of the world. Rivalries of various kinds are bound to arise between the two nations, but such rivalries, he believes, may easily be mitigated by commercial treaties, navigation conventions, and other peaceful means.

Mr. Y. K. Leong throws a lurid light on the doings of Yuan Shi Kai in connection with his attempt to re-establish a monarchy in China. While ridiculing the suggestion that German intrigue was at the back of the Monarchist movement in China he says 'that Yuan and his followers were wholly inspired by the spirit of Prussian militarism.'

Yuan ruled China by military force, trampling ruthlessly on the public opinion of all good and educated people. Foreign loans put a powerful weapon into his hands, but he wantonly abused it. Mr. Leong in the course of his article gives some interesting information regarding the real state of public opinion in China and the condition of political parties in that country. He says that when the Monarchists claimed that the majority of the people wanted a monarchy they could not have meant the masses of the people. In matters of central government effective public opinion is to be sought for only in the educated class, consisting of those who have received a foreign education and those who have been educated in the old school. The masses of the people are indifferent towards the form of central government under which they live so long as their local life and organisations are not encroached upon. As regards the educated classes Mr. Leong says that the overwhelming majority of them are in favour of the Republic.

The Rev. W. W. Holdsworth, whom some readers of this Magazine may remember as a valued contributor, gives his impressions of the men at the front as seen in the course of his work as a hospital chaplain. The first and the inevitable impression is that of the light-hearted, the irrepressible gaiety of men who have suffered every horror of war. The wards of a military hospital are not "sad aisles of pain," but homes of happy laughter and of fun which has never been careless, or bitter, or cruel. The attitude of the men towards their enemies is generally free from hatred, but their condemnation of the unnameable deeds done by the Germans is severe. They are very reserved in speaking of their own deeds. In the matter of religion their ideas seem to be somewhat vague, but many of them appear to be seeking for a religious interpretation of their experience and to be trying to relate that which they have felt and seen to those forms of faith which hitherto they have taken for granted or perhaps have dismissed as incomprehensible to the ordinary mind. The full relation of their newly-experienced consciousness to older teaching will be possible only if the Church realises its duty. The men feel that they have "been up against realities." They have felt the human need of God and realised the value of prayer in their approach to Him. They have also realised as they never did before the sinfulness of sin. From such realities there is coming to them a new interpretation of life.

Dr. Thomas F. A. Smith contributes an interesting article dealing with 'German War Literature,' of which there has been an enormous output; Mr. Sommerville Story discusses the future of industry and commerce in France, with special reference to the need for supplanting Germany in the production of the things France needs; and

Mr. Edward Bond gives an interesting account of 'the Conquest of the Cameroon.' The other articles are 'A Few Days in Southern Italy', by M. Jules Destrée; 'The Conscription of Industry' by Mr. J. H. Harley; 'National Service for Historians', by Mr. Hubert Hall; 'The Spirit of Co-operation', by the Viscountess Wolseley; 'The Spiritual Art' (Music), by the Count de Soissons; and 'From the Southern Cross', by Mr. J. E. G. de Montmorency. In the Literary Supplement, which contains the last-named article, there is a poem entitled 'Ypres', by the Hon. Ronald Gorell Barnes, and there are also the usual reviews of books.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE general tone of the May number of *The Nineteenth Century* is serious and sober, no doubt the German offensive at Verdun has attained one of its important objects, namely, to show the Allies that the power of attack has not yet passed from German hands. Doubtless a second sobering cause is the discovery that the patriotism of those millions who have voluntarily enlisted in the Army and Navy is not sufficient to secure victory, so that the country has been forced to adopt compulsion. In any case, from whatever cause, there is in all the articles a note of sobriety which seems to point to the awakening of the whole nation to the magnitude of the task before us.

The first article is by Dr. Shadwell. Under the title *The Trials to Come*, he deals with two distinct problems, or rather he deals with one and indicates the second. The first trial before us he feels to be the danger of our being persuaded to make peace 'by negotiation' with an unbroken Prussianism because of the favourable terms offered. It is possible to sum up his views on the subject of peace without gross mis-statement in some such manner as this. "We cannot afford to make any peace which shall not be permanent both for moral and strictly worldly reasons. The necessary preliminary to such a peace is the destruction of the aggressive aims of Germany. There are two theoretical methods by which this might be accomplished; Germany may be so crushed and dismembered that she is rendered powerless to attack others, or the German people may be diverted from their present aggressive policy by realizing at first its impracticability and later its immorality. The first alternative is impossible, and even if it were possible, it is in the highest degree undesirable, as it would be bound to lead to injustice, not to the present generation of Germans who richly deserve all the chastisement we can give them, but to future generations of Germans who will be as innocent of the guilt of this generation as the English of the present day are of the massacre of the

Danes on the feast of St. Bride by Ethelred a thousand years ago. It remains, therefore, to accomplish the removal of the German menace, by forcing the German people to realise that they cannot fulfil their ambition. At first this will have the result of diverting their attention from foreign countries to setting their own house in order. It is only when they have realized that the Government and Army in which they trusted could not give them their desires, that they can begin to question whether those desires are themselves reasonable. But an overwhelming victory by the Allies sealed by a just peace dictated by them will be certain to set in motion those reflections which will lead eventually to the regeneration of Germany."

In the meantime it is of vital importance that Germany should be fully occupied in the period after the War, because it is morally certain that it will be a time of grave stress for the Empire and her Allies. It is this situation which Dr. Shadwell considers to constitute the second and greater trial ahead. He is filled with the gravest concern in contemplating the state of affairs at the beginning of the peace. He anticipates grave troubles over Home Rule, but we may hope that that question is now nearer to adjustment than it has been since the Act of Union. But the real trouble will be the changes almost certainly necessary in the economic and industrial condition of the country. Dr. Shadwell points out the many arguments partly sentimental, partly politic, which will force to the front the question of an economic understanding between the different parts of the Empire and between the Empire as a whole and our Allies. Such a compact is necessarily bound to raise prices which is sure to arouse fierce opposition and party strife.

But even more certain than these difficulties ahead, is the renewal with the fiercest bitterness of the struggle between employers and employed. Dr. Shadwell considers that the labour conditions induced by the War, the employment of women, the suspension of Trade Union rules, and the like, will inevitably increase the old rancour when the conditions become more normal. He offers no solution, he only points out that a solution will have to be found, and that the period of adjustment will be even more critical for our future than the War itself. Our one chance of safety lies in giving Germany that food for reflection at home which she can only receive through a decisive defeat of her armies in the field.

The subject of a second article by Mr. J. W. Headlam, *The Real Aims of the 'Peaceful' German Nation*, is to point out that annexation forms a settled part of the policy of the German people quite apart from the Government. The Chancellor of the Empire speaks at the bidding of circumstances when he repudiates, or seems to repudiate

land hunger, but the political parties and the popular unions speak with less reserve what they desire in France, in Belgium, in Poland and in Africa.

There is a third article of rather melancholy interest by Mr. W. Sichel on *Germany and Ireland*, written before the lamentable outbreak had taken place. It is easy enough after the event to blame Mr. Sichel for writing in the light bantering tone he assumes on this subject. He saw the fermenting unrest and urged that Government should take it seriously, but he did not foresee the amazing mixture of madness and criminality which produced the Sinn Fein rising. An experienced Irish judge once took occasion to draw the attention of a Grand Jury to the fact that while the percentage of crime in Ireland is extraordinarily low, when serious offences are committed they are accompanied more frequently by circumstances of brutality than in any other country of civilized Europe. We cannot help thinking that this observation of the learned judge is strikingly corroborated by events in Dublin at the end of April. When we consider the poisonous agitation which has gone on for more than a generation in Ireland, we must conclude that the criminal propensities of the Irish people are very small for it to have affected so small a fraction of the population. At the same time we can hardly conceive anything more purposely brutal than the planning of a revolt in sympathy with Germany, clearly against the interests and inclination of the Irish people, which must lead to the death or imprisonment or exile of all duped into taking part in it, merely for the malicious pleasure of embarrassing the Imperial Government for at the utmost a few weeks.

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

IN the *Fortnightly* Dr. Dillon tries once more to make our flesh creep. "The hour has struck for plain speaking on the part of those who are gifted with clear vision." That Dr. Dillon is so gifted, apart from his special subject, the Balkans, we find it difficult to believe. For instance he says, that the Germans before Verdun can scarcely have lost more than 100,000 men. The writer of the History of the War is well-informed and cautious and he says: "On the lowest calculation German casualties up to April amounted to 200,000 killed and wounded men." When Dr. Dillon says that the Germans still have between seven and eight million men to draw from, and that "they dispose of nearly two million of their best troops, whom they have kept back for the *coup de grace*," we are certain he is in the region of myth. It might be misleading to say that Germany's reserves are exhausted, for the words

require definition ; but we believe it to be the case that Germany can never put in the field more men than at present.

The History of the War brings down to the middle of April the story of the attack on Verdun. The fighting was on a front of twenty-five miles, from Avocourt on the West to Vaux on the East. The Germans employed twenty-four and a half divisions, about half a million men, that is, 20,000 men to the mile. Fighting by day and night has been almost continuous throughout the month, the enemy's principal efforts being directed on the west of the Meuse against Hills 295 (Mort Homme) and 304 which dominate the approaches to Verdun from the west and prevent the Germans from enfilading the French entrenchments on the right bank. If these were captured, the pivot of the French defences, the Côte de Poivre, could scarcely resist.

To reach these hills the Germans had first to capture the villages of Béthincourt and Melancourt lying to the north of them. The attack on Melancourt occupied the Germans from the 20th to the 30th of March. The chief point of attack during the next few days was the Douaumont-Vaux position on the French right. The German losses were particularly heavy but they made no advance. The next attack was on the villages of Béthincourt (before Mort Homme) and Harcourt. The French evacuated Béthincourt and established a new line.

The writer affirms once more that the fate of the German attack was decided on February 26 (within the first week). The German defeat is incontestable.

During the month, the British took over from the French the front from Loos to Arras. On March 27 two battalions of the Northumberland Fusiliers and the Royal Fusiliers captured two lines of trenches in the German salient at St. Eloi. The attack was on a small scale but it showed the superiority of the British method of attack to the German. In the former, success depends not on the cohesion of the mass but on the initiative of the individual. "When once the attack is launched, our men are trained to act for themselves instead of waiting for orders."

As a trial of strength, General Kuropatkin who is in command of the northern group of the Russian Armies attacked, but the spring thaw soon put an end to the operations. He discovered that the German defences were largely dependent on machine-guns.

Good progress has been made in German East Africa. Towards the end of last year South African troops began to arrive at Mombassa, and by the middle of February General Smuts was ready to take the offensive. The railway from Mombassa to Nairobi and on

to Port Florence on the Victoria Nyanza has a branch from Voi to Taveta, the latter place being close to the German frontier. This saw the obvious direction for the attack, and the Germans concentrated the bulk of their forces, about 30,000 in the Kilimanjaro district at Kitovo not far from Taveta. The British occupied Taveta on March 9th and on the 11th the Germans were driven from their first position. Their retirement was hastened by a mounted force which had come round the other side of Mount Kilimanjaro. A detached British force secured the country for fifty miles to the west, while the main force followed the enemy down the railway which goes from Moshi to Tanga.

An article in a similar tone of restrained hopefulness is 'A British Advance' by *Special Reserve*. The Germans cannot be defeated by mere economic pressure. Even if they could, it would not secure a lasting peace as they would set to work to make better preparations in respect to finance and food-supply for the next war. If we wait for Russia to make the advance, the War will be unduly prolonged as this year's campaigns can scarcely do more than give her back her lost and devastated territory. On her Western frontier, the main bulk of the German armies lie and from that direction the threat to her industrial life is most imminent. A British advance is therefore called for.

But many, and not all of them pessimists, consider such an advance impossible; he proceeds to answer them. There are two factors, men and munitions. So far as men are concerned, the nominal numbers in the German ranks matter little. Of first quality troops they have not over many. When the campaign against Poland began, our men found their opponents to be sedentary in their tastes. Not till that campaign was over could Serbia be attacked. At Loos the counter-attacks waited till special troops arrived. The attack on Verdun must have seriously diminished their numbers.

But what about the quality of our own troops? The best are the Regulars, and, although little of the original Expeditionary Force is left, for the most part our losses have been little by little, and the new drafts have taken their tone from the old hands. The Territorials come next, and not having been in the early fighting retain a fair proportion of their original men.

The German troops on the Western front are usually estimated at two millions, but would be considerably strengthened if a serious attack were expected. The French have still two millions; at the end of 1915 we could have put over a million into the fighting lines in France, and now we must have many more available. We are, then, three to two against the Germans, and that means two to one certainly, and three or four to one probably, at the critical points for our attack.

As to the supply of shells, less is known; but there is good reason

to believe that the difficulty would not lie in having the shells, but in having them at the right spot as the attack advanced.

The question is, mainly, whether the line can be broken at all. The Germans have not succeeded in breaking ours, but this is because they have to attack in masses, and therefore at a walk. Against British infantry such an attack can only succeed when the trenches have been obliterated, and at definite artillery preparation the Germans are inferior to the British. A British attack is delivered on a different system. A division of from twelve to sixteen battalions would have four battalions in the firing line, two in support, two in reserve and the rest as a divisional reserve for the whole. The actual attack would be delivered in the dawn on, say, a 1,200 yards frontage by a swiftly running line of men roughly two deep. The attackers would crawl out under cover of the artillery preparation to within fifty or a hundred yards of the opposing line, and would take trenches by the very rapidity of the charge.

While we agree with the writer in much that he says, we do not feel convinced that the grand attack is to come this year. If the war had developed a military genius in whom all the Allies would have implicit confidence it might be done; but, as it is, we have to be cautious and that means the conquest of Turkey and Austro-Hungary first, a task which seems likely to occupy us for this year and part of next. It is now when our enemies are on the defensive and it is coming near our time to attack that the full value of their interior lines and rapid communications is shown; that they cannot do better shows that their resources in men are coming near an end.

Mr. W. J. Lawrence contributes 'New Light on the Elizabethan Theatre.' This main point is that the public theatres had gradually to copy the private theatres by providing complete roofs and sitting accommodation. Pepys, for instance, like other discriminating playgoers, went to the pit of the Red Bull.

Mr. J. D. Whelpley says that President Wilson is so long suffering in his diplomatic intercourse with Germany because he wishes the United States to help in bringing about peace.

COLLEGE NOTES.

THE appearance of Dr. Skinner's name in the list of Birthday Honours published early this month has been noticed with a sense of profound gratification on the part of all students of the College, both past and present. It is now thirty-two years since Dr. Skinner came out to India, and during all these years of intense study, of concentrative teaching, of inspiring guidance and of silent but irresistible influence, he has been cultivating the art, so congenial to his retiring disposition, of avoiding publicity beyond the walls of the College; and even within its walls, he has ruled the students more by the power of his strenuous self-suppression and silent but understanding sympathy than, a strict disciplinarian though he be, by any outward display of authority. And it is perhaps a vague sense on the part of Government of the realisation in him of the beau-ideal of a European Principal of a College of Indian students, which has inspired the bestowal on him of a First Class Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal. Anyhow Lord Pentland, whose insight into the character and worth of public men in Madras we have before now had occasion to remark, deserves to be congratulated upon having in this case discovered and brought forward for public recognition a Servant of India whose worth is known to few beyond those who have come within the sphere of his quiet activity and, where known, is deeply and warmly appreciated.

Preliminary to the opening of School and College for the Long Term is the publication of the results of S. S. L. C. Examination, which at once devolves upon the Principal the task of selecting students for the First College Class from among the holders of the School Leaving Certificates. Though this task has been considerably lightened this year by the work of the Committee appointed by the Syndicate of the University for going over the marks of the candidates and declaring who among them are eligible for College study and thus preventing the totally unfit ones from applying for seats in the College, yet the task of choosing the best from among the hundreds of "eligible" applicants is by no means easy. Former students who apply on behalf of their sons or brothers are sometimes disappointed when they find admission refused. They do not understand that, under the conditions created by the S. S. L. C. Examination, the utmost discrimination must be exercised in making admissions to the College if disaster is to be averted at the Intermediate Examination and if those who are admitted are to derive the utmost benefit from the education imparted.

"The speed of the fleet is the speed of the slowest ship," and the presence in a class of indifferent students is a disadvantage if not an injustice to abler and more earnest students.

In this connection we would draw the attention of our readers to a remarkably well-informed and reasonable discussion of the whole situation in an article which appeared in the *Madras Mail* of the 10th June and which we make no apology for extracting in these pages:—

THE INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION.

The publication of the "Intermediate results" has given rise, as we quite expected it would, to a repetition of the denunciation with which the University was last year assailed. In one of our contemporaries the University, because of these results, is declared to be a failure, "in its own judgment," and even the Department of Education, for reasons not very clearly stated, is roundly asserted to be a failure "writ large." Another contemporary insists that as the protests of last year have proved unavailing, a thorough enquiry, to be undertaken by Government and the public, is immediately called for. A third, distinguished as usual by recklessness of assertion and a quickness to turn any point of controversy into a racial grievance, accuses the examiners of "bringing disgrace on the University," selects a particular group of examiners for special reprobation, but reserves the choicest vials of its wrath to pour upon the heads of a certain "expert" (that is, being interpreted, European): "majority in the Senate—the majority that is supreme in the Syndicate and" (so we are told) "in the Boards of Examiners." These miscreants, the public is assured, have deliberately adopted "a cruel policy" toward the rising generation, and it is, therefore, time that the popular leaders bestirred themselves to bring them to account.

Now we have no intention of arguing with these critics of the University in any detail. We would merely remark in passing that the contention that any body, or the majority of any body having authority in the University has deliberately adopted a policy to debar large numbers of fit students from entering on, or proceeding with, University courses is not only glaringly in conflict with easily ascertained fact, but is, on the face of it, wholly incredible. Further, to suggest that a large body of examiners, nearly 60 per cent. of whom happen to be Indians, have lent themselves as willing and zealous agents of this "cruel policy" is to insinuate a very discreditable charge, which in all conscience is silly enough, but which, since all the readers of newspapers are not sensible persons, is none the less highly mischievous. It is not likely that those anxious to make racial capital out of a purely academic question will be seriously deterred by any presentment of facts, but a few simple facts within anybody's reach, may, however, be preferred them. The "expert," that is to say, the European majority, is declared to be "supreme in the Boards of Examiners." There are seventeen Boards of Examiners concerned in the Intermediate Examination. A good many of these Boards are composed entirely of Indians, and in four only, namely, the Boards for English, Latin, French and Chemistry, are Europeans in a majority.

Assuredly these repeated Intermediate disasters are things which no one interested in education can contemplate with any degree of satisfaction. It is

very certain that neither the Syndicate nor the examiners regard the matter with the callous indifference with which they are credited by persons who either cannot know the men, or knowing them, elect to slander them. The yearly "slaughter of innocents" is to be unreservedly deplored; but to increase the percentage of passes by deliberately lowering standards—and this, apart from public enquiries, public agitation and the extirpation of the "experts" is the only remedy suggested—would be a remedy far worse than the disease. The disease itself, we have no doubt, was quite correctly diagnosed last year by Mr. Mark Hunter in two letters which appeared in these columns, as also by Mr. Macphail in an article contributed to the *Christian College Magazine*, which we reprinted. The conditions which obtained last year obtained this year also, but in a distinctly enhanced degree. An increased "plough" was anticipated, and an increased "plough" has happened. The increase, as a matter of fact, is slight—the number of successful candidates is absolutely appreciably higher. Still the failure list is relatively heavier, and might quite reasonably have been even heavier, had not (so we are informed) some of the much maligned Boards, including the Board of Moderators, proved "sympathetic," and seasoned justice with a considerable sprinkling of somewhat dubious mercy.

But while it is more than unjust to blame examiners, who, in maintaining standards, merely do their duty, we are far from refusing to admit that the yearly failure of so large a proportion of candidates is, for the University and education generally, a very serious matter. Still the calamity—for calamity of its kind it is—does not consist in the fact that so many candidates appear and fail, but in the fact that the unfortunates are allowed to appear at all, or rather are admitted to courses for which they are manifestly unfit. As Mr. Macphail and Mr. Hunter pointed out, it is the admissions that are the source of all the trouble. Who then is responsible for the admissions? In the first place, it must be confessed, the University, that is to say, the Syndicate and the Senate. When some years ago, on the institution of the system of Secondary School Leaving Certificates—in itself an excellent thing—the University authorities permitted the Colleges, in effect, to conduct their own Matriculation examination, a grave error was committed, from the disastrous consequences of which—whatever remedy be applied—University and secondary education in Madras will take a long time completely to recover. To apportion the just degree of blame between the offending parties would be an invidious and futile task. The Department of Education at least should escape censure. It deserves, on the other hand, no little commiseration, inasmuch as the many excellent measures taken to improve secondary education by the Head of the department, his officers and the unofficial educationists who have co-operated with the department have been, beyond doubt, largely counteracted and rendered ineffectual by the same admissions which have hampered educational progress in the colleges.

The blame, however, which attaches to the University authorities is confined mainly to the initial error. The Senate—and chiefly that element in the Senate which is now commissioned with the task of ending the "expert" rule—by declining to support this Syndicate three years ago in certain measures it proposed committed, we think, a second error; but the charge now raised in certain quarters that the Syndicate acquiesced in the consequences of the initial error, and is now exacting from hundreds of unhappy victims the penalties of its own sins, is wholly baseless. The Syndicate from the very beginning has not ceased to exhort, admonish and even threaten

colleges which, on enquiry, were found to be admitting indiscreetly. The admonitions proved fruitless, and the threats, it was soon discovered, could be safely disregarded. The truth is, the grant of discretionary powers to colleges was wholly premature. The great majority of colleges began to admit indiscriminately, and despite advice, exhortation and threat, continued indiscriminately to admit. The few which undoubtedly exercised discretion were, it must be confessed, just those which, for particular reasons, could not be severely tempted.

The bad consequences of all this, not merely swollen failure lists but things educationally more distressing, are gross and palpable. Hundreds of pupils were drafted into colleges who should have remained another year or more at school, or who were by nature unqualified for University studies. The over-crowded classes, the very presence of large numbers of the unfit, have affected education in the colleges most adversely. Conditions have been created in which the University courses cannot possibly be conducted on the only lines which can insure for them a genuine success. Moreover, evidence exists, some of it embodied in examiners' reports, pointing beyond doubt to the increase in colleges of a very pernicious form of cram, adopted obviously for examination purposes—a policy, natural in the circumstances, but quite fatal, even if educational efficiency be gauged solely by the contents of a pass list.

In the schools also, the indiscriminate admissions into colleges have worked injuriously. When the college doors were thrown wide open practically to all comers, the immediate result was depletion in the highest forms in secondary schools. The steps generally taken to make good the loss may readily be imagined. Boys were rushed up with undue haste from the lower forms, and just as the college classes were full of boys scarcely fit for the sixth form of a school, so the sixth forms themselves were crowded with pupils scarcely ripe for the fourth form; and then, that these immature lads might make some sort of show in the public examination, methods of cram have been again resorted to, rendering them all the more unfit for the colleges, to which they none the less gained easy entrance.

The obvious remedy—which is neither a public enquiry nor a public agitation—has already been adopted. The power to admit at discretion has been withdrawn from principals, and the University authorities have resumed the responsibilities which, wise after the event, we can all now see they should never have relinquished. Things, it may be trusted, will right themselves in time; but it will take time, and no very startling improvement in the matter of passes and failures is confidently to be looked for for some years to come.

THE following obituary of Professor A. S. Napier, by the Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, for which we are indebted to the *Oxford Magazine*, should be of deep interest to all students of English philology:—

In the death of Arthur Sampson Napier at the age of 62 the world of scientific philology has suffered a grievous loss. To give a full and just appreciation of his long and fruitful labours in that field is a task that only the competent expert can fulfil. The writer of this brief biographical sketch, who was his most intimate personal friend since the beginning of their undergraduate days, can only offer, as a slight tribute of affection and friend-

ship, his recollected impressions of Napier's life-work and personality. These presented certain unique features that are worth recording in the history of our University. He entered Exeter College as Scholar in 1874 almost at the same time as myself; I soon felt the charm of his attractive nature and character, and realized that in regard to his training and ideals he was markedly different from the usual type of undergraduate. He had been trained mainly on the lines of physical science both at Rugby and Owen's College. He had the good manners and healthymindedness of the Rugbeian, but all his life he was severely critical of the mental atmosphere and educational system of the English public school. He deeply appreciated his debt to Owen's College, where he imbibed the scientific enthusiasm and acquired the training that assisted him in his distinguished career. In his earlier days at Exeter College he had the reputation of a brilliant and most promising student of chemistry. But his intimate friends were aware that his intellectual interests were, before the time of his degree, tending in another direction.

In his third year, having already by an early visit to Germany acquired a working knowledge of German, he went away for a term to pursue chemical experiments in the laboratory at Göttingen. This visit no doubt extended his chemical knowledge, but what he chiefly derived from it was a warm admiration for the German organization of Universities and a passionate enthusiasm for the study of Teutonic languages. This was intensified by his zeal for adventurous travel, for he was no mere student, but a lover of wild scenery and distant and difficult exploration. Even as an undergraduate he travelled far afield in Norway and remote northern lands which were far less accessible then than they have since become, and he brought back a rich store of experiences which marked him out strikingly from most of the rest of us. In 1877 he took an excellent First Class in Chemistry, so as to fulfil what he felt to be his duty to his College, and from that day to the end of his life never approached the subject again. He was no intellectual waverer, and he knew exactly by this time what he wanted and meant to do. He resolved to devote his life to Teutonic philology, and especially the study of early English, and for this end to perfect himself in "linguistics" and comparative philology. Therefore he went to Berlin to work under Zupitza, the most brilliant and genial of the old incorrupt type of German professors of philology, who owed much of his brilliance to his Slavonic descent. In this stimulating *entourage*, Napier soon made his mark as a student of high original power. In 1878 he was appointed *Privat-Dozent* in English for the University of Berlin; and having published valuable research-work on Wulfstan's Homilies, he was appointed *Ausserordentlicher Professor* of English to the University of Göttingen in 1882, where he remained till 1885, a most successful organizer and instructor of a large class on the scientific lines of the seminar and lecture-system of Germany. In those days he was a whole-hearted admirer of the German academic organization, admiring, as many of us then did, what was most admirable in Germany. These were the days when the tradition of Goethe and Niebuhr and the great philosophers still lingered in the land, before the Prussian poison had penetrated the intellectual life of the academies, which seemed, in contrast to our own, to stand for the ideal of free devotion to science and learning for its own sake.

But whatever were his Teutonic sympathies, Napier remained always a true and staunch patriot; and he utterly discarded his old connexions, in spite of the honour that Germany had done him in electing him as its first Professor

from England, when he came to discern the danger that threatened us from this strongly organized empire. This was scarcely discernible in 1835, when, fortunately for himself and his family, he returned to his native land, having accepted the offer of our newly founded chair in English Language and Literature. From certain quarters of journalism his election elicited savage and malignant clamours of disapproval, and the ill-bred expressions of disappointed *litterateurs* troubled his over-sensitive mind. Yet he set himself whole-heartedly to the task of his life, the introduction and organization of the scientific study of English in Oxford. He knew our University well enough to realise that his sole chance of success was the creation of an Honours School. The project was obviously right and salutary; it was therefore strongly opposed; however, with the help of powerful friends he pulled it through at last. Meantime he was delivering, and for many years continued to deliver, a series of such lectures on the early development of the English language and literature as had never been heard in England before. They were heard by few Englishmen, a good many Englishmen, and a still larger number of foreigners. For Napier was better known to Europe and America than to Oxford; no Professor's lectures had attracted so many students from abroad for many generations; and we became though few Oxonians knew it, the chief centre of early English philology in the world. Napier was a born philologist if ever there was one; and his power of tracking the development of language partook of inspiration. His earlier discipline in physical science helped him, and his severe and comprehensive Teutonic training perfected him in method and criticism.

He was the right man for the time; for the English School was very open to capture by the indolent and vague amateur; and he laid its foundations once for all on severe lines. But he was not wholly at ease in his position. For his Professorship, having been designed too widely, included literature as well as language; and Napier's interests were purely philological; and while from his romantic love of origins he enjoyed *Beowulf* and the Scandinavian sagas he cared no more than Darwin did for any literature later than Chaucer. He was happier therefore when the new chair of English Literature was founded, and in 1903 he became the Rawlinsonian Professor of Anglo-Saxon.

He was an indefatigable and unceasing worker, and his faith and enthusiasm never flagged till the last days of his life. Being severely self-critical, he published less than some scholars; but whatever he published has the mark of the severest scholarship upon it. As a teacher he was singularly clear, forcible, and devoted, giving himself most generously to his pupils, upon some of whom we may hope his mantle has descended and who may be able to continue his tradition among us.

Though he helped the party of University reform, he played little part in our public life outside his own sphere. And he was only intimate with a small circle of friends, as he was wholly devoted to his work and to his family. His private griefs and losses lay heavily upon him and contributed to undermine his health that was never robust. For those of us who knew him well in his brilliant prime, his friendship has been a privilege, and will remain a cherished remembrance. And one may prophesy that his work was not in vain and will abide in this place.

L. R. FARNELL.